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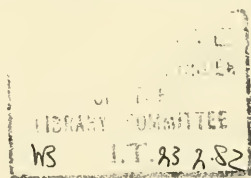
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MEMORANDUM.

FROM THE SECRETARY

Royal Archaeological Institute of Great

20, HANOVER SQUARE,

LOI

Dear Sir

Referring to our  
Vol 48 part 192,  
p. 385. It see  
illustrations.

The Roman Antiquities of Augsburg and Ratisbon. By Professor BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A. ... ..	137, 396
Further Remarks on Jade. By J. HILTON, Esq., F.S.A. ...	162
Notes on Bath as a Roman City. By E. GREEN, Esq., F.S.A. ...	174

MEMORANDUM.

FROM THE SECRETARY

Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland,

20, HANOVER SQUARE,

LONDON, W.

July 11<sup>th</sup> 1898

J. E. L. Pickering Esq

Dear Sir

Referring to our own volumes of Archaeological Journal  
Vol 48 part 142, there certainly ~~is~~<sup>is</sup> no illustration to  
p. 385. It seems to be a mistake in the list of  
illustrations

I am Dear Sir

Yours faithfully

D. H. Syell Hon Sec.

## CONTENTS.

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	PAGE.
Notes on Some Museums in Galicia and Transilvania. By F. HAVERFIELD, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. ... ..	1
A Rare Civil War Tract. By F. A. HYETT, Esq., B.A. ...	14
The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire. By C. T. DAVIS, Esq. ...	19
Pigeon Houses in Herefordshire and Gower. By A. WATKINS, Esq. ...	29
Bells, their Origin, Uses and Inscriptions. By J. J. DOHERTY, Esq. ...	45
Parochial Accounts, Seventeenth Century, St. Neots, Cornwall. By the late General Sir J. H. LEFROY, K.C.M.G., F.R.S. ...	65
The Heraldry of the Cumberland Statesmen. By R. S. FERGUSON, Esq., F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle ... ..	77
Some Notes on the Ancient Encaustic Tiles in Tewkesbury Abbey. By the Rev. A. S. PORTER, F.S.A. ... ..	83
Some Tombs in Crete of the Age of Mycenæ. By the Rev. J. HIRST. ...	101
Our Lady of Pity. By E. PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A. ...	111
Arsenals and Armouries in Southern Germany and Austria. Part I. By the Baron de COSSON, F.S.A., F.R.G.S....	117
The Roman Antiquities of Augsburg and Ratisbon. By Professor BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A. ... ..	137, 396
Further Remarks on Jade. By J. HILTON, Esq., F.S.A. ...	162
Notes on Bath as a Roman City. By E. GREEN, Esq., F.S.A. ...	174

	PAGE.
Some Recent Archæological Discoveries in Lincoln. By the Rev. Precentor VENABLES ... ..	... 186
Mortars. By E. PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A. ... ..	... 203
Notes on Symbolic Animals in English Art and Literature. By J. L. ANDRÉ, Esq., F.S.A. .. ..	... 210
Inaugural Address of Sir HERBERT E. MAXWELL, Bart., M.P., to the Annual Meeting of the Institute, held at Edinburgh ... ..	... 241
The Progress of Archæology. Opening Address of the Antiquarian Section at the Edinburgh Meeting. By J. EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., P.S.A. ... ..	... 251
Opening Address of the Historical Section at the Meeting of the Institute at Edinburgh. By T. HODGKIN, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A. ... ..	... 263
Opening Address of the Architectural Section at the Edinburgh Meeting. By the Right Rev. the BISHOP OF CARLISLE ... ..	... 274
The Union Jack. By E. GREEN, Esq., F.S.A. ... ..	... 295
Notes on Rude Implements from the North Downs. By F. C. J. SPURRELL, Esq. ... ..	315
The Sword Belts of the Middle Ages. By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, Esq., F.S.A. .. ..	320
On the Seals of the Bishops of Carlisle, and other Seals belonging to that Diocese. By Mrs. HENRY WARE ... ..	... 341
Saint Helen. By E. PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A. ... ..	... 354
Is Burghead, on the Moray Firth, the Winged Camp of Ptolemy? By J. MACDONALD, LL.D., F.S.A., Scot. ... ..	... 361
Notes on the Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891. By J. BALFOUR PAUL, F.S.A., Scot., Lyon King of Arms... ..	... 416
Scottish Heraldry and Genealogy .. ..	... 426
Original Document concerning Lands of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, attainted 1554. Communicated by GEO. T. CLARK, Esq. ... ..	... 190
Special Subscriptions in 1890 ... ..	... 283
Balance Sheet for 1890 ... ..	... 285
Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archæological Institute, Nov. 1890 to July, 1891 ... ..	85, 193, 286, 434
Report of Annual Meeting at Edinburgh ... ..	... 436



	PAGE.
NOTICES OF ARCHEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS :—	
The Church Bells of Suffolk. By J. J. RAVEN, D.D.	... 86
Cartæ et alia Munimenta que ad dominium de Glamorgan pertinent. Curante, GEO. T. CLARK, Vol. i, 1102-1350 ; MDCCCLXXXV ; Vol. ii, 1348-1721 ; MDCCCXC.	... 90
The Lake Dwellings of Europe. By ROBERT MUNRO, M.A., M.D.	... 91
The Gentleman's Magazine Library—Architectural Antiquities, Part ii, edited by G. L. GOMME	... 98
Rockingham Castle. By C. WISE	.. 472
Illustrations of Incised Slabs on the Continent of Europe. By the Rev. W. F. GREENY	... 476
The Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer. By H. HALL	... 482
The Journal of the Ex Libris Society	... 485
ARCHEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE	197, 291
INDEX TO VOLUME XLVIII	... 487
LIST OF MEMBERS	... 494

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

				PAGE.
Antiquities from the Broos Collection—				
Plate I.,	...	...	To face	10 ✓
Plate II.	...	...	To follow	<i>ib.</i> ✓
(The Institute is indebted to Mr. Haverfield for these illustrations).				
PIGEON HOUSES :—				
Garway, 1326 ;	..	...	} To face	32 ✓
Richard's Castle ;	...	...		
Wigmore Grange, demolished 1888 ;	..	...		
Putson, Hereford, demolished 1889 ;	...	...		
Buttas, 1632 ;	...	...	} To follow	<i>ib.</i> ✓
Culver Hole, Gower	...	..		
Shield on Bells, Fig. 1	...	...	...	86 ✓
„ „ Figs. 2, 3, 4	...	..	...	87 ✓
Antiquities from Estavayer	...	..	To face	97 ✓
„ „ La Tène	...	..	To follow	<i>ib.</i> ✓
Pieta at Breadsall	...	...	To face	113 ✓
So-called Duumviri	...	..	„	151 ✓
(The Institute is indebted to Professor Bunnell Lewis for this illustration).				
Ideal Outline Plan of Roman Bath	...	...	„	180 ✓
(The Institute is indebted to Mr. Green for this illustration).				
Brass of Nicholas Lebrun, 1547	...	...	„	287 ✓
(The Institute is indebted to Mr. Oliver for this illustration).				
The Union Jack. Nos. 1, 2, 3	...	...	„	300 ✓
„ „ „ Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9	...	..	„	306 ✓
„ „ „ Nos. 10, 11, 12	...	...	„	310 ✓
(The Institute is indebted to Mr. Green for these illustrations).				

			PAGE.
Sword Belts—Nos. 1-7	...	..	To face 323
“ “ “ 8-21	...	...	“ 330
“ “ “ 22-46	...	...	“ 334
“ “ “ 47-71	...	..	“ 340
Seals of the Bishops of Carlisle, Plate I.	...	..	“ 344
“ “ “ Plate II.	...	..	“ 348
“ “ “ Plate III.	...	..	“ 350
“ “ “ Plate IV.	...	..	“ 352
“ “ “ Plate V.	...	..	To follow <i>ib</i>
...	...	...	To face 385
Ptolemy's Northern Albion, Map I.	...	..	“ 383
“ “ “ Map II.	...	..	“ 386
(The Institute is indebted to Dr. Macdonald for these illustrations).			
Porta Prætorica at Ratisbon	...	...	“ 400







# Archaeological Journal.

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MARCH, 1891.

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## NOTES ON SOME MUSEUMS IN GALICIA & TRANSILVANIA.<sup>1</sup>

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

In a recent number of the *Journal of Philology* (xvii, 274-289), I published some notes on archæological museums and remains to be seen in Carniola, Croatia and Serbia. I now venture some similar notes on local museums in Galicia and Transilvania, which I have lately visited. I do not pretend to any completeness in description or originality in comment. My own interests lie mostly in the direction of Roman remains in which the Galician museums are very poor, the Transilvanian museums fairly rich. I have endeavoured to include prehistoric remains so far as I could; concerning mediæval remains, there is neither much to say, nor do I feel qualified to say it. On the whole, it has seemed to me worth while to attempt some rough sketch of the objects contained in the museums which I was able to visit. What one really wants is, of course, a handbook, or series of handbooks, which should do for the local museums of the continent what Dr. Anderson has lately done for various Scotch collections. Meanwhile, my jottings may help archæologically-minded tourists better than the ordinary guide books do, and the very inadequacy of my descriptions may irritate more competent writers into supplying at once the needed handbooks.

### 1. Cracow.

Many tourists visit Cracow, but most of them are probably contented with inspecting the numerous churches of the city, the Kosciuszko Hill, and the neighbouring salt mines at Wieliczka. All of these are quite worth seeing—particularly the churches, which, besides other things more readily noticed, contain some fine wood-carving, and which leave one something to see even after two visits to the town. Antiquaries will find even more

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, June 5th, 1890.

to interest them, if they examine the museums. That of Prince Czartoryski is, indeed, artistic rather than archaeological, though it includes a few good Greek antiquities, but those who find the way into the museum in the University buildings, have before them an interesting collection, which is probably not so often visited as it deserves to be. In Roman remains it is, of course, exceedingly poor. I shall speak below about the extent of the Roman province of Dacia; here I may say that in Galicia very few Roman remains occur, only coins, weapons, and pottery, which have probably come over the Carpathians by way of trade. But the collection is rich in remains of the stone and bronze ages, and is the more interesting because it contains objects from all parts of Poland, Austrian, Russian, and Prussian. It is, indeed, so far as I know, the only local museum in which the early civilization of the Vistula valley can be studied as a whole. Among the pottery, the pieces which struck me most were (1) a cup of earthenware, about 7 in. high, with a very large foot, and five perforations in the bowl (No. 488); (2) an urn of about the same height, with two curious "ears" forming a handle (No. 8500); and (3) a round bellied urn,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. high, with four short legs (No. 8499). But I have no doubt more practised eyes would detect more valuable objects.

## 2. *Lemberg.*

Few tourists, I imagine, find their way to Lemberg. It is a badly situated town, with few objects of interest and not much natural beauty—though there is a fine view from the "Kopiec unii." The town has also at least one good hotel, rejoicing in a name familiar to Englishmen, the "Zorza," or "George." There are two museums, the Dzieduszycki museum near the theatre, and the Ossolinski National Institute, standing in grounds of its own. The former, a private museum, is usually closed in August, and as my visit to Lemberg was in that month, I was able to see very little of it. One remarkable object, however, was visible, a Slavonic (?) idol, four-faced, about 10 feet high and 15 inches square, which was found in or near the river Zbrucz in Podolia in 1848. What appeared to be the front face is in four compartments, at the top a

male figure—down to the waist—with the arms across the body, the right arm a few inches higher up than the left ; below that a horse, below that a complete figure in a sort of long jacket, and at the bottom a face. I was told that the museum also contained some gold ornaments found with the figure. The Ossolinski Institute comprises objects interesting in connexion with Polish history, portraits, coins, weapons, autographs. There are a few prehistoric remains, and one or two things which seem to be Roman, two small glass bottles (Nos. 1713, 1715) and an amphora 18 inches high with the two handles perfect (No. 171-1386), which (I was told) was found near Tarnopol, about 1868, along with skeletons, ashes, and other pottery. These are, no doubt, relics of trade.

### 3. *Czernowitz.*

Czernowitz, the capital of the Bukowina, is in point of situation a far more attractive town than Lemberg, but it is not otherwise a pleasant place. One interest, indeed, the town has which can hardly be matched in Europe. The Bukowina was annexed to Austria in 1775, and the capital and chief towns were garrisoned by German colonists, who have held their ground more or less completely till this day. Accordingly, here, at the meeting place of Ruthenian and Rouman, 300 miles from any Teutonic land, the astonished traveller stumbles upon a town where the streets are named with German names, and the local politicians, in the local newspapers, assault one another in the German tongue. But, though the townspeople are still, in great part, German-speaking, they have not lived in the midst of Ruthenes and Roumans for nothing, and the place struck me as being German in a limited sense.<sup>1</sup> Things are very different in the German settlements in Transilvania, which I visited afterwards. There the "Saxons" have maintained their nationality through—perhaps, because of—the troubles which have beset them. Here the German element seems likely to merge in the surrounding populations, and the future struggle in Bukowina politics will be that between Ruthene and Rouman. In any case, the place has an interest for the student of nationalities—perhaps even for the anthropologist.

<sup>1</sup> However, Czernowitz and Suczawa returned three German Liberals at the recent elections for the Austrian "Reichsrath."

There is no museum at present in Czernowitz. A University was founded in 1875, some members of which have already distinguished themselves in scholarship, and Dr. Polek, of the University Library, told me that a museum was in prospect, for which collections are being made.

Here, perhaps, I may briefly discuss the question whether the Romans ever extended their frontiers over the Carpathians, that is, whether they ever permanently occupied any part of Galicia, of the Bukowina, or of Moldavia, the adjoining land southwards. Most of Transylvania was certainly included in the Roman province of Dacia; what were the north and north-east frontiers of that province? In the first place we have Ptolemy's statement (iii. 8) that "Dacia" was bounded on the north by the Carpathians—*i.e.*, the Tatra and Liptau ranges, not the whole chain—on the north-east by the Turas (Dniester), on the east by the Hierasus (Prut or Seret). If this account be taken literally, Dacia included the Bukowina, and parts of Galicia and Moldavia. Unfortunately our only other evidence—that of existing remains—does not quite agree with this description. Roman remains—settlements, inscriptions, roads, &c.—are abundant enough in western Transylvania, and are not unknown in the eastern part of the same country. But the Carpathians themselves—which form in many parts rather an upland forest than the abrupt rampart of our maps—have yielded little, and their north and east slopes are equally bare. Little is known of Moldavia. But Galicia, as I have said, contains only a few finds due to trade, and the Bukowina is little better off. The certain finds there<sup>1</sup> consist of (1) a burial urn five inches high, and (2) coins found in or by an earthwork wall, near Seret, the date of which coins seems not to be known. Other reputed remains are (3) tiles found at Seret, (4), an earthwall running from the Dniester through Podolia into Galicia, and (5) a Roman camp said in the Austrian newspapers (*Neue Freie Presse*, &c.) to have been found in 1886 at Hlinica, a little north of

<sup>1</sup> See, besides some papers by Gooss: Onciul *Zur Geschichte der Bukowina* (Czernowitz 1887) i. pp. 6-10, and Kaindl *Geschichte der Bukowina* in the *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* June-July, 1888. Tocilescu *Dacia înainte de Romani*

(Bucuresci 1880) does not discuss the subject. There are several uncritical works which defend the Roman occupation *e.g.*, Prelec *Geschichte der Stadt Seret* (Sreet 1886).



Czernowitz. Of these, the tiles are certainly post-Roman, the camp is (as I was told) pretty certainly Tartar or mediæval, and the earthwall belongs to a whole class of earthworks<sup>1</sup> probably resembling our English Wansdykes and Grimsdykes in construction, some of which seem to be demonstrably un-Roman, while no single one has yet been proved to be Roman. The net result is that no Roman occupation of the Bukowina can be proved from existing remains. How then shall we reconcile Ptolemy with the remains? Dr. Hodgkin (*English Hist. Review*, 1887, pp. 100-103) suggests that Ptolemy's Dacia may be the land of the Dacians, not the Roman province. I have made some remarks on the point elsewhere (*E.H.R.*, 1887, pp. 734-5), but I may here point out thus much: (1) Ptolemy's account, whether based on his predecessor Marinus or not, contains such town names as *Ulpianum* and *Salinae* and *Praetoria Augusta*: it cannot, therefore, have been taken bodily from any source earlier than Trajan's conquest (A.D. 107). (2) After the conquest, it is unlikely that the name "Dacia," the title of the province, would be used to denote the Dacian land, the proper Greek rendering of which is ἡ Δακική. As a rule, Ptolemy is fairly exact in his titles: his section on the British mainland, for instance, is not styled 'Britannia' but Ἀλουϊῶνος νήσου Πρεττανικῆς θέσις. No doubt Ptolemy is puzzling: he omits the legions, contrary to his custom, and enumerates a row of unknown towns. Part of his account may be derived from sources earlier than Trajan; part may be comparatively untrustworthy. Two theories may be suggested to explain why his frontiers differ so much from those suggested by the remains. Firstly, they may be meant to be roughly geographical. On the north we have the mountains, where these rise to a respectable height,<sup>2</sup> on the other three sides the river. Or it is possible that, as I suggested in the *English Historical Review*, Trajan conquered the full extent described by Ptolemy, and that Hadrian withdrew from the outlying portions, as he did from Mesopotamia. Hadrian is said to have meditated giving up the province entirely, but

<sup>1</sup> I have enumerated ten in the *English Hist. Review*, 1887, p. 735. See further Hubner *Römische Herrschaft in West-europa*, pp. 78-82.

<sup>2</sup> The Tatra range (7000-9000 feet) is the highest part of the chain which we call Carpathian; indeed, the latter name is sometimes confined to it alone.

the only evidence that he regulated the northern frontier is the assertion that a certain wall in the north-west resembles our Hadrian's Wall, and this assertion now seems to require further confirmation. Epigraphic evidence<sup>1</sup> seems, however, to suggest that some places north of the Danube did not belong to Dacia. We can trace a customs-line, such as would mark a provincial frontier, shutting off Mehadia and other places lying to the S.W. of Dacia, from the Dacian administration. These places were certainly Roman, and there is further evidence to shew that they belonged to Moesia. Similarly on the S.E., a customs line seems to have run along the river Aluta or Alt, to the W. of which lay Dacia, and a fort with a Moesian garrison has been found in Wallachia, not very far S. of Kronstadt. It would follow from this that the districts in question belong to Moesia. Hence Prof. v. Domaszewski has suggested that Trajan's Dacia included them but that Hadrian transferred them to Moesia. If Hadrian altered the S.W. and S.E. frontiers, he may also have altered the N. frontier, though here we seem to be without evidence. We have however some proof that the territory was reduced in some way, for it seems at first to have been garrisoned by two legions, while afterwards one was enough.

#### 4. *Kronstadt (Brassó.)*

Kronstadt, though rich in scenery and mediæval remains, has no proper museum, but Dr. Julius Gross was kind enough to shew me a small collection in the "Honterus Gymnasium." The chief Roman remains consist of casts of some gold ingots, minted at Sirmium and found lately in the extreme south-east of Transilvania at Kraszna, and a hoard found in 1887 near Tartlau, about 12 miles N. of Kronstadt. Full accounts have been published of both.<sup>2</sup> The former belongs to the later years of the fourth century A.D., the latter to the period of the Roman Republic. It comprises some 200 silver denarii, minted B.C. 217-43, and must have been buried soon after the latter date.

<sup>1</sup> A. v. Domaszewski *die Grenzen von Moesia superior* (*Oest. Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* xiii. (1890), pp. 137, 144 n. 82.

<sup>2</sup> For the Kraszna find see Mommsen *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, and a note by

myself in the *Classical Review*, iii, 186. The Tartlau find has been fully catalogued by Dr. Gross, *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, xiv. 9 (Febr., 1891.)

Like the Frauendorf hoard, found some miles N. of Hermannstadt, it is a relic of Roman trade, not of conquest. Mediæval antiquities are better represented. Here, as elsewhere in this country, the German scholars, who form the learned class, have devoted themselves to the history of their own people, the Transilvanian Saxons. The latter, as is well known, immigrated from Germany at various periods since the twelfth century and have stubbornly maintained their national character and language. To this day they are the most important part of the population of the southern Transilvanian towns, and recent statistics have shewn that they are now in no danger of dying out. The original homes of these immigrants and the fortunes of their descendants have been worked out in detail and with great success by various scholars, notably by Dr. Teutsch. English students will find a capital account of this remarkable people in Mr. Boner's excellent book on Transylvania (London, 1865) and I need, here, only warn my readers that some other English books on the subject are less reliable, and that facts are sometimes distorted by race jealousy.

### 5. *Schässburg (Segesvar).*

Like Kronstadt, Schässburg is not a Roman site, though there appears to be a Roman road along the valley of the Kokel, in which the town is situated, and on the road there is a camp of undoubtedly Roman origin, about three miles to the north-west of the town (C.I.L., iii, 6528, Gooss *Chronik*, p. 106). There is, however, in Schässburg an interesting museum, collected mainly by the exertions of the late Carl Gooss, an archæologist who did more than any other one man in Transylvania to further our knowledge of Dacia. By the kindness of Professor Fabini I was able to look through this museum, which is preserved in the rooms of the Gymnasium close to the church, overlooking the town. There is a fine collection of coins: (1) Greek silver, from Dalmatia and Macedonia, brought by traders since the second century B.C. from the Adriatic and Aegean coasts; (2) barbarian silver imitations of the same, which an English antiquary naturally compares with the British imitations of Greek coins

<sup>1</sup> Metzel *Archiv für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* xx (1886) 215—510.

current in our islands before the Roman conquest; (3) Roman silver of the Republic, a few of which seem to have been imitated by the Dacians, and which belong to the Roman traders of the period before 100 A.D.; (4) Roman imperial coins, confined almost entirely to the reigns between Trajan and Aurelian. There were also a few late Byzantine gold coins, such as are more common south of the Danube. These four classes of coins, which space alone would forbid my enumerating in detail, are those which I found to be commonest in all the collections which I saw and in the shops where I enquired. The barbaric imitations (No. 2), which are perhaps the most interesting, are now, however, rather scarce. Among the other contents of the museum are six inscriptions (all published), legionary and other tiles, and some smaller *instrumentum*. One of the most curious objects was a piece of stone from Varhely, about eight inches each way, cut like a cameo, and representing two soldiers on horse-back fighting, and below them two lions (?) and two dead men. The style of the sculpture resembled that of a piece I saw afterwards at Déva, both probably being native Dacian work like that figured by Tocilescu in his *Dacia*. There was, both here and elsewhere, in the Transilvanian museums, a noticeable rarity of the red (so-called) "Samian" ware (*terra sigillata*). I should add that, in estimating the contents of these museums, allowance must be made for the fact that nearly everything of value now goes to Pesth, where, under the judicious care of Dr. Hampel, a first-class museum has been built up.

#### 6. *Hermannstadt (Nagy Szeben)*

Hermannstadt may be called the capital of the Transilvanian Saxons, and the museum in the Brukenthal Palace is not one to be passed over. It contains a great many (published) inscriptions, and some statuary (*e.g.*, a Hekate), but is poorer in the smaller objects. Of "Samian ware" there were only two pieces; the lamps (one marked FORTIS, of course) were not of much interest. The Bronze and Stone ages are also fairly well represented, and there is a collection of coins not unlike that at Schässburg. The town itself is not a Roman site. The name *Cibinium* given by Bädeler (p. 362-1887 ed.) is purely mediæval, and the



position of *Cedoniae*, which some writers place here, is really unknown. But a road ran in the neighbourhood, by the side of the Aluta or Alt through the hills and the Wallachian plain to the Danube—at least, the Peutinger table and modern maps and scholars agree in saying so, and there were apparently forts along the river till its confluence with the Danube (Domaszewski *Oest. arch. epigr. Mitth.* xiii. 137; Gooss *Chronik* pp. 78, 79, 104). There was also a Roman settlement at Hammersdorf, a hamlet near Hermannstadt.

### 7. *Karlsburg (Gyula Fehérvár.)*

Karlsburg, once Weissenburg “the white city”—a description which still survives in its Hungarian and Roumanian names, Fehérvár and Belgrad—is most noticeable for the fine romanesque cathedral in the citadel. There are several of these churches in Transilvania—one with a well preserved west doorway at Michelsberg near Hermannstadt. But though they burst as a delightful surprise on my ignorance, these churches, are, I believe, well known to students of continental church-architecture, and I need not describe them. The local museum, such as it is, is in the Batthyaneum, inside the citadel. The contents are not numerous, a wax tablet from the gold mines, a large Mithraic stone of an ordinary type, several published inscriptions, a few pieces of pottery, water pipes, &c. Yet the town is on or near the site of Apulum, almost the most important Roman town in Dacia, which has yielded nearly 300 inscriptions and has been thought worthy by Gooss of a special monograph. Carved and worked stones can still be seen about the town, and one or two sarcophagi were pointed out to me, and some coins produced—all, I think, second century copper. But the real centre of the Roman town lay, I believe, a little to the south.

### 8. *Broos (Szaszvaros.)*

The little “Saxon” town of Broos contains an interesting collection, belonging to Frl. v. Torma. Though I was almost a total stranger, this lady received me with the greatest kindness and not only permitted me to look carefully through her museum, but also took me herself to the spot where the objects comprising it were found.

Broos is in the valley of the Maros, and at Tordos, a little lower down the valley, the river has eaten away a portion of high bank and has thus disclosed a large amount of early remains, chiefly pottery, but including stone and bronze weapons. Some of these remains seemed to me to be undoubtedly Roman—notably some few pieces of pottery and an earthenware “fircone” about four inches high (not perfect). The latter is exactly like the larger cones carved in stone, which occur among Roman remains in many places. But the larger part of the objects were, as I thought, undoubtedly pre-Roman, and must, I suppose, be called Dacian. The remarkable thing about them is the similarity which some objects exhibit with objects of an early date, found on the Aegean coast. For instance, some of the urns had face ornaments, and there were some small clay whorls and “idols” which might almost be put beside the little figures and whorls excavated by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik. It is possible that we have here the traces of an early intercourse between Thrace and Dacia, and Fr. v. Torma has attempted, in various published essays, to connect some of the marks on her pottery, through Troy, with the East. I am not an orientalist and cannot pretend to speak on this question. So far as I could make out, objects similar to those found near Broos, had also been discovered in other parts of the same district. At Nagy-Enyed, as I was told, there is a museum with very similar contents, and in the museums at Déva, Klausenburg, and Pesth, I noted several resemblances. Probably, then, we have the relics of a culture which once prevailed throughout western Transylvania, and possibly over a much wider area. Similar “face-urns” have also been found on the lower Vistula, though they are probably later in date. There seems, however, to be no connection between the “face-urns” of Etruria and those of the Maros and Vistula. Tordos I take to have been a burial place, with remains of various dates, which perhaps (though this is conjecture) lie in strata. The annexed illustrations will, I hope, indicate roughly some characteristics of the pottery.

#### 9. *Déva.*

Déva is a small Hungarian and Roumanian town, a little lower down the Maros than Broos. Here there is



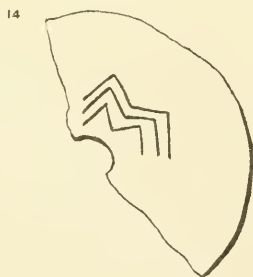
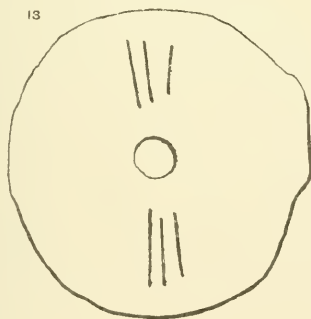
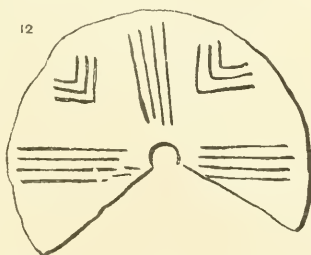
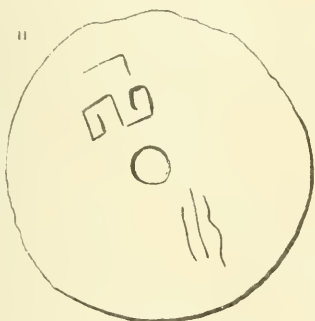
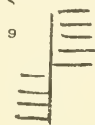
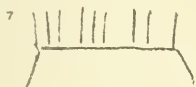
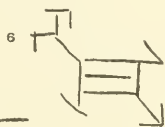
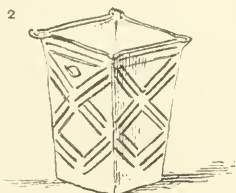
1-3, "IDOLS" OF BAKED CLAY. 4-5, BAKED CLAY FRAGMENTS WITH "IDOLS" IN RELIEF. 6, FACE ORNAMENT SCRATCHED ON ROUGH BLACK POTTERY. 7-8, POTTERY WITH FACE ORNAMENT.

BROOS COLLECTION.

(see p. 10).







1, 2, SMALL VESSELS OF BAKED CLAY. 3-10, ORNAMENTS ON POTTERY.  
11-15, OUTLINES OF WHORLS (11 HALF SIZE, 12-15, QUARTER SIZE).

BROOS COLLECTION.

(see p. 10).



an energetic archæological society and a good museum, under the control of Dr. Gabriel Téglaſ, headmaſter of the "Modern School," to whoſe kindneſs and courteſy my viſit owed its ſucceſs. The muſeum conſiſts moſtly of Roman remains from the neighbourhoody and from Varhely, the ſite of Sarmizegetuſa. Among theſe, the moſt notable are the Mithraic monuments, which literally "ſwarm." Only one inſcription was abſolutely unpubliſhed when I ſaw the muſeum, and that has been duly publiſhed ſince. Beſides the ſtone inſcriptions there were many tiles, a few lamps (OPTATI, MVRRI &c.) a little glaſs, hardly any "Samian" ware, and ſome pretty bronzes. There were alſo ſome tools from mines near, and ſome curious ſtone monuments from Körösbanya, one of the gold mines, which are ſuppoſed to be life-ſize figures of the miners in mining dreſs<sup>1</sup>. There is alſo a ſmall collection of coins belonging to the muſeum. An adequate account of this intereſting muſeum would, however, take up too much ſpace, and there is the leſs need, as Director Téglaſ has informed the world of all diſcoveries, and a collected edition of the inſcriptions is now being prepared for the *Corpus Inſcriptionum Latinarum* by a moſt competent epigraphiſt, Profeſſor A. von Domaszewski.

Déva is not a Roman ſite, but it affords a moſt ſtriking inſtance of the difference between the Roman and mediæval ideas of a proper ſite for a fortress. Overhanging Déva is a ſteep and isolated hill of trachyte, riſing up ſome 500 feet, and crowned by the remains of a mediæval fortress. No ſtronger poſition could apparently be found, but the Romans paſſed it by. Two or three miles lower down the valley, at Veczel (*Micia*), in the flat bottom near the Maros, they built the fort which was obviously intended to bar the paſſage of the valley to approach from the weſt. The fort was on the frontier of Dacia, and, in all probability, the land immediately to the weſt, which was Roman, belonged to Moesia. The camp is well preſerved to this day, though the railway cuts through it and the original ſtone walls have gone (as I underſtood) to build the ſtreets of Déva.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Téglaſ has publiſhed engravings of two. See alſo *Ungariſche Revue* 1884. There is very little ſimilarity between

theſe mines and the remains of Roman mining in England.

This instance may, perhaps, be a warning to those—they are not unknown in England—who are accustomed to select the sites of Roman stations from their own *a priori* ideas of topographical fitness, and are willing, without the slightest support from existing remains, to place Roman camps on Scarborough castle hill or by Chanctonbury Ring on the Sussex downs. To such I commend the case of Déva and Veczel, as shewing conspicuously how the Romans passed by the strong hilltop and built on the flat ground near the water.

#### 10. Klausenburg.

Klausenburg is one of the few "Saxon" towns which have become Magyarized. It was founded in 1178, but the colonists afterwards became Socinians, separated from the "Saxon" body, and in time became merged in the Hungarians.<sup>1</sup> The museum, in the University buildings, was made accessible to me by Prof. Finály and deserves a visit from any antiquarian tourist. There are a good many inscriptions, and a great quantity of smaller objects, lamps (FESTI, CASSI, FORTIS, THALLI, CAMPILI, SEXTI), pottery, and, amongst other things, a bit of Samian ware, inscribed MAXIM (the MA "tied"), fragments of mosaic, and glass. Here in fact, have been gathered nearly all the Roman remains which have been found in North-West Dacia and have not gone to Pesth. The net result of an examination is not unfavourable to the Roman civilisation of the district. In the East, the Roman remains do not prove anything more than a military occupation, and apparently an occupation on no imposing scale. Even the construction of the roads seems to have been below the usual Roman standard. In the North West and South West at Napoca (Klausenburg), Ampulum, and Sarmizegetusa, a richer city life displayed itself, with mosaics, statuary, "Samian" and other good pottery, and the minor ornaments of a fairly refined existence. The difference is something like that in England, between Roman London or Bath and the forts along the two Scotch frontiers. Only it must be remembered that no town in Roman Britain has produced anything like the

<sup>1</sup> The story that householders in Klausenburg can obtain divorce easier than anyone else in Europe, is a story only.

It has, however, found its way into at least one English book on Transilvania.

number of inscriptions which has been yielded by the three Dacian cities named. This, however, is not the place to compare Roman Britain with Roman Dacia, suggestive as such a comparison would be. For the moment, I shall be satisfied if I have made it clear that the comforts of civilization did exist in western Dacia. But how little this means will be apparent to anyone who, after seeing Déva and Klausenburg, goes on to the great museum at Pesth, and compares the ordinary comforts of Dacia with the luxurious furniture of Pannonia, the chased tripods and silver mirrors, and mother-of-pearl dishes and silver bowls which come from Savaria and elsewhere. I have not thought it needful to go into detail about either the western Dacian or the Pesth museums, partly because so much of their contents has been published in books which find their way to England, and partly because my object has been rather to direct ordinary antiquaries to objects of interest than by full descriptions to save them the trouble of visiting the museums themselves. From my own experience, I feel sure that those who may wish to do so will meet with great kindness and courtesy from those to whom they may have to apply.

For the literature of Roman Dacia the most important works are:—

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. iii., edited by Th. Mommsen. Addenda have appeared in the *Ephemeris*, and a supplement is in course of preparation.
2. Hirschfeld *Epigraphische Nachlese* (add. to C.I.L., iii.)
3. Gooss *Chronik der archäologischen Funde Siebenbürgens* (Hermannstadt 1876), articles in the *Archiv für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* ix—xvi., and two “programmes.”
4. Articles in the *Archiv* by Bielz (xi., 454), Müller (xvi., 278) Werner (xix., 1), in the accompanying *Correspondenzblatt*, in the *Oesterreichische Archæologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen*, and in the (Hungarian) reports of the Klausenburg Arch. Society (*Erdélyi Múzeum Egylet*)
5. Tocilescu *Dacia înainte de Romani* (Bucuresei 1880), dealing mainly with pre-Roman Dacia.
6. Jung *Römer und Romanen*, ed. 2. (Innsbruck, 1887).

The older works of Aekner, Neigebaur, &c., are completely superseded by C.I.L. iii., which contains all information up to 1870 as to the history and condition of the Province.

Dr. Lissauer, *Die prähistorischen Denkmäler der Provinz Westpreussens* (Leipzig, 1887), has thrown a good deal of light upon the early civilization of the Vistula valley and incidentally on the relations of the Broos pottery and the stone figures of Podolia.]

## A RARE CIVIL WAR TRACT,<sup>1</sup>

By F. A. HYETT.

I have recently become possessed of a Civil War Tract, relating to the City of Gloucester, of great rarity. It was evidently unknown to Washbourn<sup>2</sup> and Fosbrooke.<sup>3</sup> There is no copy of it in the British Museum or in the Bodleian, nor have I seen one in the more important private libraries in this county, the contents of most of which I have carefully examined. When I first read it, I thought I had obtained a prize indeed—valuable alike to the student of local history and the bibliophile—for not only is it, as far as I know, unique, but it gives an account of a severe engagement in the vicinity of Gloucester, unchronicled elsewhere. But on closer examination I soon came to the conclusion that however precious it may be to the book-collector, it does but throw dust in the eyes of the historian. None the less it is not without a kind of historical interest. Its title is as follows:—

“Exceeding // True and happy Newes from the // City of // Gloucester. // Being a perfect relation of a great // and bloody Battaile, fought before the // said City, Octob. the 11. 1642. // By Captaine Bustone, and Sergeant Major // Berry: sent thither by the Earl of // Essex, against the Lord Grandeson, and // 2000 Cavaliers which had pos-//sessed themselves of the City. // With the exact number of men slaine on both sides. // Attested by severall persons of good fashion // especially one Thomas Loworth, who was // an Eye wisse of the said Battaile. // London, Printed for T. Franklin, Octob. 15. 1642.

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Historical Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Gloucester, August 16th, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Author of the *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, 2 vols., 4to., 1825.

<sup>3</sup> Author of *Abstract of Records and Manuscripts Relating to the County of Gloucester*, 2 vols., 4to, 1807; and of *An Original History of the City of Gloucester*, 4to., 1819.



It is, like nearly all the Civil War Tracts, of the size known as pot. 4to, and like many of them, a poor literary performance. It consists of 4 leaves, unpagged, but signed A 2, A 3. It gives little information beyond that which may be gathered from the title. Its story is as follows:—

“A great army” under Lord Grandison, consisting of about 2000 foot, and 500 or 600 horse entered Gloucester without resistance, and although Lord Grandison prohibited pillage, his soldiers committed depredations on the surrounding district. Whereupon the knights and gentry of the said County, being unable to protect their property, petitioned Lord Essex to send them assistance. In response to this appeal Essex sent 1000 horse and foot and four pieces of ordnance, under Captain Belfore and Sergeant Major Berry. The relief party met with no resistance until they came within five miles of Gloucester, when they were encountered by Lord Grandison, ‘on a comely white steed,’ who had marched out of Gloucester at the head of the greater part of his force. The first cannon shot fired by the Parliamentary forces knocked Lord Grandison’s hat from off his head and made him swear ‘many terrible oaths’ and then the fight began and lasted from two to eight p.m., ‘very hot and furious.’ In fact, ‘the number that was slain in this great conflict were about 50 of the enemy, besides 30 taken prisoners, and of our party about 23. At the length we obtained the victory by God’s assistance, and have strongly fortified the towne, insomuch that there dare not one malignant be seen in the County.”

Those who are conversant with the practices of the Civil War Pamphleteers will not be surprised to hear that the whole of this story is in all probability a fabrication. My grounds for believing it to be so are as follows:—

It is mentioned by no co-temporary historian, nor (to the best of my belief), in any other Civil War Tract or Newspaper. Now, considering the early period of the war at which it is alleged to have occurred (viz., between the skirmish at Powick Bridge<sup>1</sup> and the battle of Edge-Hill),<sup>2</sup> this is the more remarkable, for the nation had not got used to the intelligence of such encounters, and news of every action was eagerly sought for and widely circulated. It must, moreover, have been numerically the

<sup>1</sup> On Sept. 23, 1642.

<sup>2</sup> On Oct. 23, 1642.

most important encounter that had occurred, for the forces engaged were more than double in number those engaged at Powick Bridge.

But what, standing alone, is almost sufficient to impugn its authenticity is that Corbet,<sup>1</sup> in his "Historicall Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester, 1645," makes no mention of it. Now, Corbet, though a fairly reliable historian, is a strong partizan and not given to pass over in silence any incident which would redound to the credit of his party. He mentions the skirmish at Powick Bridge, some twenty-five miles from Gloucester, where 500 of the Parliamentary forces were routed by an inferior number of royalists. Is it credible that the rout of 2000 royalists by 1000 of his own party, almost under the walls of his own city, could have escaped his memory, or have been considered too unimportant for notice?

There is also some internal evidence that the Tract is an invention. The ostentatious parade on its title of the "severall persons of good fashion especially one Thomas Loworth who was an Eye wnesse of the said Battaile," who are called on to attest its truth, must at the outset arouse suspicion. Nor have we to read much further before our suspicions are increased. In the opening sentence the author writes as if narrating what he had heard. "From Gloucester it is credibly reported, and signified by divers letters that the said City [?] is] in a lamentable estate and condition by reason of the Cavaliers having entered therein, &c." But before he has got to the end of the sentence he has changed his position, and is posing as a resident in Gloucester, for he continues, "but yet our hopes was to gather some certain number, and to oppose the said malignants, but before we could bring that notice to any perfection, there appeared within sight of the City a great Army, consisting of about two thousand Foot, &c." It is noticeable, too, that while the writer is very explicit respecting the numbers engaged, as to the locality of the encounter, he maintains a discreet silence.

There is a paragraph in the "Perfect Diurnall" for Oct.

<sup>1</sup> John Corbet was incumbent of St. Mary-de-Crypt, Gloucester, 1640—c. 1646

and Chaplain to Col. Ed. Massey during the siege of that city.



3-10, 1642, which at first sight may appear to tell in favour of the authenticity of the Tract, but which, on examination, tells strongly against it, if indeed it is not the very cause of its appearance. That paragraph is as follows:—"Oct. 4, we had letters from Gloucester declaring that the town, with the whole county, is in great danger of being utterly ruined and destroyed by the malignants and cavaliers, if not speedily prevented; the Lord Grandison, with about 2000 soldiers, having placed themselves at Gloucester and daily made excursions into the country, plundering and spoiling the same, etc." Now the statement that Gloucester was at this time occupied by Lord Grandison is absolutely without corroboration, and must be rejected as untrue. It was either a rumour set on foot by the royalists to inspirit their party at a distance from Gloucester, which had gained credence with the editor of the Parliamentary newspaper, or it originated with the Parliamentarians, and was promulgated by them for some political or strategical purpose. In the former case when found to be untrue, it was desirable that its effects should be counteracted; in the latter, when it had served its object it was necessary that it should be effaced. Hence I believe the publication of the Tract in question. The similarity between the opening sentence of the Tract (which I have quoted) and the paragraph from the "Perfect Diurnall", and the identity in the two of the number of Lord Grandison's forces, strengthens the inference that the former was the sequence of the latter.

It may also be noticed that the skirmish is alleged to have taken place on the evening of Oct. 11, and that the Tract was printed in London on Oct. 15. It is not probable that news should have been carried from Gloucester to London, and printed in so short a time, though perhaps it is not impossible.

Bennett, in his History of Tewkesbury, gives another instance of fictitious news relating to affairs in this part of England. He mentions a tract entitled "True News out of Herefordshire," published 1642, which purported to give an account of an action between the forces of the King and Parliament on Wednesday, Nov. 14, 1642, on the very field on which was fought the great battle of Tewkesbury between the houses of York and Lancaster.

I have never seen this tract, though I have often searched for it.

“In the unhappy times of our civil wars under Charles the First,” says Isaac D’Israeli, “the newspapers and private letters afford specimens of this political contrivance of False Reports of every species. . . . There is no class of political lying which we want for illustration if we consult these records of our civil wars ; there we may trace the whole art in all the nice management of its shades . . . . we may admire that scrupulous correction of a lie which they had told by another which they are telling.” If my contention is right the Tract which is the subject of this paper is a good instance of the truth of D’Israeli’s assertion. As he truly observes “Such reports, if once printed, enter into history, and sadly perplex the honest historian.”

## THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.<sup>1</sup>

By CECIL T. DAVIS.

I have very much pleasure in bringing to the notice of this Society, rubbings of most, if not all, of those ancient Memorial Brasses on which are engraven representations of men, women, or children, and are now existing in Gloucestershire. Rubbings, I take it, possess two very decided charms:—the ease with which they may be made—and their absolute fidelity to the originals whence they are derived, assuming that they are properly rubbed. The actual cost of the rubbings is trifling,—if we except the expense entailed in reaching places so widely scattered as are many of the churches which possess these brasses,—and the *modus operandi* is simple in the extreme. No one doubts the great importance, interest, and value of Monumental Brasses, and I think the remarks of the Rev. W. E. Hadow, Vicar of South Cerney, are very apt:—

“I cannot,” he says, “refrain from pressing the search after the information which these monuments of mediæval art confer, not only upon archæologists, but upon every one who would desire to attain a thorough knowledge of history. The result is well worthy of the trouble, care, and labour involved; for monumental brasses, with comparatively few exceptions, present the only existing portraits we possess of the heroes of ages famed for chivalry and arms, also of worthies no less distinguished though in more peaceful pursuits. Monumental brasses are extremely valuable; the herald, the genealogist, the chronologist, the architect, the artist, the palæographer, and the general antiquary will each and all find much to

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Gloucester, August 16th, 1890.

interest and instruct them in their several branches of knowledge; and they furnish us, not only with well-defined ideas of celebrated persons, but make us acquainted with the manners and customs of their times; while to history they give a body and a substance, by placing before us those things which language, with all its power, is deficient in describing."

It seems a long time to hark back to the contents of a paper which I had the pleasure of reading before the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society on the 12th April, 1882, wherein a promise was made—as far as the limited time and opportunity at my disposal would allow—to gather, collate, and issue a detailed account of the Monumental Brasses which enrich the many interesting churches in this most interesting county.

Only in the month of June this year have I succeeded in completing my descriptions.<sup>1</sup>

It may here be as well to state that I have described those ancient Memorial Brasses alone on which are engraved representations of men, women, and children, with or without accessories, and that mere inscriptions have been omitted.

Many of you are aware that the Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire are eighty-three in number, and are to be found in forty-three churches and one grammar school (Bristol), and, as not infrequently is the case, are irregularly, though widely distributed, the richest spots being Cirencester, Northleach, and Chipping Campden. Now let us note these were the homes of the woolstaplers, who exchanged the famous Cotteswold wool for the hardly less famed "*latten*" plate of Flanders.

Scattered over Gloucestershire from Clifford Chambers in the north to Bristol in the south, from Micheldean in the west to Lechlade in the east, are these memorials. They may be divided into four great divisions:—Ecclesiastical, Military, Judicial, and Civil. But sad to say that, either through neglect or wanton mischief, or downright theft, brasses to a large number have been lost, mutilated or destroyed.

I. *Ecclesiastical*.—Of these six priests remain, and Dame Alice, eldest daughter of John Hampton and Elyn his

<sup>1</sup> The descriptions appeared in the columns of the *Gloucester Journal*.

wife (c. 1510) is habited as a nun. In the cathedrals at Gloucester and Bristol are no bishops nor abbots in garments rich and rare, such as may be found in other cities—though formerly there was at least one in Gloucester Cathedral, but it has disappeared.

The earliest is c. 1460, at Temple Church, Bristol, and represents a priest in processional garments: it is remarkable for being palimpsest. Manning (1848) records that this effigy was loose in the vicarage kitchen.

A priest, c. 1520, at Dowdeswell is similarly attired, with the addition of an almuce or amess. His cope is richly diapered with *fleurs-de-lis*, and on the morse is engraved a *rose en soleil*.

Robert Lond, 1461, St. Peter's, Bristol, and Ralph Parsons, 1478, Cirencester, are wearing the eucharistic vestments and have the chalice and host in their hands.

At Cirencester is a priest (c. 1480) in a cassock: as this is a rarity it is worthy of a more detailed description. The cassock was generally worn as an under-garment, but here the priest is represented in it as his ordinary dress. The cassock was of various colours, and often red. His reaches to the ground, fits tightly to the neck, where it seems to be buckled: the sleeves are close, revealing the tight sleeves of an under-dress at the wrists. His cassock is fastened down the front, with buttons or hooks, not like the modern cassocks, which have a long row of buttons from top to bottom: again, the cassock is not confined by a cincture, and the lower portion is open and turned back in a fashion similar to the gowns of civilians of the period, or the uniform coat tails of a Georgian private, but it is not lined with fur. At Cardynham, Cornwall, is a brass commemorating Thomas Awmarle, rector, *circa* 1400. He is represented with the tonsure, and is vested in a cassock with his anelace by his side, and it is worth while to compare the two cassocks. The one at Cirencester is of the plainest description and no fastening is shown, whilst the skirt of Awmarle's cassock is fastened by pairs of buttons. For these particulars about the Cardynham brass I am indebted to Mr. E. H. W. Dunkin.

William Lawnder, c. 1530, Northleach, is vested in hood, surplice, and cassock.



Alice, the eldest daughter of John and Elyn Hampton, is dressed as a nun. She wears the veil head-dress, a cape over her shoulders, a mantle open in front revealing her gown with tight sleeves, and girt by a loose hip girdle, from which hangs in front a rosary of fourteen beads. Fosbrooke (*Gloucestershire*, i., 375) records that "In Amberley is a large tract of common given to poor housekeepers by the supposed benefaction of Alice Hampton, daughter of John Hampton," and, according to Bigland, "her Will or Deed of Gift is said to be preserved among the Tower Records." "The monastery of Syon was founded by Henry V. in 1414. It was established according to the modified order of St. Saviour and St. Bridget. As the monastery had the manor of Minchinhampton granted it by its founder, it is most probable that Dame Alice Hampton was a member of that society." *Haines*, i., lxxxviii.

II. *Military*.—Fifteen rubbings may be classed under this heading, the earliest being Thomas, fourth Lord Berkeley, 1392, Wotton-under-Edge. This is noteworthy for its collar of mermaids. Mrs. Palliser suggests that the mermaid denoted his maritime jurisdiction. In 5 Henry IV. Thomas was made admiral of the king's fleet. He burnt fifteen sail of French ships in Milford Haven and took the seneschal of France and eight officers of note prisoners. But the seal of Thomas, third Lord Berkeley, has for supporters two mermaids. Sir Morys Russel, 1401, Dyrham, wears armour very similar to that worn by Thomas, fourth Lord Berkeley.

Richard Dixon, 1438, Cirencester, is well known and often cited as a good example of a warrior clothed in the characteristic armour of the fifteenth century. Richard Dixon must have presented a most dazzling appearance when clad in his harness of burnished steel, and especially so when it reflected the bright beams of the sun. In fact, the gallant gentlemen of this period were not a little proud of the glittering splendour of their polished armour.

At Newland, is also a figure in plate armour, c. 1445; his beard is full and his head rests on a helmet of which the vizor is raised. Unfortunately the inscription has, like his legs, disappeared. Of the crest more anon.

William Prelatte, 1462, Cirencester, is a good specimen

for exhibiting the change made in the armour during the twenty-five years which had elapsed since the time of Richard Dixon. The tabard covers nearly all of the kneeling effigy of Philip Mede, 1475, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.

John Tame, 1500, Fairford, is well known in connection with the famous church at Fairford. In the same church are two memorials to his son, Sir Edmond Tame, 1534. It is now the only instance in this county of two brasses to the same person in the same church. His armour is covered by a tabard on which are emblazoned his arms.

At Olveston is Morys Denys and Sir Walter his son, 1505; they wear tabards, but not spurs.

Roger Porter, 1523, Newent, is in the armour of the period.

At Weston-upon-Avon are the brasses of Sir John Greville, 1546, and Sir Edward Greville, 1559, both in armour and wearing tabards.

Hercules Raynsford, 1583, Clifford Chambers, may be described more at length. He is bare-headed, his hair is cut short, and his head rests on his helmet. His moustache and beard are of moderate length. Around his neck and wrists are slight frills. A gorget of plate reaches to the chin, the paldrons have their upright edges scroll-shaped, brassarts of plate, with plain coudières, protect the arms, and a cuirass covers the body. At this period civilians wore trunk-hose; this was also adopted by the men in armour, so we may notice that the skirt of mail (*vide* Sir John Greville's brass at Weston-upon-Avon) has disappeared, and in its stead Hercules Raynsford is wearing trunk-hose. These were large breeches well padded, puffed, and slashed. As the stuffing was not of sufficient firmness to protect the thigh, to the projecting rim of the breastplate or cuirass were hinged *tassets*, which somewhat filled the functions of the *tuiles* so conspicuous in earlier armour. These *tassets* consisted of a series of small plates rivetted together, and may be considered to be the last remnant of the skirt of taces. In this example the plates of the *tassets* are of a rectangular form. Steel armour encases the remainder of the legs.

At Minety is Nicholas Poulett, c. 1620, whose armour calls for no comment.

III. *Judicial*.—In this county are some interesting examples of judicial costume. Sir John Cassy, 1400, Deerhurst, Sir John Juyn or Inyn, 1439, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, Sir William Greville, 1513, Cheltenham, and John Brook, 1522, also at St. Mary Redcliffe, shew the costume well, except that Sir Wm. Greville's brass is so badly worn that the incised lines are hardly discernible.

John Edward, 1461, Rodmarton, is termed "*in lege peritus*," and, in addition to the ordinary civilian attire of the time, he wears a small cap, which Gough notes as like that of the "*Président au Mortier*."

IV. *Civilian*.—As may be expected the majority of the brasses commemorate civilians, and many of them connected with the staple of the county, the far-famed Cotteswold wool. The series ranges over a period lasting from 1396 to 1636, and the ordinary costume of the well-to-do man of the day is well depicted. Noteworthy among them is "*Wilelmus Greuel de Campdene flos mercatorum lanarum tocius Anglie*," whose memorial is worthy of a place of honour. He is the ancestor of the well-known family of the Earls of Warwick. John Fortey, 1458, Northleach, deserves note: here it may be added that some years ago a hole was wantonly knocked through the figure near the right wrist in order to fix a stove!

Time will not allow of a lengthened description of these effigies. Moreover we see from such a collection as this that "fashion has its day"; at one time the gentleman wears ruffs so huge as nearly to conceal his head, at another he is wholly destitute of any covering for his neck. At one time he is so closely shaven that not a vestige of hair is visible on his face, and his hair is closely cropped all over his head; at another, his beard, whiskers, and moustache are full and dense, and the hair of his head reaches his shoulders. Sometimes the shoes are a quarter of a yard longer than his feet; and one might go on indefinitely pointing out the vagaries of fashion to which men, not devoid of intelligence, have submitted; in fact, the changes in man's costume have been indeed great, complete and thorough. But woman throughout all these changes has for centuries kept her flowing gown, though it has been varied in almost every particular: at one time short-waisted, then



long-waisted; bag sleeves, then close-fitting sleeves; short skirts, then long skirts and trains; enormous hoop petticoats, then close-fitting, and so *ad infinitum*.

*Ladies*.—It may seem lacking in courtesy to allude to the ladies' costume after the others. It has been done for the sake of convenience, as on many of the brasses, already mentioned, are represented the wives with their husbands—hand in hand through life they passed and in death are not divided. We find examples of the principal styles of dress, varying from the simple though elegant gown of the fourteenth century to the more ornate types of later days. The head-dresses are noticeable, the butterfly head-dress of the fifteenth century is shown on Margaret Baynham, wife of Thomas Baynham, c. 1485.

Heraldic mantles are worn by a few: *e.g.*, one wife of Philip Mede, 1475; Elizabeth Knevet, 1518, Eastington; Agnes and Elizabeth, wives of Edmond Tame, 1534.

*Eccentric*.—Two of the brasses may be classed under this heading: viz., John Hampton and wife, c. 1510, Minchinhampton, who are in shrouds; and Anne Savage, 1605, Wormington, who is represented in bed.

*Accessories*.—On some of the brasses are fine canopies; groining is shewn over the heads of the Wine-merchant and his wife, c. 1400, Cirencester; John Jay and wife Joan, c. 1480, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol; and John Cooke and his wife Joan, 1544, Crypt Church, Gloucester.

Canopies may be seen, too, on the brasses of—Sir John Cassy, 1400, Deerhurst (the figure of John the Baptist has been stolen); William Grevel, 1401, Chipping Campden; Sir Morys Russel, 1401, Dyrham; Joan Clopton, 1430, Quinton; Richard Dixon, 1438, Cirencester; Robert Page, 1440, Cirencester; Thomas Fortey, 1447, Northleach; John Fortey, 1458, Northleach; John Jay, c. 1480, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol; and Thomas Bushe, 1526, Northleach. In the pediment of this canopy is a rural scene representing a tree under which are three horned sheep with long tails; the sheep in the middle is lying down, the other two are standing and looking towards each other. Above the tree, suspended by a hook, is a shield charged with the arms of the *Merchants of the Staple of Calais*.

*Animals*.—The feet of Thomas Lord Berkeley, 1392, are resting on a lion, also those of Sir John Cassy and

Sir Morys Russel Dyrham. Lady Berkeley, Alice Cassy, wife of Wool-merchant (c. 1400, Northleach), Lady Russel, and Agnes and Joan Prelatte have little pet lap-dogs at their feet. The dog at Deerhurst was evidently a favourite, for under it is engraved its name, "Tirri." The Wool-merchants have one foot resting on a sheep, and another on a woolpack. In the centre of John Taylour's brass, c. 1490, Northleach, is a sheep's head to left standing on a woolpack. The sheep on Thomas Bushe's brass have been already mentioned.

*Merchants' Marks* may be seen on William Grevel (1401), his coat of arms is to be found on the same brass; John Barstaple (1411), Robert Page (1440), Reginald Spycer (1449), John Fortey (1458), Thomas Rowley (1478), John Jay (c. 1480), a Wool merchant (c. 1485, Northleach), John Taylour (1521), a Wool merchant (c. 1510, Lechlade), Edward Halyday (1519), William Hichman (1521), and Thomas Bushe (1526).

*Coats of Arms* appear on several of the brasses; under this heading we may perhaps be permitted to notice the interesting crest at Newland. In the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, vol. vii. part i. are "Notes" on this brass by Sir John Maclean. The crest gives a good representation of an iron miner equipped for his work. Possibly some of those present here this morning may be able to throw light on this, as far as I know, unique crest.

*Inscriptions.*—The breaks in the inscription of Joan Clopton are "pears." Various ornaments are between the words of the marginal inscription of Thomas Fortey and of John Ceysyll, 1493, Tormarton. On the former will be found "two dogs fighting," "hedgehog," "goose," "snail," etc.; on the latter "hare," "bell," "cherries," etc.

The date on Thomas Fortey has formed a stumbling-block to many; the figures "47" afford one of the instances of an early use of Arabic numerals in England being only two years later than the well-known date 1445, on a stone in the interior of the church at Heathfield, Sussex.

The Rev. H. Haines records that the brasses have been "lost at Bishop's Cleeve, Churchdown, Painswick, and St.

John the Baptist, Gloucester.<sup>1</sup> At Churcham is the matrix of a large cross, c. fourteenth century." He also gives in his *Introduction*, page 124, a drawing of the matrix of the fine brass in memory of Sir John de la Rivière, 1350, at Tormarton. This brass consisted of a floriated cross, within the head of which is the knight holding up a model of the church which he had founded; on the stem of the cross appears to have been a helmet, at the base probably an Agnus Dei, and in the angles shields of arms surmounted by helmets and crests.<sup>2</sup> Under Wotton-under-Edge Mr. Haines mentions the matrix of the brass of Rich. de Wootton, c. 1320, "rector kneeling at the foot of a cross. There are but one or two brasses of ecclesiastics of this early date, and it would have been interesting to have seen the brass itself. It exhibited the peculiarity of having a scroll issuing from the hands of the figure, with an inscription of which every letter was separately inlaid with brass."<sup>3</sup> In addition to those mentioned, brasses have also disappeared from Cirencester, Cubberley, Gloucester Cathedral, Minchinhampton, Newland, Northleach, and Quinton.

Our Gloucestershire series is a thoroughly representative one, deeply interesting and instructive. The examples too are varied. We have the knightly effigy of the doughty warrior as well as that of the peaceful citizen; the stoled priest in vestments rich, the uplifted chalice; as also "ye ladye faire" arrayed in the quaint though costly dresses of the olden time; the wealthy woolstapler, ancestor of a noble house; the grave judge in his official robes, and even the miner in his work-a-day homely garb, carrying his mattock—all are included.

The fashion of erecting brasses as memorials to the departed appears to have died out in the seventeenth century, but has now been revived. Haines records that brasses have been placed in the following churches: Bristol, St. Leonard and Nicholas, Mitcheldean, Newent, and Upper Slaughter. In Gloucester Cathedral is a fine specimen in one of the Chapels, and in the same noble edifice is a brass—a fitting memorial to the Rev. H. Haines,

<sup>1</sup> A portion of the one at St. John the Baptist, Gloucester, was found during the recent restoration.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Franks, F.S.A. Proceedings

of the Society of Antiquaries, 2nd Series' vii., 409.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

M.A., whose exhaustive "*Manual*," issued in 1861, is still the standard work on Monumental Brasses. He is represented robed as a priest of the Church of England in cassock, surplice, stole and hood, beneath a canopy, and the following inscription is round the margin:—

HERBERTUS HAINES, A.M., SCHOLÆ HUIUS | CATHEDRALIS PER  
XXIII ANNOS HYPODIDASCALUS, OBIIIT A.D. XIV. KAL. OCT. A.S.  
MDCCCLXXII, ANNOS XLVI NATUS, CUJUS CORPUS IN | CEMETERIO  
JUXTA HANC URBEM SEPULTUM | JACET. HOC MONUMENTUM  
PAUCI EX DISCIPULIS ET AMICIS, BENEFICIORUM AB ILLO ACCEP-  
TORUM MEMORES, PONENDUM CURAVERUNT.

This may be translated thus:—"Herbert Haines, M.A., for twenty-three years second master of (this) Cathedral School, died September 18th, 1872, aged 46 years, whose body lies buried in the cemetery near this city. A few of his pupils and friends, mindful of benefits received from him, have caused this memorial to be erected."

Much might be said of the fascination that a study of these memorials induces. One is brought as it were into contact with the ages when the persons commemorated played their respective parts in the great drama of life. I beg to thank many friends—some alas! are no more—for much valuable help most ungrudgingly given, and especially I wish to offer my acknowledgments to the clergy, without whose kind permission I should have been unable to obtain the many rubbings needed to render this series of Gloucestershire Brasses complete.

## PIGEON HOUSES IN HEREFORDSHIRE AND GOWER.<sup>1</sup>

By ALFRED WATKINS.

There is but little danger that the dwelling houses, churches, and religious houses, which remain to us from a past generation, shall be swept away without a full record being made of their character and use, through the labours of many willing workers.

But in the case of the more humble buildings of which I speak, the same cannot be said. In my own county—Herefordshire—there are still a large number of interesting examples left, but each decade lessens the number, and out of a list of thirty-four demolished pigeon houses which I have compiled, not one has, to my knowledge, been described or illustrated. Of the seventy-four existing examples which I have surveyed (and photographed for the most part) only one, that at Garway, had previously been described.

It was this consideration which induced me to make as complete a survey as possible of the dovecotes of Herefordshire. It is perhaps well to define the class of building I wish to investigate, viz., the substantial tower-like building, the direct descendant of the Norman columbarium, built from the ground for the one chief purpose of housing pigeons for breeding purposes, although in later days they have been built in two stories, the lower part being put to other uses.

The mere loft over stables, or picturesque barrel dovecot on a pole, or cluster of nesting boxes against a wall, I do not include.

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Architectural Section, at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Gloucester, August 15th, 1890.



I have no new light to throw upon the question as to when the English people first kept pigeons in dovecotes; but nothing I have seen tends to disturb the usual opinion that it was the Norman conqueror who first introduced into England the massive pigeon tower which has served as type for so many succeeding generations, and with it the feudal "right of dovecote" which survived until the time of Elizabeth, under which the lords of the manor and rectors alone possessed the right of maintaining a dovecote.

The earliest example in Herefordshire (and probably the finest in England) still stands in capital preservation at the Church Farm, Garway, in the secluded Monnow Valley. This building has been so fully and accurately described and illustrated by the Rev. John Webb in vol. xxxi. of the *Archæologia*, 1845, that there is no need for me to go into full details. It is, like all those of Norman origin, circular, stone built, the top domed over with stone leaving a two feet opening for the pigeons to enter. Mr. Webb assigns its building to the Knights Hospitallers, successors to the Knights Templars, the latter order having founded a preceptory on the site where the pigeon house now stands; and he deciphers an inscription which may still be seen in a half obliterated condition on a tympanum over the doorway to be as follows:—"In the year 1326 brother Richard built this columbarium." Some mason marks—crosses of the two knightly orders, and the word Gilbertus—are inscribed on the stones lining the interior, each one of which is carefully dressed to the interior curve of the building. The walls are three feet ten inches thick and are lined from floor to arch with tiers of nesting holes, 666 in all. Perhaps it may be as well at this point to describe the pigeon holes or nest holes in this building as their construction is similar in dovecotes of all periods. The openings of the holes are about six inches square, and they recede about fourteen inches into the substance of the wall. If the cavity were of the same size throughout its depth, the bird would not have room to sit upon her scanty nest, it therefore enlarges right or left into an L shaped cavity about ten inches in width. The holes are arranged twenty inches apart in rows, each row or tier being ten inches above the one below. An

alighting ledge of stone projects underneath each alternate tier of holes, the intermediate tier of holes being without alighting ledges. I cannot guess at the reason for this, but I find these alternate ledges copied in pigeon houses of many styles for several centuries. Then the nest holes of one tier enlarge to the right hand, the tier above enlarges to the left; this plan of construction seems to be almost invariable in stone and brick buildings; in only one case I found the holes enlarge to both sides of the entrance.

At another Herefordshire preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers—Dinmore—the dovecote stood until about a century ago.

There is but one other instance existing in the county of the domed-over stone roof of castle-building times, and this at a place formerly called Syfervest (there was a family of that name), but now Cowarne Court; the present roof is of the usual conical type, but the broken masonry inside where the springing of the arch commenced is unmistakable.

I shall now briefly glance at the examples which are to be found in that interesting peninsula of Gower, an English-speaking district in the heart of Wales, bristling with castles and ancient camps, and full of interest to the archaeologist. There, at three of the castles, viz.—Oystermouth, Penrice, and Oxwich—are still to be found dovecotes, slightly varied in type, but all circular, stone-built, and without wood-framed roof. Those at Oxwich and Oystermouth are partly demolished, but show signs of the domed roof. At Penrice the dovecote, which stands close outside the outer wall of the castle, is in perfect condition, and of rather unusual type. It is circular—as all early examples are—10 feet inside diameter, walls 4 feet thick, 20 feet high, gradually tapering to an aperture in the top of about 2 feet, and lined throughout with nest holes, each provided with a rough projecting stone as alighting ledge.

Mr. Freeman (Arch. Camb. 1850) pronounces this castle to be “not older than Edwardian times.”

It was my good fortune to identify a fourth, and perhaps more interesting dovecote on this coast. In the sea cliff, close to Port Eynon, a curious structure called

Culver Hole often attracts attention. It consists of a cave or chasm, closed in by means of a massive stone wall, 60 feet high, and 10 feet thick at the base, the wall being pierced with five windows. Inside, a rude stone stairway in the upper part gives access to a large number of pigeon holes lining the wall. Curiously enough, the fact that this structure was built as a pigeon house pure and simple, does not seem to have occurred to a writer in the *Archæologia*, vol. 29, who describes and sketches it, or to any other writer on the district. A rather difficult climb showed me that the holes—some hundreds in number—were nest holes of the true L shape, and by no possibility could they have been intended for any other purpose. The name too—Culver is an old English word for a dove—proves the matter. Local tradition says the place was built by a Mansel of Hen-y-llys, the same family as the builders of Oxwich Castle, which possesses a dovecote. But why should a dovecote be constructed in this lonely and unusual situation? (high tides wash the floor of the cave). This was a puzzle until I remembered that the wild rock dove still inhabits this coast line, that in former times they were far more plentiful, that they nest in the numerous caves and clefts, and that all our domestic pigeons are direct descendants of, and will interbreed with these wild doves (*Columbia Livia*). Here, then, is the inevitable conclusion I arrived at; that in castle-building times, a dovecote was built in the cliff with the evident intention of enticing and perhaps partly domesticating the wild pigeons. With what success will probably be never known.

But to return to Herefordshire. This county possesses no examples or records of castle dovecotes; some of the circular stone ones, however—direct descendants of the Norman patterns—are interesting. At Court House, Richard's Castle is one with three dormer windows in the roof; the walls are three feet eleven inches thick, and it contains 630 nest holes (one of similar design occurs at Kyre Park, Worcestershire). This example, and in fact most of the circular ones, is fitted with a revolving ladder, a contrivance to enable the owner to reach all the nest holes. In the centre of the building an upright beam is fixed on pivots free to revolve; it carries two horizontal arms which in their turn carry an upright or sloping





GARWAY, 1326



RICHARD'S CASTLE.



FRED. WATKINS, PHOTO

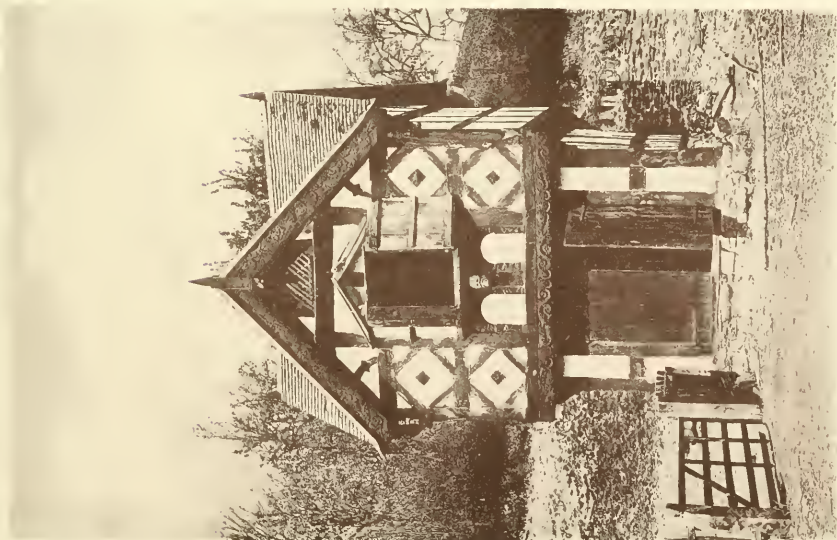
WIGMORE GRANGE,  
DEMOLISHED 1883.



J. HIGGINS & CO. PHOTO

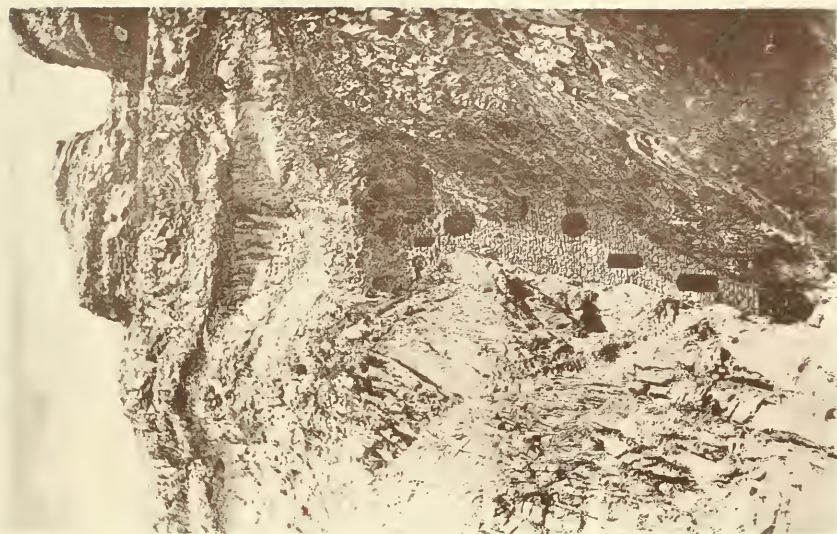
PUTSON, HEREFORD.  
DEMOLISHED 1889.





ALFRED WATKIN, PHOTO.

BUTTAS, 1632.



W. GRIGGS & SONS, COLLOTYPE

CULVER HOLE, GOWER.



ladder, free to sweep round the inner circumference of the building. The revolving ladder was evidently not fitted to the earlier Norman buildings, and was only adopted when timber framed roofs took the place of stone domes for dovecotes. I see no reason, therefore, to suppose that the idea came from the French.

At Wigmore Grange—the Abbey was founded by Hugh de Mortimer in Stephen's reign—the round stone pigeon house was needlessly destroyed in 1888; it was built of dressed stones of uneven size, and among the stones when pulled down were some carved corbels; it was, therefore, probably built when the abbey was demolished at the Reformation. The vane was dated 172—but this was probably not the date of the building.

The dovecote which stood on the site of the ancient palace of the Bishops of Hereford, at Bosbury, was only pulled down in 1884, but I can hear of no description or drawing of it. It seems probable that it existed when Bishop Swinfield's Roll of Household Expenses was written in 1289, for this mentions "pigeons from the columbarium of the manor of Bosbury," and the Rev. John Webb describes it as like the one at Garway (1326).

All but one of the eleven Herefordshire circular pigeon houses are built of stone.

When an alteration took place in the structure of domestic buildings in the direction of timber framing instead of massive stone walls, the change spread to pigeon houses, and square buildings became the rule; for timber work does not lend itself to circular forms. The square shape is in the majority in Herefordshire, and forty-one still exist. Very picturesque some of them are, especially when the roof is four gabled, and the surmounting wooden lantern through which the pigeons enter reproduces the same form, as at the Moor Farm, Hereford. The date of this particular style is given at Luntley, 1675; curiously enough the house is dated one year later, and an outbarn, 1672. This is the second instance I have found in which a dovecote was built before the house; for at Bromtrees Hall the octagonal pigeon house is dated 1721, and on the leaden water pipe heads against the house 1723 is cast.

Most curious of all is the richly carved and ornamented



square timber built example at Buttas, or Butt House, King's Pyon, built by George and Elizabeth Karver, in 1632. Local tradition says that the middle chamber (there are three stories) was a falconry, and the structure of the building seems to bear this out. The date and initials are carved in raised letters in panels on the N. side.

In many of the square pigeon houses the structure is of timber (oak framing), and the walls are filled in with "wattle and daub," brick being often substituted at a later date. The nest holes are continuous tiers of boxes formed of oak strips and boards, the perpendicular divisions between the boxes are not at right angles to the wall, but set at a considerable angle, in order to give the same accommodation for the length of the sitting bird that the L shape of the nest holes in brick or stone affords.

A pigeon house of this type was pulled down in 1889 at Putson—a suburb of Hereford; the roof was single span.

Pigeon houses were usually close to the house, and sometimes in the court yard "because the master of the family may keep in awe those who go in or come out" as the Sportsman's Dictionary (1725) remarks.

This delightful old book has a good deal to say on the matter, and as a precaution against the encroachments of rats, describes how tin plates should be fastened at a certain height at the outward angles of a square pigeon house, "so that when the rats come to them and cannot catch hold of them, they may fall upon the iron spikes which are usually fixed at the bottom, or the place you foresee they may fall." At the square stone pigeon house at the Dairy Farm, Bollitree, these plates are fixed fifteen feet up. They are like the angle plates on a packing case. The iron spikes I have not seen. Rats have always been a source of danger to pigeons, and seem able to climb up the walls and gain entrance at the top. A number of Herefordshire dovecotes are provided with a projecting string course on the outside, which baffles the climbing rats.

Many of the later square pigeon houses are brick built, as the handsome example at Eardisland, where the walls run up outside the eaves, the roof being four gabled; the



vane on the four gabled lantern is in the shape of a fish, for a good trout stream—the Arrow—flows at the foot of the building.

The great diversity of vanes on these buildings is an interesting feature, and many of them are dated. The following are instances: Dragon, square shield with coat of arms, claw-shaped, double-headed eagle (arms of family), fox, and serpentine claw. The common weather cock only occurs in two instances, and the modern arrow I have not noticed at all. A ball on a pole is a frequent terminal to the lantern. At Foxley is an hexagonal pigeon house, the only example in the county.

Octagonal is the most modern shape for pigeon houses, although the earliest example—at Hellens—is dated 1641 in large stone letters on the brickwork, together with the initials  $F^W_M$  for Ffoulkes and Margaret Walwyn; curiously enough the vane bears another date, E W 1753. The octagonal pigeon houses, of which there are twenty-one instances in Herefordshire, are all—save one stone example—built of brick, and fitted again with the revolving ladder, which being quite useless in a square building was never found in it. The nest holes are, as in the circular buildings, formed in the solid substance of the wall. The wall thickness is 2 feet to 2 feet 2 inches, instead of the 3 feet 10 inches of the early examples of castle building times; in fact, I have found that the thickness of wall is a rough criterion of the age of a pigeon house.

Most pigeon houses of later days are fitted up with an inside trap in the apex of the roof, which is worked by means of a hanging cord, and enables the owner to catch the birds to replenish his larder. The large pigeon houses have always been studied from the food point of view, and members of the pigeon fancy never seem to use them. Even in the oldest English book on fancy pigeons—Moore's Columbarium, 1735—it is the "loft" and not the "house" which is always referred to.

It was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the bulk of existing pigeon houses seem to have been built, and the custom suddenly stopped in the beginning of the present century, for none appear to have been built since about 1810. "Mangel Wurzels killed them," says

Chancellor Ferguson, and there is no doubt that with the general introduction of the system of winter feeding cattle, and the consequent abundant supply of fresh meat during that season, the demand for pigeons as food was greatly limited.

In our forefathers' time, when salted meat was the staple for the winter, it is no wonder that the roomy pigeon house with accommodation for at least 500 couples was considered an indispensable adjunct to the larder at a country house.

## HEREFORDSHIRE PIGEON HOUSES.

A Survey made in 1888-89 by ALFRED WATKINS, Hereford.

## ROUND PIGEON HOUSES—STONE WALLS.

Locality	Inside diameter	Wall thickness	Nest holes	Lantern	Revolving ladder	Remarks
Cowarne Court	18'	3'-9"	To ground, ledges each alternate tier Upper loft only	None	None	Has evidently been domed over, prob- ably late Norman
Sufton (Old)				Octagonal	No.	<i>Vane</i> —A double-headed eagle IM 1764; structure (stone, new brick faced) much older
Richard's Castle (Court House) Garway	16' 17'-3"	3'-11" 3'-10"	630 To ground 666	3 gabled None.	Yes None	3 dormer windows in roof, only in- stance in county Dated 1326, in perfect order, top domed over, finest example in Eng- land (see <i>Archæologia</i> , vol. 31, 1845)
Tarrington (Aldersend)	16'	2'-9"	576	Round	Upright one and trap at top	String course outside to baffle rats, irregular holes, bottle shape
Colwall (Barton Court)	15'	3'-1"	To ground	None	No	No traces of arched roof, ledges to each alternate course of nest holes
Holme Lacy (Home Farm)	15'		Separate wooden ones in upper loft	Fine one with pro- jecting gallery and vane	A light one	Design quite different to others, probably taken from French ex- amples.
Stoke Prior (Bury House)	13'-6"	3'	To ground	Square	No	Rudely built, alighting ledges to each tier of holes
Netherwood (Bromyard)		2'-9"	To ground	Square	Yes	
Stocktonbury	14'	2'-9"	To ground	Octagon	Yes	Four lancet windows in walls, vane E B 1759

## ROUND PIGEON HOUSE—BRICK WALLS.

Locality	Inside diameter	Wall thickness	Nest Holes	Lantern	Revolving ladder	Remarks
Showle Court	17'	2'—2"	To ground	Round	None	Brick alighting ledges

## SQUARE PIGEON HOUSES—STONE WALLS.

Locality	Outside size	Roof	Nest holes	Lantern	Vane	Remarks
Kings Caple Court (Rocks Place Much Marcle)	15'	Conical	Upper loft only	Square	Claw shape	Upper part built of brick, now used as a silo
Orcop (Pigeon House Farm)	12'	Single span	Upper loft	Demolished	None	Upper part built of brick
Webton	14'	Single span	Upper loft	Square	None	Cellar underneath, inscription 1747
Kimbolton (Bach Farm)	16'	Four gables	850	Square	Gone	Two outside string courses. Three square headed windows. Date of old house 1631
Middleton (Nurton Court)	20', 2'—8" thick	Single span		Square	Serpentine claw	
Middleton (Moor Abbey)	16'	4 gabled	Upper loft	Square	No	Only part of walls left; upper part was brick and timber
Eaton Bishop (Green Court)	14'	Demolished	To ground			
Wootton Leysters						Modern
Alton Court (Ross)	16'	Single span	Upper loft	Square	No	Plates of sheet iron are bent round outside angles of walls 18ft. up, to keep rats from climbing
Boilree Castle	9'	Conical	Upper loft	Octagon	No	Three pointed lancet windows, probably not originally a pigeon house
Boilree (Dairy Farm)	11'—9'	Conical	Upper loft	Rectangular	Plain flag	walls only 18" thick
Eccleswell Court	14'—14'	Conical	640 in wooden upper loft	Plain		

## SQUARE PIGEON HOUSES—TIMBER FRAMED WALLS.

Locality.	Outside size.	Roof.	Nest holes.	Lantern.	Vane.	Remarks.
Butt house (King's Pyon)	11' by 11'	4 gabled	In loft only	None	None	Richly carved, middle chamber over- hangs, inscription GE 1632
Byford Court	18' by 18"	Conical	In loft only	With lead OG Top	None	Same date evidently as Luntley (1673)
Hereford (Moor Farm)	12' 6" by 12' 6"	4 gabled	In loft	4 gabled	None	Dated 1673, barge boards carved
Luntley Court		4 gabled	To ground	4 gabled	A fox	
Lugwardine	11' 3" by 11' 3"	Conical	To ground	Square	None	
Pontrilas Court	17' by 17'	Conical	Upper loft	Square	Ball top	Plaster coving under eaves
Bidney	14' by 14'	Single span	Gone	Square	None	Timbers are notched to form a very neat ornament
King's Pyon (White House)	14' 3" by 14' 3"	Conical	500 in upper loft	Square	None	Lower part stone built
Mansell Lacy	9' by 9'	4 gabled	Gone	None	None	In garden of house with nest holes in house front. Smallest one seen
Putley Court	10' by 10'	4 gabled	Gone, upper loft only	Octagon	Ball top	On four posts, all wood built
Barton Court (Pembridge)	11' by 11'	Single span	Upper loft	Square	None	Lower part stone built, entrance for pigeons in gable
Lawton's Hope (Canon Pyon)	14' by 14'	Single span	To ground	Square	None	A large stone raised on wood blocks in middle of floor
Ashton (Leominster)	18' by 20"	Single span hipped	Upper loft	Octagonal lead top	Ball top	All wood framed and board said to have been moved bodily from Ber- rington

## SQUARE PIGEON HOUSES—BRICK WALLS.

Locality	Outside size	Roof	Nest holes	Lantern	Vane	Remarks
Eardisland (Porch House)	20' by 20', 2' 6" thick	4 gabled	Upper loft	4 gabled	A fish	Walls run up outside gables, lower room has windows
Bosbury House (The Razes)	15' by 15"	Single span	Close to ground	Square	None	
Little Tarrington	15 by 15	Conical	Wooden in upper loft	Square	None	
The Haywood (near Hereford)	16 by 16	Conical	To ground	Square	Serpentine claw	Vane dated T.D. 1690, an outside string course against rats
Much Marcle (Vicarage)	16 by 16	Conical	Gone	Square	Yes	Altered and added to stables
Madley (Fields Place)	20 by 20	Conical	Upper loft	Square	A fox	A granary below
Canon Bridge House	11 by 11	Conical	To ground	Square	A cock	Brick string course half way up
Little Dilwyn	13' 9" by 13' 9"	Conical	Upper loft	Square	Yes: bears a de-faced coat of arms	Walls 1 ft. 10in.
Eardisley Park	20 by 20	Conical	Upper loft	Square	No	
Hoarwithy (Mill)	12 by 12	Conical	Upper loft	Square lead top	Ball top	A tall building
Wormbridge Court	13 by 13	Conical	Upper loft	Square	No	Upper loft level with garden, nest holes pointed tops
Stoke Prior (Great House)	17' 6" by 17' 6" 2 ft. walls	Conical	Upper loft	Square	No	Date about 1830
Drayton (Brimfield)	11 by 11	4 gabled	To ground	Square		Upper part of wood, entrance in gable
Bollingham (Eardisley)	9 by 9	Single span	Upper loft wood boxes	None		Now converted into a cottage
Ledbury (Mr. Biddulph's Lodge)	11 by 14					

## HEXAGON PIGEON HOUSE—BRICK WALLS.

Locality	Outside size	Roof	Nest Holes	Lantern	Vane	Remarks
Foxley	22 ft. wide, 35 ft. high	Conical	200 in upper loft	Hexagon	No; ball on pole	Three chambers: lower one, ice house, entrance for pigeons under eaves. Only brick building remaining of the old mansion



OCTAGON PIGEON HOUSE—STONE WALLS.

Locality.	Sides.	Revolving ladder	Nest holes.	Lantern.	Vane.	Remarks.
Castle End (The Lea)	5—6	Remains of one in upper loft	180 upper story	Gone		Corners with dressed stone blocks, roof falling into bad repair

OCTAGON PIGEON HOUSES—BRICK WALLS.

Locality.	Sides.	Revolving ladder	Nest holes	Lantern	Vane	Remarks.
Whitwick (Cowarne)	13—4	A complete diagonal one, 2 tiers	432 to ground	Octagon, bad repair	No	Ice cellar beneath, walls 2ft. thick, Trap to close top.
Weston Beggard (Pigeon House Farm)	9—3	Yes	To ground	Octagon	No	Panelled sides, with ◇ in blue brick
Dilwyn	9—10	Yes	To ground	None	Dragon	Entrances under gables
Wellington (Stock Farm)	7—9	Yes, Diagonal 2 tiers	To ground	Octagon	Hollow, copper ball and pole	A circular mass of brickwork, with plaster coving at base of ladder; nesting holes at base of ladder; plaster coving under eaves, ◇ on sides in blue brick
Credenhill Court	6—9	Yes	To ground	Square	Ball and pole	Same period as the following
Old Weir (Sugwas)	7—0	No	Upper loft 627	Octagon	Yes	Walls 2ft. 2in. thick dated
Bodenham	8—8 22ft. to eaves	Yes, to ground		Octagon	No	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> E 1 1 1717 </div>
Burghill Vicarage (The old Manor House)				Octagon with lead domed top		
Burghill Court (the new Manor House)	8—0		To ground	Decorative with lead O G top		In deer park
Staunton Park						

OCTAGON PIGEON HOUSES—BRICK WALLS—(*Continued*)

Locality	Sides.	Revolving ladder	Nest holes	Lantern	Vane	Remarks
Bromtrees Hall (Bishops Froome).	7-0 2 ft. thick	one each side.	To ground	Octagonal lead top	Claw	On vane E. S. 1721. Date on lead waterpipes' heads on the house is 1723
Canon Froome Court	7-4			Octagonal lead top	Yes, a cock	
Hermitage Farm, Burghill			Upper loft	Lately restored	No	3 storeys
Poston Lodge, Peterchurch	8-6	No	To ground	Plain	Ball on pole	Walls plastered outside
Tiberton Court	20 ft. dia.		Originally to ground	Large octagon	Ball on pole	
Eywood, Kingston	8-9 2 ft. thick	No	None left upper story	Octagon	Flag with date	Date in large plaster letters on walls
Newport House (Ameley)						W
Hellens (Much Marcle)						F.M. 1641. Date on vane 1753
						E.W. A middle floor supported by post in centre with joists radiating
Bishopstone (Hill Court, Ross)	6-0		To ground	Square	No	

## 75 PIGEON HOUSES.

## PIGEON LOFTS WITH LANTERNS PROJECTING ABOVE MAIN BUILDINGS.

Locality	Remarks
Marley Court	Vane a bow
Belmont Farm	Square stone with lantern and vane
The Moor, Hay	
Middlewood, Clifford	Over entrance to yard
Mansell Lacy Court	Over an aviary built of pillars from Hereford Old Town Hall
Holmer Park	Wooden loft over farm buildings with vane
Chilstone, Madley	

## PIGEON HOUSES NOW PULLED DOWN.

Locality.	Remarks, and when demolished.
ROUND STONE.	
Wisteston Court Marden	Lined with brick, 1872
Old Court, Bosbury	Similar to one at Garway, mentioned in Swinfield MSS. of 1289, pulled down about 1884
Stoke Edith (Home Farm)	10 years
Pigeon House Farm, Ross	50 years
Amberley Court	About 1872
Dendale	A century ago
Tillington Court	1888, date in vane 172—Photographed 1878
Dinmore Manor House (Knights Hospitaliers)	
Wigmore Grange	
Eardisland	
SQUARE TIMBER FRAMED.	
Litley	Conical roof 30 years
Livers Ocle	5 years
Preston Wynne	1887
Norton Canon	
Putson	16ft. square, single span roof, brick lantern like a chimney, wooden boxes to floor, photographed, 1889
Lower Hannish, Kimbolton	
Lower Bullingham Farm	
Noakes Court	30 years
Stretford Court	20 years
Upper Wintercott	20 years
Upper Maund Common	14 years
SQUARE STONE.	
Rowden Abbey	Inscribed "Anthony Rowden, Gent 16—," —30 years
Rudhall, Ross	15 years

## PIGEON HOUSES NOW PULLED DOWN(—Continued.)

Locality.	Remarks, and when demolished.
Breinton, Pigeon House Farm Clehonger Court Newtown Farm, Hereford	Converted into a Farm House 15 years 25 years
Letton Court, (Old House) Wormsley Grange Underwood, Ledbury Pigeon House Farm, Marstow Pigeon House Farm, Westhope Hill Bunshill Kendrechurch Pigeon House Farm, Letton	Near the rail is a tump, called "Pigeon House Tump."
The Upper Hyde, Leominster	

## PIGEON HOUSES IN GOWER, ROUND—STONE WALLS.

Locality	Inside diameter	Wall thickness	Nest holes	Remarks
Oystermouth Castle	13'	2'—10"	About 14" deep, alighting ledges to each tier	Three parts demolished, signs of domed roof, height 8'—6" to string course
Penrice Castle	10'	4'—0"	Openings 7" by 8", rude alighting stones	About 20' high, rather conical in shape
Oxwich Castle "Culver Hole," Port Eynon	13'	3'—9" 10' at base, 2' at top	No alighting ledges Lining upper part of wall and inside of window openings, no alighting ledges	Roof and one third of walls demolished This is a cave in the sea cliff closed in by a massive wall 60' high, pierced with five windows

## BELLS, THEIR ORIGIN, USES, AND INSCRIPTIONS.<sup>1</sup>

By J. J. DOHERTY.

The origin of Bells must be sought for in the records of Egypt. Recent discoveries have made it clear that Bells were known to the Assyrians, Etruscans and Chinese.<sup>2</sup> They were used in Hindoo Temples to frighten away evil spirits, long before they were known in Europe. The first mention we have of Bells, however, occurs in the Old Testament; and we read that little bells of purest gold, ornamented the robes of Aaron when engaged in his sacerdotal office.<sup>3</sup> The ancient Greeks and Romans were evidently acquainted with bells, or their prototypes, and very probably derived their knowledge of them from the Egyptians. At Athens the priests of Proserpine employed them when inviting the people to the sacrifices. The ringing of bells during eclipses is recorded by Juvenal. Pliny<sup>4</sup> says that bells were used long before his time, and were called *Tintinnabula*; Strabo tells us that market time was announced by their sound. The Romans announced the hour of bathing by *Tintinnabulum*. Suetonius informs us that Augustus caused one to be hung before the temple of Jupiter.<sup>5</sup> The feast of Osiris is known to have been announced by bells. Aeschylus and Euripides tell us that the Greek warriors had small bells concealed within the hollow of their shields, and that when the captains went their rounds of the camp at night, each soldier was required to ring his bell in order to show that he was on the alert, and watchful at his post. In triumphant entries of con-

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, April 17th, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Layard discovered several small bronze bells in the palace of Nimroud.

They contained ten parts of copper to one of tin.

<sup>3</sup> Exodus xxviii, 33-35.

<sup>4</sup> C. Plin. Hist. Natur., i, 36, c. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Vide Suetonius in August. c. 91.

querors, bells were hung on the chariots; and Diodorus Siculus informs us that they were attached to the car which conveyed the body of Alexander from Babylon to Egypt. Plutarch says that when the city of Xanthus was besieged the inhabitants tried to escape by swimming and diving through the river, but a snare was laid for them, by nets with small bells attached, being spread across the stream under the water, and thus by coming in contact with those artfully contrived nets, the bells jingled, and so led to their capture. The Kings of Persia, when administering justice to their subjects, had a bronze bell suspended over their heads to which a chain was fixed: every time the bell tolled the officers in attendance introduced to the presence of the King, those who had any complaints to make, or who sought redress at his hands.

Bells have been called by various names. First, we have *Tintinnabulum*, a small bell so called from its tinkling sound. Second, *Petasis*, from its resemblance to a broad-brimmed hat. The Greeks and Romans are said to have used this particular bell. Third, *Codon*, from the Greek signifying the open mouth of a trumpet. Fourth, *Nola*, which name is derived from the city where church bells were first used in Europe; and lastly, *Campana*, from *Campania* in Italy, the district in which *Nola* is situated, now known as *Terra di Lavoro*. The shape of bells probably originated in cymbals, or basins; and, doubtless, in successive ages their shape was gradually altered.

From what has been said above, it is evident that the use of bells implied a high degree of civilization, and is closely interwoven with the civil and religious history of Europe. It is conjectured that ancient bells were struck from the outside by a wooden hammer, similar to the way in which gongs are sounded. After Constantine's time monastic communities used to signify the hours of prayer by blowing a trumpet or by rapping with a hammer at the cells of the monks. For a long time the Eastern Church employed clappers instead of bells, as the latter according to Kraus were not introduced till the ninth century. So far for our knowledge of bells among the ancients.

In Europe bells were not known until about A.D. 400, when Paulinus, Bishop of *Nola*, in *Campania*, is said



to have cast the first bells for God's service. Hence it seems that they derive their Latin name *Campana*. St. Jerome, a contemporary of Paulinus, also mentions a bell. Campania must have been intimately connected with Church bells, as their Latin name implies. Speaking of bell-founders reminds me of a very remarkable man who lived in the early part of the sixteenth century. In Bowen's MS. collection for Shropshire, among Gough's Topographical books in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is the following extract from the Register of Thos. Botelar, Vicar of Wenlock, Temp. Henry VIII., Ed. VI., Mary and Elizabeth. "1546. May 26. buried out of two tenements in Mardfold Street, near St. Owens Well, Sir William Corvehill priest of the Service of O. Lady in this Church &c. He was well skilled in geometry, not by speculation, but by experience. Could make organs, clocks, and chimes: in kerving in masonry, and silk weaving and painting: and could make all instruments of music, and was a very patient and gud man, borne in this borowe, and sometyne monk in the monastery, &c. All this country had a great loss of Sir Wm. Corvehill, for he was a good bell founder and maker of frames."<sup>1</sup>

Old bells are remarkable for their melodious sound. Various reasons are given for this tunefulness. One author on bells ascribes their superiority to the following: First, to the larger weight of metal than is given now to a bell of the same note. Second, to a better admixture of metals. Third, in the method then adopted of fusing the metals, viz., by a wood fire, which not being so hot did not sublimate the tin. Good bell metal according to one author should consist of copper and tin, in the proportions of one of tin to three of copper.

Hand-bells seem to have been first used in the Western Church; and some examples are still extant, and belong, it is believed to the sixth century. They are made of thin plates of hammered iron, and are four-sided, fastened with rivets, and bronzed. A bell known as the *Clog-an-eadhachta-Phatraic*, or "the bell of Patricks will" is preserved at Belfast in a shrine of brass, enriched with gems, and with gold and silver filagree, and made between the years 1091 and 1105. It is said to have belonged to

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Lukis.

St. Patrick, and is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster as early as the year 552; it is six inches high, five inches broad, and four inches deep. Some of the Scotch bells are of a primitive type, and are described and figured in the Illustrated Catalogue of the Archæological Museum of Edinburgh (1886). The bell of St. Gall, an Irish missionary, who died about 646, is still shewn in the Monastery of the city which bears his name in Switzerland.

Venerable Bede, the great ecclesiastical historian and Saxon chronicler, tells us of bells being used in a church about year A.D. 680.<sup>1</sup> An abbot of Croyland started the ringing of a peal of five bells in or about the year, 1000.<sup>2</sup>

Pope Sabinian in 604 first ordered that the hours of the day should be proclaimed by striking the bell, in order that the people might attend to the *horæ canonicae*, the hours set apart for the Divine Office. King Clothair, in the year 610, besieged Sens, when Lupus Bishop of Orleans, ordered the bells of St. Stephen's to be rung. The sound so terrified Clothair that he relinquished the siege.<sup>3</sup>

Bell founding like many other great and noble pursuits was carried on in the monasteries in early times. It will be remembered that St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury was a skilled worker in iron and brass.<sup>4</sup> Amongst mediæval bell founders the following names are found on old bells, viz: John of Gloster, Sandre of Gloster, Wm. Henshawe, John Adam, John Barbur, Thos. de Lenne, Jno. Godynge de Lenne, Thos. Darby, Wm. Revel, Wm. Schef. There are many others whose initials and localities have proved an enigma to anti-quaries. Michael de Wymbis was another old founder, the 2nd and 3rd bells at Bradenham, Bucks are<sup>5</sup> inscribed with his name. He lived in the latter part of the thirteenth century, and his foundry was, we believe, in London. Bell founders in old days were important persons, and had their seals and crests like other great people. One of these

<sup>1</sup> Bede Hist. Eccl. lib. 4, c. 23.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1109. Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland, tells us that the first abbot of Croyland gave six bells to that Monastery, i.e. two great ones which he named Bartholomew and Beladine, two of middling size called Tuketulum and Beterine, two small ones denominated Pega and Bega; he also caused the great bell to be made

called Gudla which was tuned to the other bells and produced admirable harmony not to be equalled in England.

<sup>3</sup> Vincent in Spec. Hist. i, 23, c. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Dunstan on the re-consecration of Abingdon Abbey, presented the Abbey with its two first bells, made by himself and Ethelwold, its new Abbot.

seals was found in the Thames some years ago, the date of which is assigned to about the year 1330. Upon it are emblems of the founder's craft, viz., a laver pot or ewer, above that a bell, and around this legend, S. Sandre, Gloucester. A learned author on bells notices that the second bell of Gloucester Cathedral bears this inscription "Sancte Petre, ora pro nobis" and the initials J. S. which he surmises refer to Sanders just mentioned. This bell is said to belong to the fourteenth century (1350).

The Blessing or baptism of bells is an ancient and interesting ceremony. The bells about to be blessed are placed in a convenient position in the church. The Miserere and other psalms are recited or sung, after which the Bishop washes the bells within and without with a linen cloth previously dipped in Holy Water, the choir in the meantime singing the 145th, 146th and following psalms; the bells are then anointed with Holy Oil, the choir chanting the Antiphon "*Vox Domino super aquas multas,*" together with the 28th psalm, after which the bells are again anointed exteriorly in the form of a cross seven times, and then at four equal intervals with the "*oil of Chrism,*" the "*Oleum Infirmorum*" being used prior to this. Incense is then put in the thurible and placed under the bells. The Antiphon "*Deus in Sancto via tua,*" &c. is sung, and certain prayers having been said, the Deacon sings a portion of the Gospel according to St. Luke (ch. x). The Bishop makes the sign of the cross on the bells, which ends the ceremony.

A curious antithesis to the above occurred at Marlborough about forty or fifty years ago. One of the old bells having been recast, it was thought fit by the churchwardens, bell-ringers, etc. to baptize it, or at least to celebrate the event, by the nearest approach to that ceremony. Before the bell was hoisted up to its home in the belfry, it was filled with beer, which was ladled out to the surrounding bucolics. Whether the bell was hoisted into position on that auspicious day, history does not say. But those somewhat profane days are past, and a more decorous ritual is accorded to the introduction of bells into tower or belfry.

In days of old to deprive a town of its bells was a

sign of degradation. Henry V. removed a bell from Calais, which is still said to be hung in a steeple in his native town, Monmouth. The ringing of bells upon a person's coming into a town, was anciently a sign of dominion, and often stipulated by Charter. *The Mot Bell* used to be rung to assemble the people in the Burgh-Mote. The office of Bellman, whose duty it was to prevent fires and felonies, was not usual in some of our chief cities till the fifteenth century. A similar office was instituted in Rome by Augustus.<sup>1</sup>

Church towers were not only places in which bells were hung, but also the parochial fortresses, where the parishioners resorted in times of danger. (Sir C. Hoare, Whitaker and Mitchinson). When Cromwell appeared before Cork, whose inhabitants adhered to the royal cause, he ordered all the church bells to be taken down and converted into artillery. The clergy and citizens of course remonstrated with the stern Cromwell, who, in spite of his rigid puritanism was pleased to make a grim joke. He simply replied "that since gunpowder was invented by a priest, he thought the best use for the bells would be to make 'canons' of them."

The use of the alarm bell has been for centuries common to continental cities. We are all familiar with the ringing of the "Tocsin" during troublous times. We may recall the following beautiful lines regarding the alarum bell from Edgar Poe's poem on Bells:—

"Hear the loud alarum-bells!  
Brazen bells!  
What a tale of terror now their turbulency tells!  
In the startled ear of night.  
How they scream out their affright!  
Too much horrified to speak,  
They can only shriek, shriek,  
Out of tune."

What a vivid picture these verses convey of that terrible signal of civil war at the great French Revolution, the horrors of which defy description. The great bell of St. Mark's, Venice, was used for a similar purpose. "Sound your trumpets, and we will ring our bells," was the defiant

<sup>1</sup> The pre-Reformation bellmen of London as they made their rounds proclaimed the following: "Take care of your fire

and candle, be charitable to the poor, and pray for the dead."



reply of the Chief Magistrate of the Florentine Republic to a German Emperor. We all remember, too, the history of the famous Roland of Ghent, whose ominous boom often summoned its citizens to arms. We can imagine how the people came rushing hither and thither, demanding from each other in excited tones the cause of its awful tolling; until the towering form of Jacques van Artevelde, clad in armour, appears among the turbulent crowd, to address them, and lead them forth to repel some sudden attack of the enemy. This old bell has indeed played its part in the history of Flanders, and its name, Roland, is doubtless taken from the brave follower of Charlemagne. Around this old bell the following haughty legend was inscribed:—

“I am Roland,  
When I toll, it is fire;  
When I thunder, it is victory.”

Its war note, which many a time rang out “in the startled ear of night” was at last silenced for ever. Charles the Fifth commanded it to be unhung and destroyed when he subdued the doughty and warlike citizens of Ghent.

The Curfew that “tolls the knell of parting day” is still kept up in many old towns of England, though the obligation it was meant to enforce has long since passed away. We must not forget the “passing bell” which in times of yore was tolled to remind the passer by that a soul was about to depart for another world, and its deep solemn tone was a warning to him or her that a prayer of propitiation should be offered up for the person in the hour of death.<sup>1</sup> It is now used as a gracious tribute to a departed friend or neighbour. The custom of muffling bells may have been first introduced out of regard to the nerves of the expiring hearer, houses formerly being, as a rule, in close proximity to churches—especially monastic churches, and so this custom came to be looked upon as a mark of respect to deceased friends and others. A story is told of a sexton of Lambourne church, Berkshire, who was ringing the passing bell as some neighbour was

<sup>1</sup> Ven Bede mentions a proverb which was common in his time anent the “passing bell:”

“When the bell begins to toll,  
Lord, have mercy on the soul.”  
An old English poet, Heywood, alludes

to it as follows:

“Come list; hark the bell doth towle  
For some, but now departing, soul.”  
Dr. Zouch calls it the “soul bell,” and  
Donne says “Prayers ascend to Heaven  
in troops, at a good man’s passing bell.”

going by; the latter went into the church to interrogate the sexton as to the ringing of the bell. "Who is dead?", queried the inquisitive neighbour. "Oh! no one is dead," asked the sexton, "its only Jack Smith going to be buried."

I may add that the large bell of St. Paul's Cathedral is only tolled at the death of a member of the Royal family, and the Dean of St. Paul's. Truly bells have had many avocations and have largely shared in the sorrows and joys of mankind, as the old latin motto has it, "*Gaudens gaudentibus Dolens dolentibus.*"

It may be well to record the various bells, which were in use in this country for sacred purposes alone. First, the "Sanctus Bell" or as it is now called the parson's or priest's bell. This bell was, previous to the Reformation, rung at the Elevation of the Host at the Parish Mass, it was fixed outside the church, frequently on the apex of the eastern gable of the nave; and sometimes it is found hung separately in the tower or belfry. Then there was the "Sacring" or Sacramental Bell, which used to be rung within the chancel at the elevation of the Host, and to give notice of the Host approaching when carried in processions. The Elevation Bell is mentioned by William of Paris. It was usually made of brass and occasionally of silver, although the latter metal is bad for sound. Shakespeare makes mention of this bell in Act iii, sc. ii of Henry the Eighth. The "Lyche Bell" or "Corse Bell," was usually rung before the corpse on its way to burial. All the above named bells are mentioned in the inventories of church furniture and ornaments, which were made throughout England in the reign of Edward VI. At Christ Church, Oxford, the bell sounds daily at nine p.m. as many times as there are students on the foundation.

Who has not heard the music of the village bells, "falling at intervals upon the ear—in cadence sweet—now dying all away, now pealing loud again, and louder still, clear and sonorous as the gale comes on"; but few perhaps have heard the delightful chimes of the "Carillons" of foreign towns. In the city of Bruges with its queer gables and unthought-of houses, so dear to the heart of the archaeologist, is the tower of Les



Halles, with its forty-eight bells, whose silver chimes ever and anon float over this quaint and silent city. It was these splendid chimes which inspired Longfellow's beautiful lines, as he lay—

“In Bruges at the Fleur de Blé,  
Listening with a wild delight  
To the chimes that through the night  
Rang their changes from the Belfry  
Of that quaint old Flemish city.”

Sweet indeed are the harmonies which come softly down on the ear of the listener, as Longfellow has said—

“Low at times, and loud at times,  
Changing like a poet's rhymes  
Rang out the beautiful wild chimes  
From the Belfry in the market of the  
Ancient town of Bruges.”

But at night when all is still, there is something entrancing in the sound of those bells, as their soft floating melodies waft their heaven-like harmonies over this old world city, and gradually dying away amidst the stars, “the forget-me-nots of the Angels.” These grand and melodious peals are sounded by means of a cylinder, on the principal of a barrel organ, but are sometimes played by keys like the manual of an organ by a musician. All the tones and semitones are perfect, and the most choice and delicate harmonies can be executed on these bells. Franz Hemony, who lived about the year 1600, must have been a master of bell founding, for it is to him we owe the colossal peals of Bruges, Antwerp, Ghent, and Utrecht.

In this age when curiosities of all kinds are so eagerly sought after, a few inscriptions found on bells in this country may not be uninteresting. The oldest are inscribed in the Lombardic or in the black letter character. The custom of naming bells and dedicating them to patron Saints began about the eighth century. The second bell of Gloucester Cathedral bears, as we have said, “Sancte Petre ora pro nobis.” In Bristol Cathedral the treble bell has the arms of John Newhead Abbot, of St. Augustines, who died in 1486. There are four of these shields with the initials J. N. The inscription is; “Sancte Clement, ora pro nobis.” In Hughenden parish church one of the bells bears this legend:

"Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis." Another bell in the same church is inscribed thus: "Christe Baptista. Campana Gaudiat ista." In the eastern counties, St. Barbara seems to have been a favourite saint with bell-founders. On a bell is this invocation: "O Martyr Barbara, pro nos deum exora." A bell in Durham Cathedral is said to have the following triplet:—

"To call the folks to Church in time, I chime;  
When mirth and joy are on the wing, I ring;  
When from the body parts the soul, I toll."

These lines are almost a translation of the Latin inscription on the bell in Longfellow's "Golden Legend;"—*Sabbato Pango, Funera Plango, Solemnia Clango.* Sir Henry Spelman in his glossary also quotes an old Latin couplet which describes the uses of Church Bells: "*Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum: defunctum ploro, pestum fugo, festa decoro,*" which may be translated, "I praise the true God, call the people, convene the clergy, I mourn for the dead, drive away pestilence, and grace festivals." In the belfry of a church at Devizes, there is a conceited little bell, which says:—

"I am the first, altho' but small,  
I will be heard above you all."

In the ancient borough of Newbury, there is a bell named "the pan-cake bell," so called through being rung on Shrove Tuesday. An old writer makes mention of this in the following distich:—

"Hark! I hear the pan-cake bell,  
And Fritters make a gallant smell."

A bell used to be rung every Saturday in Newbury, at three o'clock, which is said to have originated through the celebrated cloth-worker, "Jack of Newbury," who built, or partly built, the fine church of St. Nicholas, in the same town, and who died in 1519. It was supposed to be rung as a summons for the weavers to receive their weekly wages; but this is not the true tradition regarding it. It is simply a survival of the old custom of ringing the bell on each Saturday, which was known as the "morrow mass bell." Before the Reformation, the people of England, in every parish, responded to the

sound of their parish bell which was an invitation to confession, as Shrovetide implies.

A historian of Newbury tells us of a remarkable bell at Tadley parish church, on the borders of Berkshire and Hants. He says, "Campanology possesses few more remarkable inscriptions than that on the third or tenor bells at Tadley, which is in Lombardic characters, each letter and device being raised upon a separate quadrangular tablet or *patura*, placed between fillets encompassing the bell. The execution is exceedingly good, without bearing the slightest sign of injury or wear from age..... The letters point to the fourteenth century or early part of the fifteenth century. Numerous and quaint as the devices are on bells of this period, there are few that cannot be read or comprehended; but the meaning of the strangely mysterious lettering on the bell at Tadley cannot be satisfactorily deciphered."

Pre-Reformation bells were as a rule dedicated to God, the Blessed Virgin or the Saints. Out of fifty-seven mediæval bells found in Wilts, twenty-four have inscriptions in honour of the Blessed Virgin; thirty-two of the Leicestershire bells are also inscribed with various inscription referring to the Virgin Mother. Most of these inscriptions are taken from the Angelic Salutation, and sometimes consist of the first two, and very often of the first four words. In some cases the *Dominus Tecum* is added. On the eighth bell at Oxford Cathedral is a different inscription which runs thus; "*Stella maria maris succurre piissima nobis.*" "*Sancta maria virgo intercede pro toto mundo*" is the inscription on the fourth bell at Stowe, in Staffordshire. Numerous saints are invoked on numbers of old bells throughout the different counties of England. St. John the Baptist, St. Catherine, and St. Gabriel seem to have been special favourites with our ancestors. The Gabriel bell was no doubt rung at the morning and evening "Aves."

Bells as a rule were not dated previous to the sixteenth century. The oldest dated bell is supposed to be that of St Chad's, Lichfield, which is inscribed "*O. Beate (sic) Maria A.R. 1255.*" Post Reformation bells possess inscriptions which are noted for their facetiousness more than for their literary merit. Some of them are very quaint

and amusing. At Heyford, Northamptonshire, is the following :—

“ Thomas Morgan Esquire gave me  
To the Church of Heford frank and free 1601.”

On the third bell at Calne is this :—

“ Robert Forman collected the money for casting this bell  
Of well-disposed persons as I do you tell.”

A bell at Alderton sings of a generous female donor thus :—

“ I’m given here to make a peal  
And sound the praise of Mary Neal.”

On the fourth bell at Albourne, Wilts, is the following :

“ Humphrey Symsin gave xx pound to buy this bell  
And the parish gave xx more to make this ring go well.”

At Binstead, Hants, is this inscription :—

“ Doctor Nicholas gave five pound  
To help cast this peal tunable and sound.”

At Broadchalk is a self-opinionated bell, which says :—

“ I in this place am second bell,  
I’ll surely do my part as well.”

The fire bell at Sherbourne has this epigraph :—

“ Lord ! quench this furious flame  
Arise, run, help, put out the same.”

At Northfield there must have been considerable squabbling over the addition of a bell, for on them we find the following :—

1st bell.	“ We now are six tho’ once but five
2    ,,	And against our casting some did strive
3    ,,	But when a day for meeting they did fix
4    ,,	There appeared but nine against twenty six.
6    ,,	Thomas Kettle and William Jarvis did contrive
	To make us six that was but five.”

The eighth bell at Abingdon sings the praise of the nuptial right as follows :—

“ In wedlock bands all ye who join  
Your hands with hearts unite  
So shall our tuneful tongues combine  
To laud the nuptial rite. L & P. 1764.”

A bell at Bradfield sounds its subscribers’ praise thus :—

“ At proper times my voice I’ll raise  
And sounded to my subscribers’ praise.”

The first bell at Shaftesbury is amazed at finding additional companions in the belfry, and expresses itself thus :—

“ I wonder great my eye I fix  
Where was but three, you may See Six 1684,”

At Himbleton, Worcestershire, the third bell has this epigraph :—

“ John Martin of Worcester he made wee  
Be it known to all that do wee see. 1675.”

This smacks of provincial English.

On the sixth bell at Quatt, in Staffordshire, is this curious epigraph :—

“ I call the quick and dead } 1700.”  
Prepare to church and bed }

The seventh bell at Wolverhampton has the following :

“ The clapper hung too long in mee  
My founder's loss pray think of hee.”

This reminds us of the Berkshire dialect in which the nominative is substituted for the objective case.

The bells of Great Bedwyn, Wilts, bear the following inscriptions on the one, two and three :—

“ Henry Knight of Reading made mee. 1671.” <sup>1</sup>

On the fourth bell :—

“ William Burd, Robert Wells 1671. H.K.”

The fifth bell has the names of the churchwardens and the date 1656. W. P. N. B. On the sixth bell is inscribed :—

“ In the Lord do I trust, T.W.D. 1623.”

The bell-ringers of bygone days must have been convivial sort of fellows, judging by the amusing inscriptions on various old jugs belonging to them. The fraternity had a great many laws of its own, in case of any one committing a breach of discipline. The offending person generally had to replenish the “jug,” which seems to have been a necessary appendage to their laborious duties. An inscription on a jug in the Norwich Museum, dated 1676, is :—

<sup>1</sup> The Knights of Reading were celebrated bell founders, the same family having cast bells from 1587-1693.



" John W

J. F

" Come brother, shall we join ?

Give me your twopence—here is mine."

The ringer's jug at Swansea has this couplet : —

Come fill me full with liquor sweet, for that is good  
When friends do meet : When I am full, then drink about :  
I ne'er will fail till all is out."

There is a very old earthenware pitcher at Hadleigh which holds four gallons. It bears on it these doggerel rhymes :—

" If you love me do not lend me ;  
Use me often and keep me cleanly :  
Fill me full or not at all,  
If it be strong, and not with small."

In the old towers and belfries, which stud our land, are found many quaint and facetious inscriptions written years ago by the old bell-ringers, whose ghosts seem still to haunt the scenes of their former labours. As one mounts the rugged well-worn steps into the home of the bells, we cannot help recalling these men of a past generation, who often rang many a joyous peal on these very bells, but whose bodies now lie mouldering beneath the green sward below. But they have left their footprints on the sands of time in the curious jingling rhymes which are to be found engraved on stone, in many an out of the way country church. A few of these may be found amusing.

In the parish church of Andover is the following :—

" But if that you do swear or curse,  
Twelve-pence is due, pull out your purse."

It seems the old bell-ringers were not only addicted to strong ale, but also to strong language. In a church at Shaftesbury is the quaint inscription :

In your ringing make no demur  
Pull off your hat, your belt and spur."

These lines refer to gentlemen bell-ringers, who lived in days when hats were of the cavalier type. The invariable fine for wearing hat and spur was a jug of beer, and if all the jugs were like the one at Hadleigh, it is to be



feared that very little bell-ringing could be accomplished after their contents had been exhausted. An inscription in a church in Shropshire runs thus :—

“ If that you ring with spur or hat  
A jug of beer, must pay for that.”

On the south side of the belfry of Hornsey Church, Middlesex, are these lines :—

“ If that to ring you do come here,  
You must ring with hand and ear  
If that you ring in spur or hat  
A quart of ale must pay for that ;  
And if a bell you overthrow  
Sixpence is due before you go  
And if you curse or swear I say  
A shilling's due without delay,  
And if you quarill in this place  
You shall not ring in any case.”<sup>1</sup>

Bells like churches in olden times were as a rule, the outcome of pious donations. We read that a peal of five bells was presented to King's College, Cambridge, by Pope Callixtus III, in 1456 ; and from this period peals of bells became more common in the towers and belfries of our churches. Peal ringing, however, was not practised as an art till the seventeenth century, when Fabian Stedman, a printer, of Cambridge, introduced peals on five and six bells, since called Stedman's method, and this, it is said, was first used at St. Bene't's, Cambridge, and afterwards at a church on College Hill, Doctor's Commons. Stedman published a book entitled *Tintinnalogia*, or the art of bell-ringing. The number of changes that can be rung on bells is, perhaps, surprising to the uninitiated. If we take for instance three bells, we shall find that six changes can be rung on them viz : on—

1 : 2 : 3  
2 : 1 : 3  
2 : 3 : 1  
3 : 2 : 1  
3 : 1 : 2  
1 : 3 : 2

A peal of four bells would ring four times as many changes as three, viz., twenty-four ; five bells five times as many as four, viz., 120 ; six bells six times as many as five, viz., 720 ; seven bells seven times as many as six, viz ;

<sup>1</sup> These verses may have been erased of late years.

5,040, and so on. It has been calculated that it would take ninety-one years to ring the changes upon twelve bells; at the rate of twenty strokes to a minute; and to ring the full changes upon a peal of twenty four bells, would occupy at the above rate, a hundred and seventeen thousand billions of years! We may rest assured that the above feats will never be executed, although we live in days of such keen competition.

The principal methods of change-ringing are: Plain Bob, Grandsire, Treble Bob, and Stedman's principle. The changes rung

on	5	bells	are	called	..	Doubles
"	6	"	"	"	..	Minor
"	7	"	"	"	..	Triples
"	8	"	"	"	..	Major
"	9	"	"	"	..	Caters
"	10	"	"	"	..	Royal
"	11	"	"	"	..	Cinques
"	12	"	"	"	..	Maximus

These names are no doubt rather puzzling to the inexperienced in campanological art. To look at a book on change-ringing is like looking over a series of logarithmic tables. In fact, the art of change-ringing is quite mathematical. Grandsire triples—the first peal was rung on January 17, 1689 or 90, at St. Sepulchre's Without, Newgate, in three and a quarter hours. Grandsire Caters—the first known peal took place at St. Bride's, Fleet Street, Friday, January 11th, 1716-17, and was performed by the Society of London Scholars, which company, at a subsequent date, changed its name to the Cumberland Youths. Grandsire Cinques—the famous College Youths rang at St. Bride's, Fleet Street, 5060 Grandsire Cinques, being the first that ever was done on eleven bells. Grandsire Major—The first peal of Grandsire Major was rung at St. Peter and Paul's, Aston near Birmingham, on July 30th, 1792, 7552 changes in four hours and thirty-four minutes. Grandsire Royal—the first peal was rung August 6, 1815, at Painswick; 5099 changes. Grandsire Maximus—from the Cumberland Youths' records, we find they rang a peal of 5112 Grandsire B Maximus in four hours and ten minutes at St. Saviour's, Southwark. The standard methods in the art of change-ringing are: 1, Plain Bob; 2, Grandsire; 3, Treble Bob; 4, Stedman's principle.

Under the head of Plain Bob, we have the following: Bob Doubles, Bob Minor, Bob Triples, Bob Major. Under Grandsire we have: Grandsire Doubles, Grandsire Minors, Grandsire Triples, Grandsire Major. Under the head of Treble Bob we have on six bells: Violet, New London Pleasure, Duke of York, Woodbine, College Pleasure, College Exercise, London Scholars Pleasure, City Delight, London, Westminster, Imperial, Cambridge, Surprise, Superlative Surprise, London Surprise. It will be seen that bell-ringing has its nomenclature like other arts and sciences. It is well to be reminded that bell-ringing is not at all an easy recreation, on the contrary it requires a certain amount of physical exertion and scientific skill to ring a bell properly. The management of the rope is, no very slight accomplishment.

There are some very fine peals of bells in many of the London towers and belfries; and on various occasions their merry peals are heard far above the din and turmoil of the busy streets. St. Paul's has a peal of twelve bells, tenor three tons. St. Bride's, Fleet Street, has a splendid peal of twelve bells. The bells date from 1710, tenor twenty-eight hundredweight. Bow Church, Cheapside, is famous for its bells. We have all heard of the "Bow Bells" of Chepe. St. Giles' Church, Cripplegate, has also a peal of twelve bells, tenor thirty-six hundredweight; there is a carillon attached. St. Michael's, Cornhill, has a fine and musical peal of twelve bells, tenor forty-one hundredweight. This ancient parish is intimately connected with the famous antiquary Stowe.

There are various Diocesan Guilds of Bell-ringers and the Master of the Oxford Diocesan Guild informs me that the first and only peal of 5040 changes ever rung by clergymen took place at Drayton, in Berkshire. Peal-ringing is believed, to be entirely confined to England.

There are several large bells in this country. The largest is "Great Paul" in St. Paul's Cathedral, London; it weighs, with its fixtures, &c, eighteen tons. This stupendous bell was hung a few years since, and many will remember the event. The great bell in York Minster weighs ten tons; Great Tom, Oxford, weighs seven tons; Great Tom, Lincoln, weighs five tons; Big

Ben, Westminster, weighs thirteen tons and a half, and is said to be cracked. We read of a bell in the time of Edward III. weighing 33,000 lbs. The great bell at Moscow, cast in 1653, is computed to weigh 443,772 lbs, and according to some authorities, has never struck a note. A bell in the church of St. Ivan, in the same city, weighs 127,836 lbs. The bells in Olmutz, Rouen, and Vienna, weigh eighteen tons each. The Kaiserglocke, at Cologne Cathedral, weighs twenty-five tons. The famous bell at Erfurt, in Germany, called "Maria Gloriosa," which was cast in 1497, weighs thirteen tons, is more than twenty-four feet in circumference, and has a clapper of four feet, weighing 1232 lbs., and was the largest bell ever hung. Almost every temple in Burmah has a bell which is reverently struck by each votary at the particular shrine previous to offering prayers. At Mengoon, situated on the right bank of the Irrawaddy, opposite Mandalay, there is a bell weighing 195,000 lbs ; its height is twenty-one feet, and its breadth eighteen feet. At the Temple of Ularo, in Kyoto, is said to be the largest bell in the world, hanging in a tower on the hill, being perfect in tone. It exceeds the bells of Pekin and Russia. It is not known who cast it, and is covered with Chinese and Sanscrit characters, but no modern Japanese priest can translate these mysterious letters. It is twenty-four feet high and sixteen inches thick at the rim. When it is sounded its boom is heard for miles down the valley. The bells in Japan have no clappers, being struck by suspended levers of wood, like battering rams.

In Spelman's History of Sacrilege, there are some curious stories relating to the sacrilege of bells, which may be worth recounting. "When I was a child," says Spelman, "I heard much talk of the pulling down of bells in every part of my country, the county of Norfolk, then common in memory ; and the sum of the speech usually was, that in sending them over sea, some were drowned in one haven, some in another, as at Lynn, Wells or Yarmouth. I dare not venture upon particulars ; for that I then hearing it as a child, regarded it as a child. But the truth of it was lately discovered by God himself ; for that in the year.....He sending such a dead neap



(as they call it) as no man living was known to have seen the like, the sea fell so far back from the land at Hunstanton, that the people going much further to gather oysters than they had done at any time before, they there found a bell with the mouth upward, sunk into the ground to the very brim. They carried the news thereof to Sir Hamon L'Estrange, lord of the town, and of wreck and sea-rights there, who shortly after sought to have weighed up and gained the bell; but the sea never since going so far back, they hitherto could not find the place again. This relation I received from Sir Hamon L'Estrange himself, being my brother-in-law."

"At the end of Queen Mary's days (Calais being taken) Sir Hugh Paulet pulled down the bells of the churches of Jersey; and sending them to S. Malo's, in Bretagne, fourteen of them were drowned at the entrance of that harbour. Whereupon it is a bye-word at this day in these parts. when any strong east wind bloweth there, to say, 'The bells of Jersey now ring.' In the reign of King Henry VIII., there was a clockier or bell-house adjoining to S. Pauls' Church, in London, with four very great bells in it, called Jesus bells. Sir Miles Partridge, a courtier, once played at dice with the King for these bells, staking £100 against them, and won them, and then melted and sold them to a very great gain. But in the fifth year of King Edward VI. this gamester had worse fortune, when he lost his life, being executed on Tower Hill, for matters concerning the Duke of Somerset. In the year of our Lord, 1541, Arthur Bulkley, Bishop of Bangor, sacrilegiously sold the five fair bells belonging to his Cathedral, and went to the seaside to see them shipped away, but at that instant was stricken blind, and so continued to the day of his death. (Bp. Godwin, in vit ejus fol. 650). A sad peal at parting, and a judgment of blindness not unlike that wherewith Alcimus the high-priest was stricken, for offering some sacrilegious violence to the Temple (Jos Ant. xii, 17). (Staveley's Hist of Churches, p. 234)." Spelman then relates his discourse when dining with "my lord of Canterbury" (viz., Dr. Abbot, 1632), who related how when he was in Scotland, he visited certain churches, but found the bells had disappeared from them. In Edinburgh, he tells him that there was no bell in that city,

“save only in the Church of St. Andrew.” And enquiring what had become of the rest, it was told him that they were shipped to be carried into the Low Countries, but were drowned in Leith haven. Church bells, amongst their other vicissitudes, were often melted down and coined, as was the case during the French Revolution of 1792.

It will thus be seen, that there are more mysteries in a peal of bells than are dreamt of in our philosophy.



PAROCHIAL ACCOUNTS, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY,  
ST. NEOTS, CORNWALL.<sup>1</sup>

By THE LATE GENERAL SIR J. H. LEFROY, K.C.M.G., F.R.S.

The Parish Register of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in St. Neots, Cornwall, exists in a very complete form from 1549 onwards, having been written out fair in a large folio volume of beautiful penmanship, in 1624. We have however, what is more uncommon, the Churchwarden's accounts presented at the Easter vestry for each year, with one or two exceptions, from 1600 to 1709. This volume is not in nearly so good preservation, but can be made out, and presents a great many interesting and curious entries, which appear worthy of being brought into notice.

I propose to begin by transcribing the entire account as it stands for the year 1609, the first year in which it is complete with the date. There is a loose sheet dated 1602, but the form does not vary, and *mutatis mutandis* one year is much like another.

Comput. Johannis Isacke et Johannis Smith Gardianorū pochiaē S<sup>ti</sup> Neoti fact et capt septimo die Maij Anno Dni 1609 et Anno Regni dni nri Jacobi Dei gratia Angliæ ffancie et Hiberniæ Regis fidei defensor, etc. septimo, et Scotia xliij.<sup>d</sup>

Receipts

Imprimis	Received of thold Wardens at the daye of accompt			
	Item Received of thold Wardens of an old note		iijs	viiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item Received of Peeter Henwoode for an allinacon or farlive for parte of the churchland	vi <sup>l</sup>	js	xjd
	Item Received for standinge in the Churchyard			xd
	Item Rec. of Peeter Henwoode for a fyne in pte for the Church House and meadowe	x <sup>l</sup>	vs	
	Sum vij <sup>lb</sup> xviiijs vjd.			
Goods sold	ffirste Received of Stephen Sweete for a lambe in gifte to the Church sould for		ijs	xd

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, December 4th, 1890.

Itm Received of John Tubbe gent for three ox heades		xviij <i>d</i>
Itm Rec of William Hatton for a pound of pouder		x <i>d</i>
Itm of Thomas Sweet for a somer p.ple	vs	j <i>d</i>
Sum xs viij <i>d</i>		
Pit monye <sup>A</sup>		
Imprimis Received for the buriall of Marye the wife of John Crappe in the body of the Church	vs	
Itm for the buryall of Thomas Taprell in the bodye of the Church	vs	
Itm for George Taprell in y <sup>e</sup> bodye of y <sup>e</sup> Church	iijs	4 <i>d</i>
Itm for Nicholas Rundell in the bodye of y <sup>e</sup> Church	iijs	4 <i>d</i>
Sum xvjs viij <i>d</i>		
Rent Received from Peeter Henwoode for the Church land	viijs	
Itm rec <sup>d</sup> of Roger Younge for the Church land	viijs	
Sum xvjs		
Tythe corne Imprimis Received of Robarte Kraft for his tyth corne in Tremadecke	viijs	
(there follow three others)		
Itm rec <sup>d</sup> of John Laundry for his tith corne in Hilhouse	xxvs	
Itm rec <sup>d</sup> of William Hobbs for his tith corne in Hamett	xviijs	
Itm rec <sup>d</sup> of Peter Henwoode for his tith corne in Church land		vij <i>d</i>
Itm rec <sup>d</sup> of John Cowling for his tith corne in Miltourne	vs	
Itm rec <sup>d</sup> of John Clappe for his tithe corne in Gornicke meadowe	ijjs	vj <i>d</i>
Itm rec <sup>d</sup> of William John for his tith corne in St Nyott	vjs	
Itm rec <sup>d</sup> of John Pomerye for his tith corne in Tremo Ringe meadowes	vjs	x <i>d</i>
sum vj <i>lb</i> iijs iiij <i>d</i>		
sum total xv <i>lb</i> js ij <i>d</i>		
Allowance Imprimis paid Robert Bawden the sumner at the daye of accoamt		vij <i>d</i>
Itm paide William John at the daye accoamt for kepinge y <sup>e</sup> belles (two words illegible)	xs	
Itm pd for bread and wine against whitsuntide <sup>E</sup>		xx <i>d</i>
Itm pd nicholas Russell for coming to set the clocke		xxij <i>d</i>
Itm pd for a new locke for the chest		v <i>d</i>
Itm pd for breade and wine for a communion the third daye of Julye <sup>E</sup>		xx <i>d</i>
Itm pd to Margerie Crappe because she had not the toppes of two ashes		vij <i>d</i>
Itm pd for twelve hundred of hayling stones and a dozen of Ragge	iijs	vj <i>d</i>
Itm pd for fetchinge the same stone and rags		xx <i>d</i>

Itm pd for eight hundred of lathes	vjs	vij <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for eight thousand of pins and two thousand and halfe of nayles	vjs	v <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for fetching of lathes nayles and sand		viiij <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for ten bushells of Lime and fetching y <sup>e</sup> same	vs	
Itm pd the healyer for one weekes work	xvs	
Itm pd the hellyear for foure dayes and a halfe	xjs	
Itm pd for nayles for the hellyer (thatcher)	iijs	
Itm pd for attendinge the hellyers for iiij dayes	ijs	
Itm pd for our dynners at the Bishop's visitation	iijs	vj <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for Articles	iijs	
Itm pd for making of a byll		vj <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for layinge in of the same byll		iiij <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for writing of a Rate Booke, and certayne Reede for the hellyers		vj <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for three girdles for the corslets <sup>B</sup>		x <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for one swords trimynge an a scabrish for the same <sup>B</sup>		xxj <sup>d</sup>
Itm pd to Collinge for carryinge y <sup>e</sup> byll of presentments		vij <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd to Collinge for a briefe	ijs	
Itm pd Phillip for makinge cleane of the church armour <sup>B</sup>	vjs	viiij <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for Oyle for the Armour <sup>B</sup>		j <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd S <sup>re</sup> Renold Mouhons for the Purvayers clarke	iijs	
Item pd to the Chapter Courte for the p.ishe business	ijs	vij <sup>d</sup>
Itm pd for my dynner and for my labour		viiij <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for carryinge the Armour at the mouster <sup>B</sup>		viiij <sup>d</sup>
Itm pd John Pomerye for carryinge his armour which he left with the Kerpeth for the Parishe <sup>B</sup>		ij <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for bread and wyne against Allsaynts <sup>E</sup>	iijs	vj <sup>l</sup>
Itm pd for bread and wyne against John Cowlinge's weddinge		v <sup>d</sup>
Itm pd Rise ffisher for carryinge a poore woman at St. Maby		vij <sup>d</sup>
Itm pd Simon George's Clarke for returne of a precept		iiij <sup>d</sup>
Itm pd Roger Laundrye for y <sup>e</sup> Cutler at Liskerd about the Church Clocke	xs	
Itm pd more the Cutler at Liskerd about some bus	vjs	
Itm paid John Taprell y <sup>e</sup> constable for p.rishe bus	xxvjs	
Itm pd to the Chapter court for p.rishe bus	ijs	vj <sup>d</sup>
Itm pd for my dynner at y <sup>e</sup> same time		vj <sup>d</sup>
Itm pd for a Coramnoimna		vij <sup>d</sup>
Itm paid the Sumner for siting John Mitchell		viiij <sup>d</sup>
Itm pd William John for sinking of burialls		xij <sup>d</sup>
Item pd Stephen Lampen Constable for an acquittance		viiij <sup>d</sup>

Itm pd for a locke for the cheast		vd
Itm pd John Tapnell constable for a mouster booke	4s ( <i>sic</i> )	vd
Itm pd Roger Laundrye for the countye stocke	vs	vd
Itm pd Roger Laundrye for a size for the bread		xld
Itm pd John Tapnell ye constable for the countye stocke	vs	ixld
Itm pd Hugh Wills for a corumnomyna		xijld
Itm pd to the waywardens		xviijld
Itm pd for bread and wyne against Christide	iiij s	
Itm pd the plūmer for mending the ledles		iiijld
Itm pd the plūmer for helpe weare ( <i>sic</i> ) his charge		xijld
Itm pd for attendinge the plūmer and for woode to heate his tooles		vjld
Itm pd the foxe catcher for taking two foxes <sup>C</sup>	viijs	
Itm pd the Glazer for mendinge the church windows and for woode	iiij s	
Itm pd for attendinge the Glazer		viijd
Itm pd for a bell rope	iijs	4d
Itm pd the Cupper for hoopes and settinge them upon the powder barrell		vid
Itm pd Robart Werant for three dayes and halfe about the church yeard		xxijld
Itm pd Robert Jenkinge for a Fox heade <sup>C</sup>		xiiid
Itm pd the Constables for carryinge a Prisoner to the gayle	vs	
Itm pd for Articles at the Archdeacons visitation	ijs	iiijld
Itm pd for Peters farthings <sup>D</sup>		vijld
Itm pd the summer for warning us to the visitation		iiijld
Itm pd for our dynners at the visitation	vs	
Itm pd for bread and wyne against Easter <sup>E</sup>	xxxs	vjld
Itm pd for fetchinge the same wyne		vjld
Itm pd to the Countye stock and mehemed souldyers (maimed soldiers) for halfe years paye	xjs	xld
Itm paid for an acquittance		iiijld
Itm pd for washinge the Church cloathes		viijd
Itm pd for keepinge our accompte and writinge the same into the coumpte booke	iijs	iiijld
Itm pd for nayles for the church dore locke and a staple for the ringe		iijd
Itm pd for carrying a coppye of the Register at booke at Exor.		vid
Sume total	xijlb	xiiij s vd
Sir Remanet	xl b	ix s

Parishe goods brought in and deliued on to the new wardens

Imprimis. One communion cuppe of silver with a cover to the same,<sup>F</sup> two surplises, fower whit cloathes for the Comunion Table, one for the deske, a carpet for the comūion table, and another for the pulpit of the same stuffe.

Bookes<sup>G</sup>

Itm one fayre byble, two books of coñon prayer, three register bookes one of parchement and two of paper two paraphrases of Erasmus, the apolligye of the Church of England one little booke of coñon prayer one booke of constitutions and canons, two homilye books, three bookes of accompt and fower statute bookes.

Armor<sup>E</sup>

Two payer of corslets with their swords and daggers, two payer of Almon Rivets, one lackinge a head peece one musket with his bandalire moulde bullet bagge and headpeece and one picke with George Pomerye and one other with Jo Smyth.

Writings

Itm. One boxe and writings therein viz Sixe evidences and one exemplification escheker seale. One bond from Thomas Dobbe with a memorand concerning the same three other bonds, one from Martyn, another from John Bunste another from John Skinnard with dyvers acquittances and writings concerninge the p.rishe. and one bond from Robert Skinnarde.

Stuffe

Itm three glass bottles, one puter pott, one pickaxe, two shoules five formes moveable, powder in a barrell contayninge in weight (*blank*)<sup>H</sup> two ladders, and also led in weight (*blank*) and Iron contayninge in weight (*blank*) and borde and planks in number ten.

Septimo die Maij 1609.

Ma<sup>d</sup> That John Smythe and John Isacke churche wardens for the p.rishe for the yere past have accomptted the daye and yere aboue written and ov<sup>r</sup> and besydes their former allowances haue yelden in clere to the use of the whole p.rishe the some of xl vjs ix*d* which saide some of xl vjs ix*d* presently deliuered our vnto John Hayle and John Patchcott wardens for the yer to come and are so arne for the same and the olde wardens are chargeable wth billes of arrerages left uncollected the yere past, amounting in all vnto xxvijs viij*d* Receaved more for arrerages of the Rate the church for the yere past ijs iiij*d* and have receaved a bill of arrerage concernynge the same Rate amounting vnto xijs iiij*d* and the olde wardens are respeted for finishinge of their accompt and bringinge in the saide arrerages before named conteyninge xxvijs viij*d* vntil the feaste daye of the Nativitye of S<sup>t</sup> Jo Baptiste next cominge. Itm receaved more of the olde wardens for the Rate made for the lease taken out of the P.rishe counpt books—xixs 4*d* with a bill of arrerage concernynge the same Rate amountinge vnto 7s 8*d* (*sic*). Itm receaved more of the olde wardens in pte of the arrerage of the said xxvijs viij*d* and the saide olde wardens have yelden in their billes of all the rest of the same arrerages in the afternoone of the daye and yere aboue written, and so they are quyte of all their former accompts.

The foregoing represents very fairly the accounts of every other year. I proceed to offer a few observations on some of the items.

*Pit money.*<sup>A</sup> Under this head are entered the sums received as fees for burial within the walls of the Church



usually charged 3s. 4d. or 5s. for a grave in the Body—according to situation ; and 6s. 8d. for one in the chancel, but the last was latterly charged as high as 10s. The extraordinary thing is the number of these intramural interments, which reached a total of 548 in little over a century, that is, from 1606 to 1708. The internal area of the church is 85 by 52ft., part of which is occupied by the footings of six pillars on each side of the nave. After 1677 there are few in the body of the church, not above one or two in any years, in several years none ; but room continued to be found in the chancel, so that if the practice in the sixteenth century and the latter half of the fifteenth was the same, it is not too much to affirm that much over a thousand interments must have been made in that limited area, assuming the date usually assigned for the present structure (1480). The modern “sanitary authority” may well stand aghast at such defiance of sanitary laws. The greatest number I find in any one year is 14 in 1644. I am told that the soil under the church is deep, but the area was some years ago sealed with concrete, and is now tiled, details are therefore forgotten. There are no vaults.

The vestry took alarm in 1677, and passed the following resolution, 11 May.

Wee the ministers and twelve men of the said P.ish whose names are subscribed taking into consideration the p.rent condicon of the P.ish Church and that most of the Allyes within the same, as well of the church as chancell have been of late broken vpp by the buriel of many more p.rsons therein than hath beene heretofore att any tyme practiced, to the great annoyance and pr.judice of the p.ishe church and the inhabitants of the p.rishe by breaking vpp of newe graues, which said practice hath beene occasioned by the smallness of the sum which hath beene heretofore paid for breaking upp of the ground within the sd church Doe therefore thinke fitt, and vnanimously consent agree and (as much as in vs lyeth) order direct and appoint, that for time to come the Church wardens for the time being shall not p.mitt or suffer any p,son or p,sons whatsoever to breake the grounde in order to make any grave for the buriall of any p.son or p.sons whatsoever in either of the three chancells of the sd p.ishe



church vnless such p.son or p.sons doe first pay downe in money to the sd Church wardens for the time being the sum of ten shillings for each grave, and that the sd Church wardens for the time being of the sd p.rish shall not p.mitt or suffer any p.son or p.sons whatsoever to breake the ground for the making of any graue within the body of the sd p.rish church vnless these be first paid downe to the sd Church wardens for the time being the sum of seaven shillings for such graue for the buriall of every married p.son or widdow and fiue shillings for the buriall of euery p.son vnmarried

*Signed* Tho. Philpe Vicar  
and eight others.

*Parish Armour, or Church Armour.*<sup>B</sup> The custody of the requisite equipment for two or three foot soldiers, was one of the duties of the churchwardens down to 1639 involving several contingent expenses which are charged in the parish accounts, one of the chief of these is sending it annually to *muster*, and a very pretty subject for a painter is suggested by the thought of the stout pack-horse with its picturesque burden, guided by a half-armed peasant, wending its way by one of the many deep lanes of the neighbourhood, to the appointed rendezvous in a neighbouring parish. The articles mentioned under different dates are :—

Two payer of corsletts with their swords, daggers, and pikes. Two payer of almon rivets, one of them wanting the head peece, one muskett with his bandoleere molde and bullet bagge and head peece in custodye of Nicholas Wharton (1602), one paire of corsletts furnished in the keeping of George Pomeroy. One Curatt and ij paire of Almond Rivets remaining in the church, one musquett in the vestry, and j pike in the keeping of John Smith the younger (1612).

Two pare of corsletts, ij pare of almond rivets and iij pikes now in the church, flower swords and two daggers in the keeping of Phillip Combe and one muskett furnished (1615).

Almon or Almayne rivets were a device of German armourers to give flexibility to the protection of the thigh joints, and gave their name to one species of body armour which carried protection halfway down the

thigh. These were old suits, as they belong to a period earlier than the reign of James I. The Curatt on the contrary protected nothing but the trunk, but was made as long as possible in front. Illustrations of both are given in the admirable treatise on Ancient Armour by the late Mr. John Hewitt, vol. iii. (1860). The corslett is nearly represented by the modern cuirass, and covered little more than the chest to the waist. This armour is not borne on the parish books after 1620, but there are occasional entries of small sums paid for cleaning it and sending to muster down to 1639.

*Distraction of vermin.*<sup>c</sup> The year 1609, given above, only presents two entries of disbursement on their account; but the fox-catcher appears as a recognised personage, like the mole-catcher of the present day. In other years they are numerous. The animals paid for were badgers, fitches, fitchets, or fitchews (pole cats,) foxes, wild cats, occasionally rats, kites, vautors (vultures), once or twice an otter, and very rarely "a graye." This last animal is defined by Johnson as a badger, but such does not appear to be the case in these examples. Both badgers and grayes appear in the same years, and whereas 4*d.* is the tariff for a badger's head, one shilling was paid for "a graye;" it is possible, however, that a tough patriarchial, much-respected badger, might be honoured by a distinctive name. They are paid for in 1629, 1630, 1640, 1658, 1666, 1682, 1690. I subjoin a statement of the total quantities of vermin paid for in certain years, which are fairly representative.

Paid for by the churchwardens of St. Neots, Cornwall.

Year.	Fitches.	Foxes.	Cats.	Badgers.	Grays.	Rats.	Kites.
1616	5	...	...	1	...	...	...
1620	3	2	...	...	...	...	...
1621	36	2	1	...	...	...	...
1630	7	...	...	4	1	...	...
1640	28	4	...	2	1	...	...
1650	17	...	...	...	...	...	...
1658	33	9	..	4	2	...	...
1660	32	2	...	6	...	...	15
1663	36	2	2	...	1	..	5
1670	37	9	...	...	...	...	6
1680	53	11	2	..	...	...	...
1682	44	6	5	...	1	...	...
1687	35	9	22	1	...	28	18
1690	34	...	2	...	...	...	...
1700	56	...	5	...	..	...	6

Rats to the number of 52 were paid for 1677.

*Peter's farthings*<sup>D</sup> or *Peters Pence* were paid to 1642, they usually amounted to xij*d*, and went to Exeter Cathedral.

*Provision of Sacred Elements.*<sup>E</sup> The large sums paid for a provision of bread and wine for the Holy Communion on Church festivals, especially at Easter, are very noticeable. Ten gallons of sacke are mentioned at 6*d*. the quart, £2 13*s*. 4*d*. in 1664, a quantity so much in excess of what could be consumed in any devout or decent celebration, that there can be no doubt that it was put to other purposes, probably used for dinner, or other social meeting of the Select Vestry, even this sum however was exceeded on some occasions. Thus in 1618 the change is xxxiiij*s*, and in 1619 xxxvs. viij*d*. the quantity not stated, but the usual price in the first half of the century seems to have been 6*d*. a quart. In one instance we have a protest against its bad quality, "we have examined this account, but finding that the 23 quarts of wine which was provided for the communion at Easter to be soe exceedingly bad and that the church wardens have charged 2*s*. 4*d*. for each quart of it, whereas the wine was not really worth 12*d*. a quart. However wee are contented to deduct out of the supfluous charge only 13*s*. 9*d*. for the whole" (3 May 1695).

*Communion Plate.*<sup>F</sup> "One communion copp of silver with a cover to the same" was the provision for sacred ministrations down to 1612, in which, and succeeding years, we find "one fayre communion copp of silver, guilt with a cover for the same, and a lether boxe for the keeping of it. One lesser communion copp of silver with a cover to the same."

The silver gilt cup bearing the Hall-mark for 1609 is still in use, and is a handsome piece of Church plate, standing 10½ inches high. It is not known what has become of the earlier silver cup. The object I had the pleasure of exhibiting to this Society some months ago, in the mistaken belief that it was a leathern-cartridge case, is in all probability the Pyx or "lether box for the keeping" of one or other of these cups; most likely the silver one, as it is not deep enough by some inches to take the other. As Mr. St. John Hope pointed out, it very closely resembles one exhibited a few years ago by

the late Mr. Burt, which also came from this neighbourhood.

*Church Books.*<sup>c</sup> The Paraphrases of Erasmus and Jewell's Apology for the Church of England were apparently required by law to be in possession of the vestry, in as much as other Parishes also specify them. In Liskeard a note of admiration follows the former, on account of its costliness. "Cost three pounds!" No time was lost after the Savoy conference in providing the new Book of Common Prayer, which we find charged in the accounts of 1662-3, 12s. Speaking generally, I observe no evidence of the Puritan reign between 1648 and 1660, having interfered at all in St Neots with the ministrations of the episcopal church. It is otherwise at Fowey where the marriages entered into the Parish Register from 9 September 1653 to 6 March 1655-6, are expressly stated to have been by the Magistrate.

*Gunpowder.*<sup>h</sup> A small quantity of this explosive is mentioned every year as "Gunpowder in a Bagge," "Gunpowder in a Barrell," down to 1617; but I do not find the weight stated. It was apparently obsolete parochial property, and was occasionally sold to the credit of the account at *xijd.* a pound *e.g.*, in 1610. Received for three pounds of Gunpowder *ijs.*

"Match in bundles" was also kept in the vestry.

Collections by Briefe or Royal letter begin to be a conspicuous feature in the Parish accounts in 1661, but are occasionally found as early as 1620, and it is remarkable how varied, and in some instances how remote, the objects were to which the inhabitants of this Cornish parish were asked to contribute, and how liberal their contributions frequently were

The following are examples :—

1632	Given by consent to the redemption of Captives	<i>ijs</i>
1661	Towards the releife of the distressed Protestants of Lithuanie	00 6 0
	Towards the repairinge of Ripon Church in Yorkshire	00 4 6
1665	Collected for London in the time of the Plague	3 13 10
1666	Collected for London for the fire	2 10 0
1669	For the redemption of Captives from Turkish slavery	6 6 6
1680	Collected for the redemption of Captives from Turkie	2 8 8
1681	Collected for the French Protestants	2 2 4
1686	Collected for the French Protes'tants	3 3 9

1688	Collected for the french Protestants	1	8	0
1689	Collected for the Irish Protestants	2	9	6
1691	Coll. a second brief for Irish Protestants	00	13	0
1692	Coll. for Captives in Turkey	1	15	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
1694	Collect <sup>s</sup> for the french Protestants	00	18	6
1700	Collected for the captives in fless and Marocco	0	18	4

Beside these evidences of the sympathy which united countries of the Reformed Religion, and of the impunity still allowed to the subjects of Turkey to prey upon Christian commerce and consign Christian men to a hopeless captivity, there was scarcely a year in which collections were not also taken for the relief of parishes in England suffering under some calamity. It is, perhaps, to be noted that they all took place in the incumbency of the Rev. Thomas Philpe, vicar from 1660 to 1704, who may have been a man of exceptional zeal and sympathy. It is difficult to imagine such appeals to have been responded to all over the kingdom.

	1635	Collected within our Parish Church at St. Neots towards the reparation of the Church of St Paul's London	2	7	10
9 June	1661	Towards the reliefe of inhabitants of Ilminster in Somerset	00	9	3
28 July		<i>id</i> Fakenham Norfolk	00	5	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 August		<i>id</i> Pontefract Yorkshire	00	6	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Septem		<i>id</i> Oxford	00	4	8
8 Septem		<i>id</i> Drayton in Salop	00	4	4
15 Septem		Ripon Church in Yorkshire	00	4	6
26 January	1662	<i>id</i> Anwalters? Surry	00	2	6
	1663	for a beefe ( <i>sic</i> ) for Nuberry	00	5	5
		for Sawerby in York	00	4	10
Joseph Rowe		for the fishing craft	00	14	8
signs as		for Hexham in Northumberland		8	2
Vicar 1706		for Harwitch in Essex	00	5	0
		for East Hendred in Berks	00	2	4
		for great Grymsby in Lincolne		1	6
	1664	for Grantham in Lincolne	00	8	6
		for Witheham in Sussex	00	5	0
		for Sandwich in Kent	00	4	0
	1667	for Newport in Salop	00	9	0
	1669	ffor Shellford in Norfolk	00	7	2
	1670	ffor Will <sup>m</sup> Massy John Jessup etc	00	5	0
		ffor Isleham in Cambridgeshire	00	8	6
		ffor Somershem in Huntingdon	00	6	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
		ffor Michael ffowler of in Kent	00	2	6
		ffor Riplie in Surry	00	2	0
	1671	ffor Meere in Wiltshaire burnt	00	7	9



August 10	1673	for ffording bridge burnt witting the county of Southampton	00 15 7½
	1681	for Colomton in Devon (for the same place in 1622 viijs)	00 13 1
		for St Albans church	00 11 10
		for Newmarket burnt	00 13 0
		for Wapping burnt	00 12 2
	1686	for Stepney and white chappell	00 10 6
Aprill	1688	for Leonard Stanley in Gloucestersh	00 7 8
Aprill		for Kettlewell in Yorkshire	00 9 6
	1689	for Crues morchard church in Devon (The church was struck by lightning in 1689, when the steeple was shattered and the bells melted.)	10 13 0
May 11	1690	for Bungay in Suffolk	00 15 8
		for St Ives (St Ives) in Hunts	00 9 6
August	1690	for East Smithfield	00 5 2
		for Bishops Lavington Wilts	00 4 10
Sept 28		for the sufferers by fire in the Parish of St. George, Southwark	00 7 6
Nov		for Cruismorchard Church in Devon, (see above)	00 13 0
	1691	for Tinmouth in Devon	00 6 6
		for Bealt in Wales	00 7 0
	1692	for Chagford in Devon	00 8 2
	1700	for St. Mary Magdalen Edmondsey	00 10 6
		for Beccles in Suffolk	00 5 9½

There are no more of these entries down to May 1708, when the book ends.

In 1632 we have several entries of relief to soldiers—

Thus,—Given to a soldier by consent	iijsd
again	ijds
To a maymed soldier	ijds
To two maymed soldiers	iiijds



## THE HERALDRY OF THE CUMBERLAND STATESMEN.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A., (Chancellor of Carlisle).

The "statesmea" or small landed proprietors in the north of Cumberland, now alas few and dwindling in number, yielded to none in pride of pedigree; they boasted their family arms as proudly as ever did Dacre or Howard. Herald, there was none to say them nay: bold man must have been any official of the College of Arms to venture into Bewcastle and to meddle with the tombstones of the Armstrongs and the Routledges, and the strange armorial achievements sculptured thereon. His probable fate would have been to be "spatchcocked" with his head in a rabbit hole, and his legs pinned down with a stake.<sup>1</sup> The favourite place for the display of these armorial achievements during the last and early part of the present century was the parish churchyard, and the back of the tombstones rather than the front was the place most affected: this was done with the economical motive of leaving as much space as possible on the front of the stone, available for the purpose of recording the deaths of connections of the person to whom the stone was originally erected, though buried in distant places, even far over the sea. Thus in the churchyard of Arthuret in Cumberland, is a tombstone on whose front is the following:—

In memory of  
Margaret wife of William Ferguson of  
Bush-on-Line who died Aug. 5th 1745  
Aged 32 years and also the above named  
William Ferguson who died Sept. 13, 1804.  
Aged 94 years. Also John Ferguson,  
of Westlinton his Brother who died  
Dec 15th 1785 aged 79 years.

On the back of the stone is an achievement of arms boldly carved in high relief and in good preservation—Three human hearts, 2, 1. Crest, on a wreath on a full-faced and grated helmet, a fleur-de-lis. That this achievement of arms does not belong to any family of Ferguson within my knowledge is nothing to the point: when "Willie Fargison of the Bush-on-Lyne," as his neighbours called him, erected this monument to his wife he put on its back her family arms, and not his; who she was is not known, but in all probability a Hewheart, or Hewart from the neighbouring parish of Stapleton, who bore hearts on their shield. He thus left plenty of room for himself and any other members of the family to be commemorated at some future date. To some, the

<sup>1</sup> The writer can recollect this being done to a troublesome gamekeeper: he died.

thus using his wife's family arms, without impaling them with his own, may seem contrary to the rules and practice of heraldry, but the characteristics of the heraldry of the "statesmen" is its freedom from all rules and practice; they did as they pleased, tempered by the ignorance of the stonemason.

Thus certain families were associated with certain charges in their shields, *e.g.*, Graham of Esk and Netherby bears Or, on a chief Sa, 3 escallops of the field. The essentials are the escallops and all else can be dispensed with, as on a monument at Kirklington to a Graham, where are three escallops, 1, 2, no shield at all, nothing, simply three escallops carved on the stone. In the same churchyard a monument to Edward Graham of Moorhouse, 1753, shows the three escallops in chief and a very narrow fess below them (probably intended as the lower edge of the chief), all within a shield like a horse shoe, formed by a ribbon whose ends hang loose and are connected by a crest wreath, which is below the shield instead of above it. This same device is adopted by another Graham in the same churchyard, with the addition of a boar's head (pig's face better expresses the object), over a four leaved flower in the lower part of the horse shoe, and as a crest, a hand flourishing a whip. Some clue to these additions may be found on a neighbouring stone, on which is:—

Heres lies the body of  
Janie Graham daughter of  
Gracie and John born  
Saughtrees in 1751.<sup>1</sup>

And a "square shield"<sup>2</sup> on which a fess charged with three roundels, and in chief a circular object which may be a rose or a catherine wheel, or anything, but probably is the stonemason's version of the flower in the third Graham monument just mentioned, as the three roundels are his version of the Graham escallops. The boar's head, or pig's face appears here as a crest, turned to the sinister. These last two instances point to a marriage between a Graham and a member of a family, associated in the local mind with the bearing of a boar's head, or a boar, possible a Chamber of Wolsty, in Holm Cultram, whose crest was a boar, and one of whom married a bride from Bewcastle. (See Nicolson's Visitation of the Diocese of Carlisle p. 25). The crest of a hand brandishing a whip may be some personal allusion.

Mention has already been made of the hearts carried by Hewheart, or Hewart, thus in Stapleton churchyard on a stone dated 1727, Hewart displays a shield on which two swords crossed in saltire between three seven-petalled-roses (?) and three hearts in chief. This looks like a composite coat, recording an alliance between Hewart and some family that bore the crossed swords: it was adopted by the late Sir Simon Hewart, of Carlisle, who came from the vicinity of Stapleton, and rose to high rank as a surgeon in the Indian service; he died *circa* 1840. His arms are blazoned in Papworth as, Or two swords in saltire ppr hilts and pomels Sa. between two cinquefoils in fess, and another in base and three hearts in chief gu., all within a bordure az. In the same churchyard Hewheart of Linemill, displays a shield, on which is a heart pierced by an arrow head. This bears out the notion that the

<sup>1</sup> Janie Graham clearly died young.

<sup>2</sup> I adopt the nomenclature in Mr. Grazebrook's "Dates of Shields," his No. 7.

original arms of Hewheart, or Hewart [or Ewart], are one or more hearts. Dodson of the Clough, in Stapleton churchyard displays an arrow head point downwards between two hearts in base, No. 7. There is probably some connection in legend or alliance between Hewheart of Linemill, and Dodson of the Clough.

Forresters and Forsters abound in Stapleton church and churchyard. On a heavy ledger stone is :—

HOB  
HER LIES ROBERT FORRESTER OF ST  
ONEGARTH SIDE 1598 IF IF.

The arms of Forrester or Forster of Stone, or Stane garth side, are :—  
Arg. a chevron vert between three bugles Sa, stringed Or. In the church is a stone on which is inscribed :—

Here lieth the Body of  
Arthur Forester late of  
Kingfield Gentleman who  
departed this life Anno Dom.  
August 24. 1680  
Aged 79 years.

His arms are simply a chevron ermine between three bugles, but others of the name are much more liberally dealt with in the churchward :—thus W. F. has three stags' heads caboshed in chief, three arrow heads points downwards in fess, and three bugles in base ; IF has the same, but his stags heads are in profile, and his arrow heads point upwards. Nicol Johnson of Sorbys, 1758, has on his shield a chevron between three bugles, the coat of the Foresters : if not a Forester by descent, Nicol Johnson was probably one by profession, as were the Foresters originally ; it is a come-down-in-the-world, as well as in heraldry, to find on the tombstone of John Forester of Leversdale Lane End, who died December 12th, 1806, aged 22 years, a jack-plane, a pair of compasses, and a carpenter's square, enclosed with two sprigs of willow within an oval frame.

The variations between the arms carried by different families of the same name are curious—take the Routledges for instance. The essential parts of the Routledge coat of arms are a chevron, a garb, a sprig of willow and a sword, which last may be indifferently within or without the shield, either in chief, or over the shield. These seven examples at Bewcastle, which display all the charges just mentioned ; they are differenced by having in base a mullet, a holly leaf, an escallop, a heart voided, a rose, a fleur-de-lis, etc. The garb, by the way, is a sore trial to the masons, who make very queer work of it—a bear's paw, a human hand : in one case it appears as a hand with proper allowance of fingers and thumb. The sword of Routledge seems copied from that of a modern officer of infantry, or rather from the tin sword of childhood.

The variants of Armstrong in Bewcastle churchyard are curious. The arms of Armstrong are three dexter arms vambraced and proper, and the crest is a dexter arm vambraced and proper. In Bewcastle churchyard, in 1762, we find these arms displayed with some attempt at heraldic accuracy, knightly helmet, and the crest thereon. Hard by is another stone on which are the arms of Armstrong, but the dexter arms are naked with clenched fists, and the knightly helmet becomes that of an

eighteenth century dragoon. Another of the clan displays sinister arms, naked, turned to the sinister, and his helmet becomes a mere curl to the sinister. Until I saw these three coats at Bewcastle I was much puzzled by the objects I found surmounting shields of arms on tombstones in North Cumberland. Thus, for long I could make nothing of the object over the shield on the back of the Ferguson stone at Arthuret, and took it to be a bush on a mount. It was not until after I had visited Bewcastle that I recognised it as a full-faced and grated helmet, with crest wreath and crest of a fleur-de-lis. In another instance I at first took the helmet for a celestial globe and frame, such as our great grandmothers were taught the stars upon; the helmet most frequently degenerates into a simple crook, like the head of a walking stick, or into a bird's head, as on a stone to one Noble at Kirklington. A yet more curious variety of Noble is at Stapleton, where the helmet is degenerated into a bird's head, and the crest above it is "very like a weasel," a demi-weasel rampant.

The variants of Baty are worthy of record. At Arthuret Richard Baty of Stonehouse, who died June 11, 1738, has on the back of his stone a shield with nine rows of chequers; over the top of the shield is a masche between two keys fesswise, bits inwards and downwards. In Stapleton churchyard is a stone to a Baty with the same chequy shield, and over it the keys in saltire, bits uppermost and outwards. The same churchyard boasts a very odd and modern edition of Baty. The shield *tierce in pale*, and bears two masches in chief and a third in base, also a dagger or broad-bladed knife in fess between two keys, fesswise, bits to sinister and outwards. Kirklington possesses a very modern variant of Baty, viz., within an oval border, between three horse-shoes a hammer, and pair of pincers in saltire:—

My sledging hammer lies reclined  
My bellows, too, have lost their wind  
My fire's extinct, my forge decayed  
And in the dust my vice is laid  
My coals are spent, my iron gone  
My nails are driven, my work is done.  
Richard Baty of Redhous  
1812.

In Arthuret Churchyard is an altar tomb, on which:—

Here lies the body of Mary wife of  
David Story of Knowe, who died May  
6th, 1767, aged        years.  
And also of (nine more of the  
family)

There is a coat of six pieces, 1, 3, and 5, an ostrich-like bird passant to the sinister, probably a stork or crane, of which Story bears three; 2, a pale floreé; 4, vairée; 6, a bend. At Kirklington Richard Story, 1746, has a shield with three triangular objects in chief, and three birds (the storks or cranes just mentioned); the three objects may be bells, and indicate an alliance with the family of Bell. A very curious shield to Story occurs at Kirklington under date of 1697—two mullets in chief, a crescent in the honour point, and in base an object like a blunt shaped wedge.

Some single coats yet deserve mention. At Kirklington Luke Black,

aged 98, in 1738, has his shield charged with a bend sinister chequy of five pieces, but no imputation on his fame; sinister or dexter, inside a shield or out, was all the same to the heraldic mason of North Cumberland. Carruthers of Foulton, 1783, has three fleur-de-lis, 2, 1. Irving of Jerrieston, who died September 26, 1772, has a circular shield, on which is a chevron between three holly leaves in chief, and an unknown object in base; the stone is further decorated with a skull, a pair of cross bones, and an hour-glass. Christopher Routledge has a blank shield underneath a cherub like a wooden doll. This pattern was kept in stock by masons, and instances abound. Janet, the wife of Christopher Jackson, is commemorated by a shield bearing a pair of scissors and a tailor's goose.

At Bewcastle, Scott of Cruickbarn bears, in a circular shield on a bend, a star between two crescents, the arms of Scott of Buccleuch, of whose clan he would probably be a member. Wilson bears a chevron between three roses; in chief a meek animal, which may be the wolf which figures in Wilson coats. There is a Wilson at Arthuret:—

Here lyes  
Gorg Wilson son  
to Gorg Wilson in  
Moot who departed  
this life December,  
1693 of age 29.

On the back of the stone is a shield with three wolves' heads coupée, crest, a crescent issuing flames of fire—the arms and crest of Wilson of Dallam Towers in Westmorland. In the same churchyard, Arthuret, is a stone with an effaced inscription, and on the back a shield, a pale charged with three roundels, a coat not known to me as a local one. The shield is of an extraordinary shape. Andrew Holliday of Hudskill, also in Arthuret churchyard charges his shield with a simple chevron; his date is effaced.

At Stapleton, Gillespie of Upper Luckens, 1718, has 'also the simple chevron. At Stapleton, also, William Carruthers bears the same shield as Carruthers of Foulton at Kirklington, but differenced with a mullet in the honour point. The wife of Thomas Routledge of Smithstead, 1727, has a coat of arms with three mullets in chief, and three objects (? garbs in base). A stone without inscription bears a circular shield, charged with three leopard's faces on a bend, to the sinister of which are three cocks. Three leopard's faces on a bend are Stevenson or Stephenson of Cumberland.

In the churchyard of Over-Denton are a remarkable series of monuments to one family.

(i.)  
Here lieth the Body of  
Bridget Teasdale of  
Mumps hall who Died  
October 7th, 1779 aged 59  
years.

On the back is a shield of arms, on which 3 piles issuing from the chief and meeting in the base point. Underneath this verse:—

Altho' in death's cold arms I make my Bed,  
I only wait until the great assize  
When the last trumpet shall awake the dead.



(ii.)

Here lieth the Body  
of Margaret  
Teasdale of Mumps  
Hall who died, May  
the 5th, 1777 aged 98  
years.

What I was once some may relate  
What I am now is each one's fate  
What I shall be none can explain  
Till he that called call again.

The same coat of arms is on the back.

(iii.)

Here lieth the Body of  
George Teasdale of  
Mumps hall who Died Apr.  
the 27th, 1753 Aged 25 years.

Underneath same verse as on No 1, and at back same coat of arms.

(iv.)

Here lieth the Body of  
John Teasdale of Mumps  
hall who Died Nov. 1  
1788 aged 73 years  
Being the last male hefr  
of the Teasdales of Mumps hall.

Same coat of arms at back.

At foot of (ii.) is a flat slab nearly illegible—

(v.)

Margaret Carrick who died 4th Dec. 1717.

The second of these inscriptions commemorates a fearsome woman, Tibs Mumps of Mumps Ha, embalmed in fame by Sir Walter Scott in Guy Mannering.

Instances might easily be multiplied of statesmen's arms, viz., in Brampton churchyard the Bowmans display their three long bows, and the Hetheringtons their three griffins, on the back of their several stones. From such sources, and from lintels in farm and other houses a curious local ordinary of arms might and should be compiled, and at once for decay works havoc with tombstones and lintels, and, since the imposition of a duty on armorial bearings, the frugal, though proud, statesmen of Cumberland have ceased to use their armorial bearings, and they are falling into oblivion.

The pedant in heraldic rules will no doubt despise the whole system, if system it may be called, but it is a survival of the early heraldic practice of combining in one shield the charges of *baron* and *feme*. Thus, when Wharton of Wharton, who bore a saltire of lions' paws in a golden field married in the time of Edward III. the heiress of Hastings of Croglin, who bore a maunche argent in a sable field, he took the lady's coat bodily, and encircled it with a border of gold charged with saltires of lion's paws; so, when a Hewheart of Stapleton in the time of George III. married a Bell of Kirklington, he charged his shield with his own hearts and his wife's bells.

## SOME NOTES ON THE ANCIENT ENCAUSTIC TILES IN TEWKESBURY ABBEY.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. A. S. PORTER, F.S.A.

In this part of England we pride ourselves very much on the beauty and interest of the ancient pavements of our churches. Tewkesbury was doubtless rich in this form of ornament, but comparatively little remains of its ancient grandeur. Some, however, is still *in situ*, and many tiles were rescued by Mr. Collins, to whose careful drawings I am indebted for much information.

Foremost in interest are the tiles in the Founder's, and in the Beauchamp Chapel, which have never been disturbed since the day they were laid down. In the former, is the extremely fine armorial scutcheon of the lion rampant of Fitzhamon, the Re-founder, impaled with the cross ragulé, the Arms of the Abbey. The head of a crosier appears above the shield. The date is 1397. The next pavement dates from somewhat later, and is in the chapel erected by Isabella, Countess of Warwick, for the repose of the soul of her first husband, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, who was killed at Meaux, in 1421. The chapel was dedicated on August 2nd, 1438, a year before the Countess' death. The design is a fine one of sixteen tiles, and repeats the Earl's Arms four times, "a fess between four cross crosslets with a crescent for difference," arranged in the lozengey fashion so much in vogue at that period.

None of the rest of the tiles are *in situ*, and we have to go to other churches, notably to Broadwas, in the neighbouring county, to gain a clear understanding of the way in which the different patterns were originally arranged. The finest of these were in sets of sixteen of exquisite foliage design; in some the arms of the Beauchamps of Warwick, of Powick and of Holt are introduced; others are found with the bear and ragged staff with griffins and wyverns and other badges of noble houses. The decorations of all these sets are of a most varied and elaborate character, the oak, the vine, the ivy and other leaves are gracefully introduced, and twining stem, calyx, and tendril are represented with the utmost faithfulness and beauty.

On a fragment is to be found one of the curious shields bearing "the instruments of the passion," which seems to have been a common device in the middle ages. This "shield of salvation," as it is sometimes called, bears the cross, the scourge, the ladder, the nails, the spear, and the rod with hyssop. At Malvern, the number of the instruments is

<sup>1</sup> Read at Tewkesbury Aug. 13th, 1890.

greater than is found here; in some cases the dice are represented, numbered one, two and three. Another set of sixteen tiles, which is not complete here, bears on the four tiles in the centre the favourite badge of Edward the Fourth, a rose with rays of the sun issuing from it; it is to this that Shakespeare refers in the opening lines of his play of Richard the Third.

"Now is the winter of our discontent  
Made glorious summer by the Sun of York."

The heraldic tiles are very interesting, and date from 1370 to 1450, unless we are to suppose that the arms "on a chevron, three fleur de lys" are those of Thomas de Cobham, Bishop of Worcester from 1317 to 1328. I have an impression of his seal of dignity with these arms on it.

One tile bears the arms of England and France modern, quartered as usual, except that the lions are in the first and fourth quarter which is contrary to common usage. Another, England impaling France modern, for a long time puzzled me greatly. I of course suspected that some day I should find a tile bearing France modern impaling England, and that the two tiles would make the quartered coat. It was not, however, till after this tile had been found, not only here but also at Malvern, Holt Strensham Warndon and Canynge's House at Bristol, that I discovered its fellow in a fire place at Naunton Beauchamp Court. As it bore a label I did not hesitate to assign it to Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V., and to fix its date at about 1412.

You will find also among the tiles here the arms of de Clare Le Despenser, Berkeley, de Warrenne, de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Corbet. There is a fine example bearing the arms of Somerville of Aston Somerville. "Three leopards' heads in fess between as many annulets," and another "quarterly per fess indented, in first quarter a lion passant guardant," which I refer to Sir Richard Crofts, who took Prince Edward prisoner at Tewkesbury, in 1471. I gather from Mr. Collins' book that there is a monument to a member of this family with the same arms in the church at Chipping Norton.

The last tile to which I shall refer bears Le Despenser impaling Burghersh. If I remember right you will find the same arms on a shield over the doorway of the chapel built by Isabella, Countess of Warwick. This evidently refers to Edward, Lord Le Despenser, who married Elizabeth Burghersh. He died in 1375, aged 39, and was buried at Tewkesbury.

If any of my hearers are interested in old heraldic tiles, let me advise them to visit the splendid church of Bredon, which is about four miles from here. They are the finest set of purely heraldic tiles which England can produce, and date from 1372 to 1375.

# Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 6th, 1890.

T. H. BAYLIS, Esq., Q.C., in the Chair.

MR. J. P. HARRISON communicated a note on Churches built by Richard II., Duke of Normandy, and also exhibited photographs of capitals in the south aisle of the choir of Bernay Abbey, founded *circa* 1017. The ornamentation of the capitals is decidedly eastern, and three exhibit features evidently derived from the foliage of the Palm tree. As the chronicles of Verdun Abbey record a visit to Richard by Simeon Abbot, of Mount Sinai, with some of his monks, about the time that the work of Bernay was in progress, the sculpture of the capitals, may perhaps, be attributed to their skill. It appears, also, that Simeon and one of the monks, named Stephen, remained at Rouen for two years, and whilst there, Simeon suggested the foundation of a monastery in the suburbs, and deposited in it relics of St. Catherine, which he had brought with him from the East. The church is no longer in existence, but a capital belonging to it, of oriental character, is preserved in Rouen Museum. Work similar to that at Bernay exists at Evereux, another of Richard's churches. Fécamp Abbey contains little more than a single bay of his church (*circa* 1001), in the midst of the thirteenth century choir. Here the ornament is altogether different from that at Bernay, and resembles some in the choir of Oxford Cathedral, and the illuminated MSS. of the period.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Harrison.

## Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. F. C. J. SPURRELL.—Stone and flint implements, and other objects, lately obtained by Mr. Flinders Petrie in Egypt. Mr. Spurrell explained the peculiarities of the shape and mode of chipping of the flints. He also described specimens of Frit colours in various stages of manufacture and application from the same source.

By DR. W. J. RUSSELL.—A collection of colours prepared in imitation of those of Egypt. Dr. Russell described the method of their preparation.

December 4th, 1890.

T. H. BAYLIS, Esq., Q.C., in the Chair.

A paper by the late Sir Henry Lefroy, "Parochial Accounts, seventeenth century, St. Nots, Cornwall," was read by the Chairman. This is printed at page 65.

THE REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES communicated some notes in an Ancient Chair in Lincoln Minster; this is printed in vol. xlvii, p. 406. The Meeting was also indebted to Precentor Venables for a communication upon some recent discoveries in Lincoln of the Roman and Mediæval periods which will appear in a future *Journal*.

A vote of thanks was passed to Precentor Venables.

## Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.—Small bone seal, Leadén Bulla of Innocent VI., double socket of brass, brass shield, bronze celts, teeth of "bos longifrons," brass coin, &c.

## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE CHURCH BELLS OF SUFFOLK. By J. J. RAVEN, D.D. London: Jarrold and Sons, Paternoster-buildings, 1890.

This is the fifteenth County Bell Book which has appeared, and we believe that most readers will consider it the most readable and the fullest of information. Dr. Raven has had the advantage of being able to resort to the published results of the researches of his brother campanologists, and he has also already written the history of the church bells of Cambridge-shire, and we find that he possesses a strong vein of humour, and extensive knowledge of other branches of archaeology, and is able to enliven his subject with numerous side-lights.

The chief problem which every campanologist has to face is to determine when, where, and by whom the pre-Reformation bells of his district were cast. These bells seldom bear any date, or any name or initials of the founder. The earlier bell books accordingly arranged them in groups, according to their lettering, and the crosses, shields, and other stamps which are found upon them. But Dr. Raven is now able to tell us the approximate date of nearly every ancient bell in his county, and the name and abode of its founder. Thus some bells are found bearing the shield, which we here give as Fig. 1.



Fig. 1.



This shield has been identified as belonging to a London bell founder named William Culverden of the date 1510—1523. Culver is an old name for a wood-pigeon; so that the shield bears a rebus of his name.

Another interesting pair of shields, which are always found together, are here given as Figs. 2 and 3.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

These are traced to one Henry Jordon, who lived and, strange to say, flourished in the time of the Wars of the Roses. He was a member of the Fishmongers' Company, and adopted the cross keys and dolphin from their arms. The vessel resembling a coffee-pot is found in the arms of the founders' company, and the meaning of the bell is obvious. There is also reason for believing that the wheat sheaf appeared on the shield of Henry Jordan's mother. The second shield is still unexplained, but we observe that the orthography of this gentleman's name varies, and sometimes appears as Yordan (5 Simon's Reports 571, 1 Milne and Craig's reports, 416), so that if he dabbled in the fishing trade he may have picked up the nautical word "yard," and thought that a mast with a streamer attached, coupled with the letter N at the foot, would form a good rebus of his surname.

The shield, which we here give as fig 4, is only partially explained.

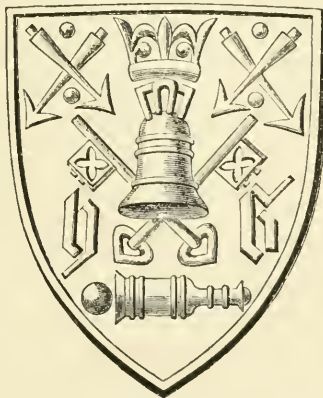


Fig. 4.

The distribution of the bells bearing it, and the presence of the crown and arrows upon it leave no doubt that it belonged to a Bury founder; and the style of the bells points to the latter part of the fifteenth century. But the Bury records reveal no founder having H. S. for his initials. It is clear from the gun upon the shield that this founder cast cannon as well as bells, but no piece of ordnance is known which can be attributed to him. The cross keys may have been copied from Henry Jordan's shield, under a mistaken view of their significance.

Another founder, who cast cannon as well as bells, was John Owen, of London, one of the king's founders of ordnance, who made his will in August, 1549, on being sent into Norfolk against the rebels. This will contains one very touching bequest. "I bequeath to a child that is none of mine, although it is named of me, which is at nurse in south minories, whose name is Samuel £40."

The Norwich founders cut a very considerable figure in Suffolk, but on one occasion, at least, the celebrated Richard Brasyer did not act up to his reputation. He was employed to recast the great bell of Mildenhall, and gave a bond conditioned for the due performance of his work. The bell proved faulty, and the obligees sued him on his bond. He did not contest the faultiness of the bell, but pleaded that the bond premised that the bell was to be weighed and put in the furnace in the presence of the men of Mildenhall, and this had not been done. The plea was argued in Easter Term, 1469, and overruled, two reasons being assigned for its invalidity: one, that it was Brasyer's duty to weigh and fuse the old bell in the presence of the Mildenhall delegates, and he could not take advantage of his own default; the other, that these words did not constitute an essential condition. Dr. Raven gives an entertaining account of the arguments, which adduced illustrations of a contract with a tailor, and a supposed case of a bond to secure that A's son should walk to church and marry B's daughter.

With respect to the spoliation of bells at the Reformation and the Commonwealth, Dr. Raven acquits both reformers and puritans from the charge of having done much mischief in Suffolk. We believe that all writers on the subject of bells have come to a similar conclusion with respect to their respective districts.

Suffolk illustrates the transition from pre-reformation to post-reformation bells. The former, in general, are inscribed in Lombardic capitals down to about 1400, and in black letter after that date. Post-reformation bells in general are dated in Arabic numerals, inscribed in Roman capitals, and bear the name, or at least, the initials of their founder. A founder named Stephen Tonni settled at Bury St. Edmunds about the time of this change. Three bells of his are found dated 1544, in antique Arabic numerals, all inscribed in black letter and bearing mediæval stamps. Then occurs an interval of fifteen years, up to 1559, in which year he reappears in Roman capitals, with modern Arabic numerals; and there is a fair sprinkling of his bells in most years after that date up to his death about 1587. Apparently no bells were cast in his neighbourhood in the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, and he ceased to use his old letters and ornaments, and made letters of the new type. Suffolk seems to have fallen in with the new order of things more readily than other counties, and to have been relatively more flourishing in the sixteenth

century than at present. The number of Elizabethan bells found in it is unusually large; and it appears that in 1553 it possessed 1812 bells, while the present number is only 1864.

Stephen Tonni was succeeded by one Thomas Draper, who moved to Thetford, and was mayor of that town in 1595, in which year he presided over the expulsion of a burgess named Roger Herbert, who would not give money for the mayor's diet, repugned against certain orders made respecting "hogges," and called one of his fellow burgesses "splintershanks."

Bell-founding was brisk in Suffolk in the seventeenth century. The Brends, of Norwich, and the Grayes, of Colchester were rivals in trade during a great part of this period. Dr. Raven considers Miles Gray to be the prince of founders, the tenor bell at Lavenham being regarded as his masterpiece. His bells date from 1605 to 1646. Then came the civil war, in the course of which the royalists took possession of Colchester, and Miles Graye's house was burnt during an attack by Fairfax. In 1649 he died, and was succeeded by his sons, Christopher and Miles. In 1657, a bell at Wickham Market, cast by one of the Grayes, proved a failure, and was recast by their rival, John Brend of Norwich, who placed thereon the inscription:—

The monument of Graie  
Is passed awaie,  
In place thereof doth stand  
The name of John Brend.

Another amusing inscription is found on a bell at Great Ashfield, cast in 1735 by one Thomas Newman. It bears the verse:—

Pull on, brave boys, I am metal to the back-  
bone, but will be hanged before I crack.

A founder named Henry Pleasant was also a rhymor. A bell of his at St. Nicholas, Ipswich, bears:—

Henry Pleasant have at last  
Made as good as can be cast. 1706.

And the tenor there, of the same date, bears his initials, and a verse evidently composed by some literary genius intermediate to Henry Pleasant and Virgil, namely:—

*Malburio duce castra cano vestata inimicis.*

This, doubtless, refers to the battle of Ramilies. Dr. Raven gives us a still better specimen of Henry Pleasant's English verse from Maldon, in Essex, namely:—

When three this steeple long did hold,  
We were the emblem of a scold;  
No music then, but we shall see  
What pleasant music six will be.

Henry Pleasant's home was at Sudbury, and he was succeeded there about 1709 by Thomas Gardiner, who exhibits still greater literary degeneracy. His first work was at Edwardstone, where the two trebles and the tenor of six are his casting, the 3rd, 4th, and 5th being older bells by the Grayes. The inscriptions on the bells show that he originally cast the second out of tune, and was compelled to recast it in the following year, with the name of the tuner upon it; but he was, nevertheless, employed to cast the tenor a little later. The inscriptions themselves are as follows:—

1. Mr. Cook and Nutting, C. W., 1709.
2. Tuned by William Culpeck 1710.
6. Abent ty second Culpeck is wrett,  
Because the founder wanted wett;  
Their judgments were but bad at last,  
Or else this bell I never had east.  
Tho. Gardiner.

We have now given to our readers a few of the plums out of Dr. Raven's cake, and can assure them that if they have recourse to the original they will find that we have by no means exhausted the stock. There are mediæval receipts for casting an octave of bells, stories of bell founders, ancient and modern, disquisitions on bell ringing and the various uses of bells, a specimen of early music, more than 110 illustrations from woodcuts or plates, and a complete collection of the inscriptions of all the bells in the county. We have only found a few slips in the course of the work, such as Robert Phelps for Richard Phelps on p. 148, and the insertion of a Reading cross (fig. 44) among the London marks on Plate III.; and there is only one point on which we are disposed to disagree with Dr. Raven. That point is the view expressed on p. 4, that the inscriptions on all English bells have been produced by stamping them in the cope. On French bells the inscriptions are now produced by placing letters and ornaments on the "thickness," as it is called—it ought to be called the *coam*—and we are strongly of opinion that this practice has prevailed in England also. We feel no doubt that the low broad letters used by the Eldridges, and others, in the early part of the seventeenth century were produced by this means, and we believe that the old Lombardic inscriptions have the same origin. The Lombardic letters usually completely fill the space between the shoulder rims, and we fancy that the original purpose of these rims was to hold the letters. We remember once enquiring at the Whitechapel foundry and being told by a workman that inscriptions had always been put on as they are now. But there happened to be an old bell lying near, and we had little difficulty in convincing the man that the inscription upon it had been produced by placing letters raised in relief upon the thickness.

A. D. TYSEN.

CARTE ET ALIA MUNIMENTA QUÆ AD DOMINIUM DE GLAMORGAN  
PERTINENT. Curante: GEO. T. CLARK. Vol. I, 1102-1359, MDCCCLXXXV;  
Vol. II, 1348-1721, MDCCCXC.

More than five years ago our learned and industrious Vice-President, Mr. G. T. Clark, who is beyond dispute the first authority on the history and antiquities of Glamorgan, put forth a volume of Charters and Muniments relating to that Lordship, promising, in the preface to that volume, that a second should follow; and in 1890 he fulfilled the promise. We have now before us, accordingly, two most valuable collections, and propose to treat them together as they are alike, and separately as they differ.

Many of the documents were already printed in books; but in every case the book, often somewhat rare, is named, and the reprinting is justified by the plan of the present work, namely, chronological arrangement, in which the already printed and the hitherto unprinted form one chain of evidence, and support and explain one another.



The 277 documents in the first volume range through two centuries and a half—from the beginning of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth.

They are so various as almost to defy classification. There are charters and confirmations of charters—some to churches, some to towns, some to private persons; documents more or less representing the authority exercised by the Pope in England and Wales; extents and bailiffs' accounts of lands; extracts from the Pipe Rolls of the Kingdom; conventions and settlements of disputes, to which bishops and abbots, barons and great landholders are parties; royal decisions, protections and writs; orders concerning the tenure of castles; the trespasses on the Marches; rights of water and liabilities touching sea-walls; inquisitions, pleas and trials of various kinds.

The second volume brings the number of the documents to 511, and the period of range to the beginning of the eighteenth century, and comprises even a greater variety than the first volume—there being leases, bonds and settlements which were scarcely in use before the year 1350. It also presents a new and useful feature, namely, explanatory notes to many documents, drawn from the Editor's vast stores of knowledge of Glamorgan history and genealogy, and expressed with his usual precision.

One peculiar value of these collections lies in the historical fact that, down to the Welsh Act of Union, passed in 1535, the district of Glamorgan, although feudally subject to the English King, was yet outside the realm of England, and therefore writs from the English Chancery did not run there.

During that early period the Lordships were petty kingdoms, the tenants were, some "Angli," some "Franci," some "Waluenses," the laws and customs as various, the state of society turbulent—all which circumstances are commemorated and illustrated in numberless ways.

Attention should be given to all that is recorded concerning monasteries and monasticism, bishops and their dioceses and courts, of all which antiquaries are now seeking a deeper knowledge.

Further, the charters to towns are most interesting for mutual comparison. They are not charters of *incorporation* (pace the learned Editor), but partly confirmations of old liberties to corporations of immemorial existence, partly grants of new liberties to the same.

Mr. Clark is not accustomed to leave his work incomplete, and, accordingly, we have a copious index to each volume, drawn up, we have no doubt, by his own hand. Let us commend this good example to all editors of books that comprise a like variety of subjects.

Lastly, we remark that, as the preface to the first volume promised a second, so the preface to the second promises a third, and we urge our brother antiquaries to study what they have, encouraged by the hope of more to come.

THE LAKE DWELLINGS OF EUROPE; being the RHIND LECTURES IN ARCHAEOLOGY for 1888. By ROBERT MUNRO, M.A., M.D., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Cassell and Company, Limited: London, Paris, and Melbourne, 1890. Large 8vo, pp. xl., and 600.

If the founder of the Rhind Lectureship in Archæology could be permitted to visit for a short time the library of the Society of Antiquaries of



Scotland, now housed, through the liberality of Mr. Findley, in its new quarters, he would see on its shelves ample and convincing evidence that the first object he had in view in establishing the lectureship, viz., "To assist in the general advancement of knowledge," had been thoroughly and successfully carried out by the different antiquaries who have, one after the other, filled the chair. This general advancement of knowledge extends far beyond the mere limits of the subjects treated of in the various lectures. Sir Arthur Mitchell and Dr. Anderson have sought and found opportunities of showing that the methods followed in Archaeological inquiries should be as strict as those which are deemed necessary in other departments of science; they have thus laid down canons of archaeological art which all future writers will do well to keep in view.

The laborious and monumental work now before us is a worthy companion of those that have gone before; if we may hint at a fault, it is that its larger size, due to the exigences of the illustrations, hinders us from placing it side by side on our library shelves with the nine or ten volumes of its predecessors; however, in this we may, perhaps, be considered somewhat over fastidious. Dr. Munro was long ago well and favourably known for his researches and excavations into Crannogs in Ayrshire, and in 1882 he published a volume on "Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings or Crannogs," which, by the way, does range on the shelves of a library with the other volumes of Rhind Lectures. This book was most favourably reviewed, and, with it on their shelves, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland showed their wisdom in appointing Dr. Munro to the Rhind lectureship for 1888, and in dictating to him his subject—the "Lake-dwellings of Europe." They considerably gave him ample notice, and we gather from his preface that he and his wife forthwith abandoned house and home, and for two years or more perambulated the whole of Central Europe, with note and sketch books in hand, visiting, as far as practicable, the sites of lake-dwellings, and searching museums and libraries wherever they thought relics or records of lake dwellings were to be found. A line drawn from Königsberg on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic, passing through the intermediate towns of Krakow, Buda-Pesth and Agram, defines the eastern limit of the region thus visited. The lake-dwellings within this area divide into two classes; those whose period of existence is exclusively confined, or almost so, to the pre-historic ages of Stone and Bronze; and those which, by the remains found therein, apparently belong to all ages. The first are situated round the great Alpine chain of mountains, in the upper reaches of the four principal water-ways which diverge from its flanks, viz., the Rhine, the Rhone, the Danube, and the Po. Starting in Switzerland, the second are found at La Tène, on Lake Neuchâtel, and thence along the lower Rhine district to North Germany, and also in the British Isles. Dr. Munro deals with the first class in the first three of his lectures, and with the second in his fourth and fifth lectures, while his sixth and last lecture deals with the general culture and civilisation of the lake dwellers. A large part of the information thus brought together is absolutely new to British archaeologists, but the subject is itself a new one; within the last few months we have heard English archaeologists wrangling over the proper pronunciation of the word "crannog," and many of the technical terms, "terramara" for instance, necessarily used by our author, must be unknown to all but the few who are acquainted with the

continental literature on the subject; this only came into existence in 1854, consequent on discoveries made at Ober Meilen, on the east shore of Lake Zurich, in the dry winter of 1853-4; these discoveries came under the notice of Dr. Keller, President of the Antiquarian Association of Zurich, and the father (so to speak) of the subject.

Dr. Munro commences his lectures with a brief historical preface, in which he sketches the work done by Dr. Keller and his coadjutors, Colonel Schwab, Professor Desor, and Professor Troyon; this naturally takes our author and his wife to Zurich as their starting point, and from Zurich he plans his great work rather by geographical convenience than by historical sequence, and the lacustrine habitations, thus dealt with, group themselves into the classes and lectures already mentioned. From Zurich he passes to the Jura Lakes, and here and at Zurich it is curious to note how archaeologists were aided in their researches by extensive engineering operations, undertaken for reasons connected with "filthy lucre." At Zurich the good people, in order to make their town attractive to visitors, dredged up from the lake bottom soil with which to form quays and promenades, and so brought to shore a wonderful medley of antiquarian objects, while the "Correction des Eaux du Jura," by lowering the levels of the lakes of Bienne, Neuchâtel, and Morat, greatly facilitated the investigations of the Swiss lake-dwellings, and contributed enormously to the elucidation of the culture and civilisation of their inhabitants.

From the "Correction des Eaux du Jura" our lecturer moves on to other lacustrine settlements in Western Switzerland, and concludes his first lecture with those in France. The second lecture deals with the settlements in Eastern Switzerland, the Danubian Valley and Carniola; in this district many of those settlements have lost their lacustrine character owing to an overgrowth of peat-moss which has actually engulfed entire villages with the accumulated *debris* of their industrial equipment, thus hermetically sealing up everything in one of the best antidotes to natural decay, to reappear under the operations of the peat digger. The third lecture is devoted to Italy—the north of Italy. Here lake-dwellings are found both in water and in peat; but, in the valley of the Po, other ancient remains of a similar character known as "Terremare" occur. The section devoted by Dr. Munro to Terremare is one of the most interesting in the book. There seems to have existed in the early Bronze Age, in the valley of the Po, a race of people who built their habitations on platforms above the ground. On forming a settlement they selected a slight elevation of the prevalent blue clay not yet covered by the more recent alluvial deposit, and measured off a rectangular space of about two acres; they enclosed it with a ditch and internal dyke some six feet high; this they backed with a continuous row of little log-houses, framed together, which they filled with rubbish, laying finally a gravel pavement on the top, level with the top of the dyke. Piles were placed in regular order all over the internal area, whose tops reached to the level of the gravel pavement. These piles carried a wooden platform on which these curious people erected their huts. They dropped their domestic refuse into the space under their huts, and when that space was completely filled up they did not shift their location, but built a new settlement of precisely similar character on the top of the old one, and so on as occasion required.

The object of these singular arrangements it is difficult to conjecture; were the terramaricoli, a stray tribe of lacustrine dwellers, who erected above dryland the nearest approach they could to their old habitations above water? Some archaeologists have held that they carried the idea so far as to artificially fill the space under their houses with water, but the situations generally chosen, knolls above the recent alluvial deposit, seem to make this an impossibility, unless they knew how to make water run up hill. These mounds, into which the habitations of the terramaricoli have collapsed, are frequently crowned by a modern church or convent; the soil of which they are composed possesses great fertilising power, and they are consequently utilised by agriculturists as available manure heaps, and many of them, in spite of their great extent, covering in most instances many acres, have now entirely disappeared. No attention appears to have been given to these singular mounds until about 1861, when the wave of archaeological investigation, stimulated by the discovery of the Swiss lake-dwellings, reached the Parmensian antiquaries. Various conflicting theories were at first put forth, and the *terremare* became a fine field of battle for archaeologists.

The celebrated lacustrine station, La Tène, at the north end of Lake Neuchâtel, was discovered, so early as 1858, to be a rich repository of antiquities of a totally different character from those found in any of the previously explored Pfahlbauten. These were associated with numerous piles, so that antiquaries shortly came to the conclusion that the station was analagous to the ordinary pile-dwellings of the Stone and Bronze Ages, the only difference being that it represented a later age, the duration of its occupation extending into the Gallo-Roman period. The bulk of the relics found consist of iron implements and weapons, presenting a striking difference, not only in material, but also in form and style of manufacture from any found in the ordinary lake-dwellings. Among these are a vast proportion of warlike weapons; everything, indeed, points to its having been a military station, commanding the great highway between Constance and Geneva, and that it fell under an assault by the Romans, in which the twenty-first legion participated. In Lake Paladru, a class of antiquities are found which bring the occupation of the lake-dwellings down to Carolingian times, probably as late as the ninth or tenth century. Professor Virchow indeed considers, that with one or two exceptions, all the lake-dwellings of North Germany were founded during the Iron Age, and like our Scottish and Irish crannogs, continued down to the Middle Ages. This opinion is not universally accepted, for many local archaeologists contend that several of these lake-dwellings have yielded relics that can only be explained on the supposition that they were founded during the earlier prehistoric ages. Dr. Munro observes that much may be written on each side of the question—the Scottish verdict of “Not Proven.”

These lake dwellings of North Germany are undoubtedly contemporaneous with the Burgwälle, or Rundwälle, a remarkable class of prehistoric constructions found scattered over the larger part of middle and north-western Europe, including Great Britain. Their foundations now only remain, and these show that the structures were generally circular or oval, from twenty to 100 paces in diameter, and from ten to thirty feet in height; they probably had superstructures of wood, whose combustion may have caused the vitrified condition in which some of their remains

now are. This opens up a very wide field of research, and many problems, both interesting and obscure, will offer themselves for solution. Meerpfahlbauten have been found in the bay of Wismar. By the way, Mecklenberg, in one Sergeant Büsch, can boast a worthy rival of our Yorkshire Flint Jack.

As might reasonably be expected, that singular country Holland presents some special varieties of pile dwellings, and Dr. Munro points out that while Roman writers are entirely silent upon the Swiss lake-dwellings, Pliny gives a most vivid account of the artificial mounds constructed by the Chauci along the coast of the German Ocean, on which they built their houses so as to be beyond the influence of the waves and tides. Since the erection of the great sea dykes these marine residences have survived as mounds, known as "Terpen" in West Friesland, "Warfen" in East Friesland, and "Wurthen" in Ditchmarsh. Spite of Pliny's description, and the ready accessibility of these mounds, they failed to attract, until quite recently, the attention of archæologists. The agriculturists were the pioneers that gave the archæologists the lead; they first discovered that the interior of the terpen was composed of a rich ammoniacal deposit, most valuable as a fertilising agent, consequently the excavation of such terpen as do not have churches or villages perched upon them, has become a most profitable speculation, and the excavations have brought to daylight relics that have gradually attracted the attention of archæologists. These terpen, warfen, and warthen present some analogues with the terremare of the Po valley in their internal structure, in the stratification of their deposits, in their tiers of successive occupation, and in their subsequent use as the sites of churches and cemeteries. The operations of turf diggers and bone collectors (for manure) first brought the Irish crannogs under notice, but the greatest discoveries were made in consequence of the workings of the Commission for the Arterial Drainage and Inland Navigation of Ireland, which brought to light no less than twenty-two unknown crannogs. The pioneers in investigating the Scottish crannogs were the late Mr. Joseph Robertson, F.S.A. (Scot) Mr. John Mackinlay F.S.A. (Scot), and the present Duke of Northumberland, but the main part of the exploration of the Scottish crannogs has been done by Dr. Munro himself, a fact which has to be gathered by outside knowledge and by reading between the lines rather than by any direct statements in the book now under view. Relics of a Christian Age have been found in the Irish and Scottish crannogs, and they lingered on long enough to come within the borderland of history. There is little, comparatively, to be said about lake-dwellings in England; they are neither numerous nor prolific in remains. Dr. Munro considers, and with good reason, that the vast majority of the British crannogs were constructed during the Iron Age, and that their constructors were Celts, who had brought with them from the Continent a knowledge of the art, and who built their crannogs as places of refuge from their enemies, not as the fortresses of a conqueror. But this is highly controversial matter.

In his sixth lecture Dr. Munro offers some general remarks on the culture and civilisation of the inhabitants of the lake-dwellings which seem to have been of a much higher order than we should expect from persons living in what to our ideas seem very dreary and comfortless homes, haunts of malaria, rheumatism and asthma. Even in the Stone Age the lake-dwellers of Europe were acquainted with various industries, par-



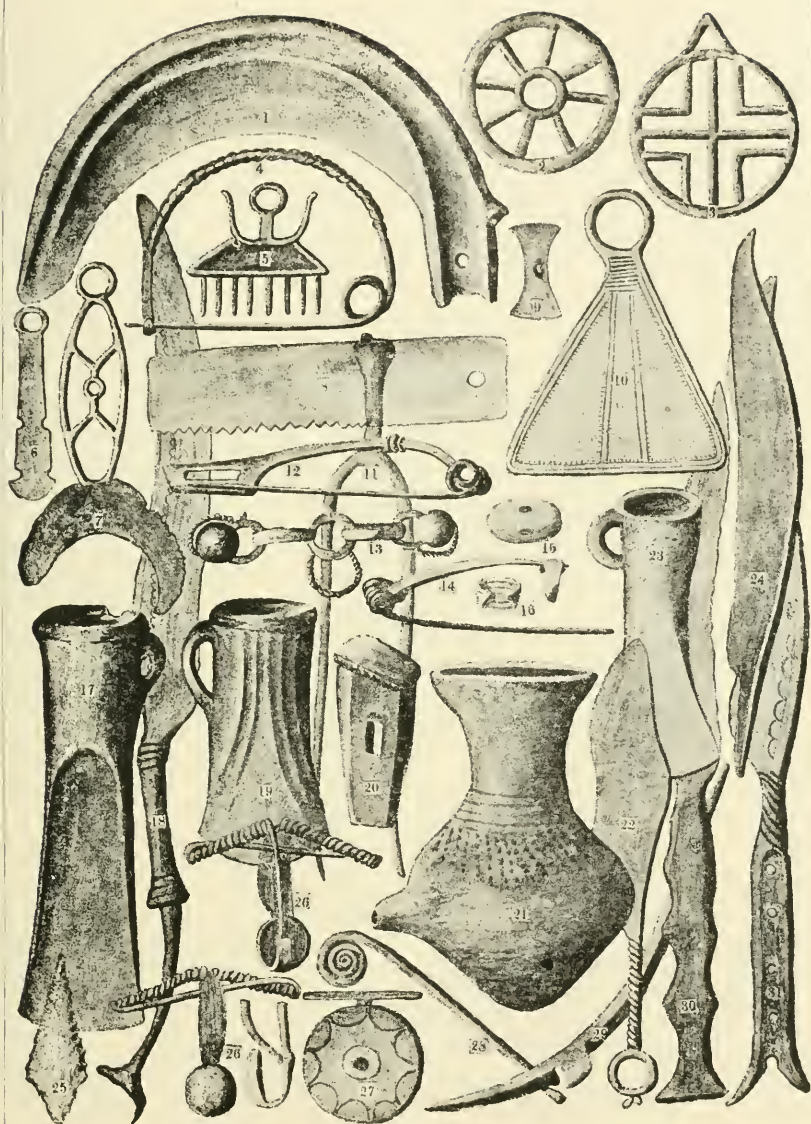
ticularly that of weaving, which they assiduously practised ; they reared the ordinary domesticated animals ; and they cultivated flax, fruit, including the grape, and various kinds of grain. They were well acquainted with the potter's art, though they did not use the potter's wheel. They were hunters and fishers. They were the owners of a very varied assortment of tools and implements, made of horn, of bone, of wild boar's tusks, of flint, and of other hard stone. With these they cut wooden dishes out of the solid ; made cups and boxes of horn ; spoons, pins, needles, buttons, awls, knives, etc., of bone. They could bore a round or oval hole through a hard stone without the use of metal. They also fabricated in great numbers implements of jade, jadeite and their cognates ; but where they got their supplies of jade from is a problem yet unsolved ; that they were in possession of the raw material and worked it themselves, is proved by the discovery in various places of the chips. Their cottages were not devoid of comfort, built of stems of trees, with the crevices plastered up with clay, each having two rooms, a hearth stone or fire-place, weaving appliances, a mill-stone, sharpening stones, etc. ; clearly the lake-dwellers must have had the notion of personal property. Vanity, too, was well developed ; personal ornaments, pendants and necklaces of shell, etc., frequently occur.

Although several objects of pure copper have been found in lake dwellings, Dr. Munro does not think the evidence sufficient to support the idea that there was a pure Copper Age intermediate between the Stone and Bronze Ages, when the latter metal was unknown. A higher degree of culture and civilisation was reached in the Bronze Age. Sharp edged swords and daggers come in, necessitating the use of sheaths ; socketted lance and arrow heads, knives, razors, chisels, gouges, sickles, etc., occur in plenty. Horse trappings show that that animal had been reduced to servitude. The skill of the bronze-workers was such as to excite our astonishment, but we know little as to the methods they employed. They seem to have understood the mysteries of that process of casting known as *cire perdue*. Dr. Munro thinks he has discovered evidence that the lake-dwellers had some religious belief, and gives illustrations of various objects which, he suggests, are evidence thereof. We would not like to say that the lake-dwellers had no religious belief, but some of these objects to our mind appear to be mere symbols of human authority, and others to be the playthings of children. The bronze men did not make much advance upon the agriculture and the horticulture of their Stone predecessors ; they added the oat and a small bean, to the three or four variety of barley and wheat, millet and peas, cultivated by their predecessors, and they apparently lost or neglected the art of horticulture. The evidence seems to shew that the bronze people superseded the stone people by degrees, by a gradual immigration. The contrary seems the case, when the iron men came in, they came as conquerors, destroying all before them.

The general conclusion Dr. Munro comes to is as follows :—

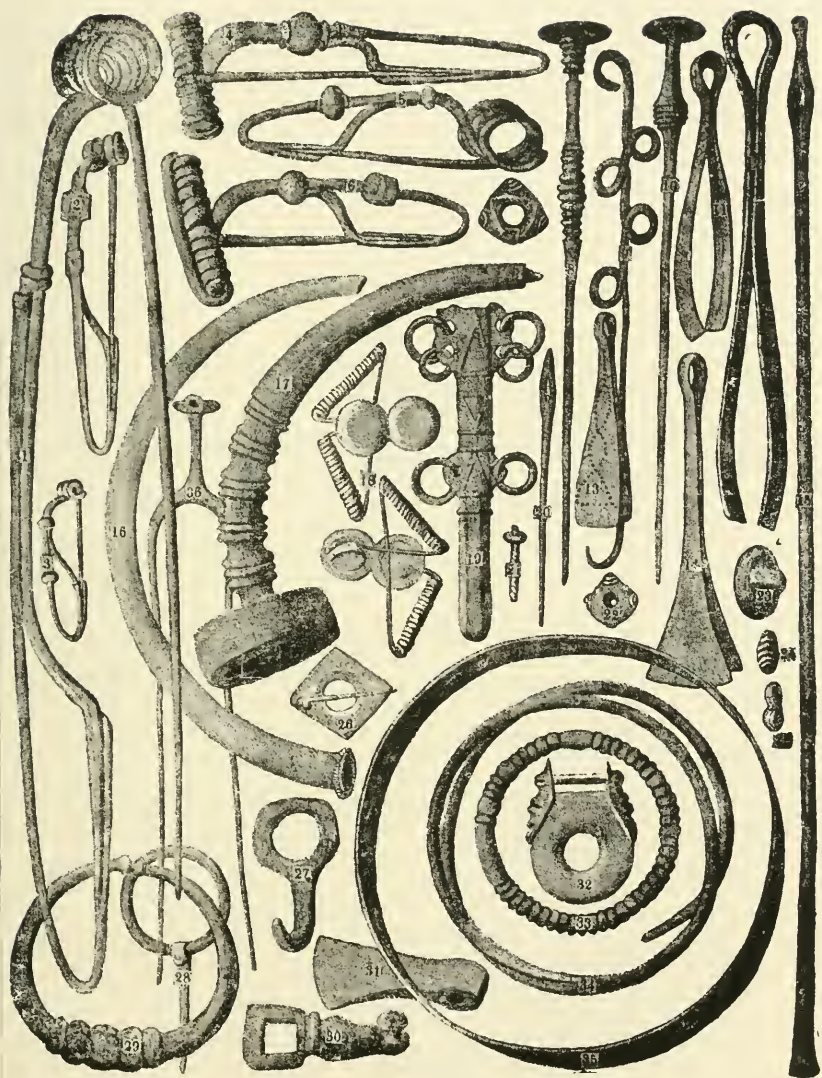
In hazarding an opinion as to the original founders of the lake-dwellings in Central Europe, I would say that they were parts of the first neolithic immigrants, who entered the country by the regions surrounding the Black Sea and the shore of the Mediterranean, and spread westwards along the Danube and its tributaries till they reached the great central lakes. Here they founded that remarkable system of lake-villages whose ruins and relics are now being disinterred, as it were, from another or forgotten world. Those following the Drave and the Save entered Styria, where they established their settlements on what was then a great Lake at Laibach.





From Estavayer.





From La Tène.





From this they crossed the mountains to the Po valley, where they founded not only the pile-villages, but subsequently, the *terremare*. The Danubian wanderers, having reached the upper sources of the Danube, crossed the uplands by way of Schussenried and arrived on the shores of Lake Constance from which they quickly spread over the low-lying districts of Switzerland. From Lake Neuchâtel, still continuing a westward course, they reached the Rhone valley, by way of Morges, where they erected one of their earliest and largest settlements. From the Lake of Geneva they had easy access to the Lakes of Annecy and Bourget.

Dr. Munro considers that, after the collapse of the great lake villages, a knowledge of the system remained among surrounding nationalities, which subsequently germinated into activity in various sporadic corners—Friesland, North Germany, Ireland, and Scotland.

We have given a somewhat condensed summary of this great book; it is not a book for light or casual reading; it requires to be studied, but the more it is studied, the more charming, the more instructive, and the more suggestive does it become, bringing clearly home to the reader's mind the conditions under which the lake dwellers lived, and their lines of migration. It contains many interesting episodical bits, such as that on the jade problem already referred to. One of these we cannot refrain from mentioning, that is—the beaver trap episode: certain wooden machines, much resembling a butcher's tray *minus* the projecting handles, but having a large rectangular hole in the bottom, have been discovered at places far apart; the rectangular hole in the bottom is fitted with valves, which are closed by a clever arrangement of hazel rods. The wildest conjectures have been made as to what these objects may be—pumps, peat-making machines, cheese-presses, musical instrumentst, &c.—but the present and most reasonable opinion is that they are traps to be used in water, where the animal could insert its head from below, conditions the otter and the beaver alone can satisfy, or perhaps some sort of wild fowl.

Space does not permit us to discuss the relics found in the various lake dwellings; those interested must go to the book itself, where they will find them most carefully described, and, to the number of over 2,000, most excellently reproduced by one or other of the mysterious processes, which (we do not know how) facilitate, supplement, or supersede wood-engraving. The beauty, vivacity, and softness of these illustrations are in advance of almost any we have seen. No less admirable is the ingenuity with which many objects are packed into one illustration, without any detriment to clearness or appearance of over-crowding. Reading between the lines of the preface ["my wife and I . . . with note and sketch books in hand] we cannot help thinking that to Mrs. Munro much of the credit of these illustrations is due. By the kindness of Dr. Munro we reproduce two of them with this notice, viz., a plate of objects from Estavayer, all half real size, and a plate of objects from La Tène, all quarter real size, except, No. 32, which is one-third.

A complete bibliography of the literature on lake-dwellings, arranged in chronological order, occupies twenty-seven pages of the volume, and comprises 469 items, most of which were effectually entombed in the transactions of various learned societies, and lost. This must have been a work of great and somewhat repulsive labour, but its value to the student cannot be over-estimated; we would fain see similar bibliographies accomplished for other departments of archaeological science. The book is well indexed, on good paper, and is printed in a type that at first looks some-



what wiry and thin—American rather—but it is singularly clear and distinct, and the reader, when used to it, soon begins to think the older type coarse and clumsy.

One thing makes one feel somewhat mortified—the contrast between the help given to archaeologists by foreign governments and by the British. On the continent the authorities are much prompter to interfere for the protection of objects of archaeological value, and in the interests of the local museums than our government, who would care nothing if it pleased the Duke of Wellington [to take an unlikely example] to root up Silchester with a steam excavator.

In conclusion, we congratulate Dr. Munro on the vast amount of knowledge he must have acquired since he was, in 1886, first asked to undertake the duties of the Rhind lectureship; lectures have a twofold beneficial effect—they may teach the lecturees something, more or less; they cannot fail to teach the lecturer a great deal. Dr. Munro must now be, as his subject, *facile princeps*, though we will not insure him that all he has said will be received without controversy.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY; being a classified Collection of the Chief Contents of the Gentleman's Magazine from 1731 to 1863. Edited by GEORGE LAWRENCE GOMME, F.S.A. ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES, Part II. London: Elliott Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, 1891.

This volume is a continuation of the last, and concludes the section on *Architectural Antiquities*. It contains the remainder of the valuable communications of John Carter to the Old Magazine, which did so much, notwithstanding their great unpopularity at the time, to check the monstrous innovations and destruction of our ancient building which set in in the last century, but which, alas! was only "scotched, not killed." Mr. Gomme in his Preface introduces a letter from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1813, which illustrates the light in which Carter was regarded by the ecclesiastical authorities of his day. The writer had recently visited Westminster Abbey, and from curiosity enquired whether Carter was among the Candidates for the vacant Office of Architect of the Abbey Church. The person of whom the question was asked replied that "he did not know whether Mr. Carter had made any application, but observed that he could not at any rate be considered an eligible person from his strong propensity to preserve the works of antiquity unaltered; and, besides, he had been heard to declare publicly, that if he had a casting-vote on the rebuilding of Henry VII. Chapel, he would instantly give it for stopping farther proceedings, except repairing such parts as absolutely required it." Would that this principle generally prevailed among so-called church-restorers since Carter's time, who have wrought their will upon our ancient churches, and in their vanity think that they can effect improvements upon the work of the great masters of the art who designed and executed Westminster Abbey Church, York-Minster, &c., &c., e.g., Lord Grimthorpe!

In the first portion of this volume there is a series of articles descriptive of mediæval and later buildings, divided into periods from the eleventh century down to the time of George I. General descriptions are given shewing, as nearly as practicable, their original condition and the changes which time and other causes had effected. Many of them have been

measured and drawn by Mr. Carter, and the drawings are preserved in his extensive collections. It is difficult for the general reader to fully understand architectural description without illustrations, and Mr. Carter's style of writing and his nomenclature are not very clear. Throughout his descriptions, what he calls *Saxon* must be read as *Norman*.

As belonging to the earlier period, Westminster Abbey Church, York Minster, and several other churches of less importance are briefly noticed; but we must come down to the reign of Henry, VIII., which was rather a destructive than a constructive period. Mr. Carter remarks: "this strange era of universal change, in religion, politics, morals, architecture, painting, costume in dress, and numerous other particulars, none gave way more to the delusive phantom than did that of our ancient architecture, both with respect to our entire subversion in its original character, and by the ruthless devastations wrought on some of its brightest examples; indeed, those left us at this day lie at the mercy of capricious taste and gloomy innovation, under the specious plea of improvement and repair."

"We may readily assert that in Henry's reign, and for near a century after, no ecclesiastical buildings were raised, and it is supposed that Covent Garden Church, by Inigo Jones, was the first structure erected for that purpose; and although adapted to the uses of the Protestant service, yet it bears the form and semblance, in plan and elevation, of a pagan temple, being of the Roman order of architecture. Lordly mansions, princely palaces, engaged all the art of the land in this respect, and they were done on a scale the most extensive and the most costly; a new race of beings were to be accommodated with portals, courts, halls, galleries, chambers of state, and every other arrangement that could invite luxury or gratify ambition."

To this follows a description of Hampton Court, in plan and elevation, interior arrangements and decorations. Of these Mr. Carter writes with much enthusiasm, especially of the great hall, but he laments the removal of the high place, or dais, and the levelling of the floor throughout, and also the loss of the minstrels' gallery. "A door," he says, "has been broken through the eastern wall (at the back of the dais), and a stucco-cast copy of the doorway on the north side of the hall stuck up for entrance to a chamber adjoining. He adds, "this may be called ridiculous and wasteful which is of no use or benefit otherwise than to shew in what contempt modern professionalists regard ancient work." The lantern in the roof is also obliterated. Wilton House, Wilts, receives his attention under this reign. Montacute House, Som., and Burleigh House, Northants, under that of Elizabeth; Hatfield House is noticed under James I. (1611), Kirby House under Charles I., though it was commenced by Sir Humfrey Stafford in the time of Elizabeth. In the reign of the first Charles the Inns of Court and numerous Town Houses, and the Palace at Whitehall, built by Inigo Jones, which is very fully described, measured, and drawn. But we must pass on, omitting much of great interest, to the reign of Queen Anne under which we find a description of Buckingham House (now Palace), contained in letters from John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, to the Duke of Shrewsbury in 1762, which are of great interest. Blenheim is also described under this reign. These are a few only of the great Houses and Public Buildings brought under notice.

We now turn to another section in the volume entitled *Additional*

*Notes*, which contains Mr. Carter's vigorous letters of condemnation of the proceedings then being carried out under the specious term of *restoration* in the grand and stupendous structure, Durham Cathedral. He spent three months there in the year 1795, in sketching, making plans and sections, and writing notes on this remarkable edifice for the Society of Antiquaries of London. The havoc which had been committed was most distressing. "Imagine for one moment," Mr. Gomme exclaims, "the wanton barbarity in destroying the Old Chapter House, with its stone seats, whereon ecclesiastics of many centuries had continuously sat, and building in its place a modern chamber, with very elegant and fashionable assortment of luxurious furniture." Mr. Carter describes the details of the ancient church in glowing language, but our space forbids us from following him, though we had marked several passages for extract; but there are two or three items which we must not omit to notice. He mentions the existence of four ancient copes still remaining in the re-vestry, one of which is of great historical interest, as it was given to the Church by Queen Philippa to commemorate her great victory over the King of Scots in 1346, before the walls of Durham (Nevills Cross). Of the others no particulars are known. They were probably provided for the Church in the ordinary way. It is to be regretted that the colours are not stated. There is also a fifth cope which possesses a sad interest. It was presented to the Church by King Charles I. It is remarkable that on this cope is worked the figure of a man with a decapitated head in his hand. The vergers say that it represents David with the head of Goliath in his hand. We should also mention that on the porch door remains an ancient "hagoly," or Sanctuary Knocker, one of only half a dozen now known to exist.

It is satisfactory to know that Mr. Carter's letters, as printed in this volume, practically had the effect of stopping the worst of the work intended to be carried out at Durham; and, it is hoped, had a more extended influence.

Mr. Carter also describes, in similar detail, the Cathedrals of York and Ely, and it is gratifying to learn that vandalism had not been practised to the same extent as at Durham, though there are many things to condemn.

There are other articles of great interest under these heads, *e.g.*, Observations on Timber Houses, which very largely prevailed in this country down to the end of Elizabeth's reign; Construction in Norman Architecture; on Norman Domestic Architecture; Ancient Conduits, &c.; concluding with valuable notes bringing down the history of various buildings, described in the text, to the present time.

The Editor states that there remains over an important lot of materials dealing especially with the Architecture of Churches and Ecclesiastical buildings, which together with some papers on other church topics of Antiquarian interest, will form a volume on *Ecclesiology*. Many important architectural particulars will also find a place in the Topographical volume, but these are all primarily of local importance, and illustrate the history of the parish or town, and its inhabitants, more than the history of the buildings themselves.

We venture to express a hope that the publisher will see a way to publish a further volume or two, containing the records of the births marriages and deaths, preserved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.



## Archaeological Journal.

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JUNE, 1891.

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### SOME TOMBS IN CRETE OF THE AGE OF MYCENÆ.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. J. HIRST.

In his work, *De Legibus*, Cicero says "that the most ancient way of burying the dead was to commit the corpse to the earth, where it is laid in the lap, as it were, of its mother."<sup>2</sup> And he quotes with approval the speech put by Xenophon into the mouth of the dying Cyrus:—"When I am dead, my children, do not enshrine my body in gold, or in silver, or in any other substance; but restore it to the earth as soon as possible, for what can be more desirable than to be mixed with the earth, which gives birth and nourishment to everything excellent and good."<sup>3</sup>

Some funerary urns or fictile sarcophagi recently discovered in Crete would seem to show that while cremation was prevalent at the time of Homer, in the preceding age called that of Mycenæ, only partial combustion of the body and interment of the remains was practised. First, it may be well to quote, in confirmation of Cicero's statement, the judgment of the most recent edition of a work, which has deservedly attained high authority:—"The simple closing up of the body in earth or stone..... is the earliest form of burial of which we have any knowledge.....The Palaeolithic cave-dwellers of France and Belgium buried their dead in natural grottos and

<sup>1</sup> Read in part at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, March 5th, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> "The earth as a mother receiving man's body under a shelter denied it by the rest of nature." *Ac mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulturæ genus illud*

*fuisse videtur, quod apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducitur.* (l. ii, c. 22).

<sup>3</sup> Cyropæd. l. viii, c. vii, n. 25.



crevices of the rocks, similar to those in which they lived. The later stone-age people throughout Europe buried in chambered barrows and cairns. The bronze-age people buried in unchambered barrows, or in cemeteries of stone cists set in the ground, often in natural eminences of sand or gravel, or surrounded by circles of standing stones. Cremation was practised side by side with simple inhumation throughout the prehistoric period." (Chambers' Encyclopædia, art. *Burial*.)

As regards the ancient Persians of the Zend-Avesta, we read in a passage of the Vendidad (*apud* Shrader's *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, p. 345), that "in the case of a man who has died from home two alternatives are possible; either to take the corpse to the dwelling, or the dwelling to the corpse."

Then the authors of the "Life of the Greeks and Romans" say:—"In the earliest times the burial places seem to have been in the houses of the deceased themselves." (Kuhl and Goner, p. 291). In prehistoric or Pelasgic Athens, as it is called, I have myself observed the grave chiselled out of the rock floor of the primitive house, built by a rude population previous to their migration to the hill of the Acropolis, and to the Athens of Grecian and Roman times." Sparta and Tarentum had burial-grounds in the city, in order (as the law of Lycurgus has it) to steel the minds of youth against the fear of death. In other cities the tombs were as near the city as possible. Elsewhere the tradition of house-burial seems maintained in other ways. "In the Campania," says Birch, speaking of a figure he gives from the work on vases by Sir W. Hamilton, "the grave assumes the shape of a *soros* or sepulchral chest, with a pent-house roof, imitating pediments, or roof of a small temple." (Ancient Pottery, 2nd edit., p. 162).

On the site of the old necropolis of Delphi, there is a tomb which Thiersch describes as exactly like a house, "the antiquity of its style being shown by the fact that the sides, the door and a window above it, grew narrower towards the top." (See figure 8, Kuhl and Goner, "Life of the Greeks and Romans," p. 100).

In a work on Comparative Philology and Prehistoric Antiquities, recently translated from the German by Mr.



Jevons, of Cambridge, we read. "Various hypotheses have been put forward to bring the Italian and German house-urns into direct connection with each other; borrowing from Italy, and on the other hand, a Teutonic origin for the Italian Antiquities, have both been suggested. However, I consider Lisch's view, that these house-urns are the independent creation of the two peoples, and that they are an expression of the type of European huts inherited from primeval times, as still the most probable." (Shrader, *o. c.*, p. 368).

In Birch's *Ancient Pottery* (p. 446), there is a figure of a *Tugurium Vase*, from Albano, now in the British Museum, which is of the earliest period of Etruscan art. It "is filled with the ashes of the dead, which were introduced by a little door. This door was secured by a cord passing through two rings at its sides, and tied round the vase. The cover or roof is vaulted and apparently intended to represent the beams of a house or cottage. Urns in the shape of cottages, of brown Etruscan ware, supposed to be of the Swiss guards in the service of the Romans, were found near Albano, in 1817."<sup>1</sup>

The three coffers, with lids, of which I was able to exhibit five photographs, taken from different points of view, were found some ten years ago in a vaulted tomb excavated in the soft white rock, on the western slope of a hill, to the east of the village of Anoja-Messaritica, between six and seven kilometres from the ancient city of Gortyna, but also not far from the village of Plora, which would recall the name of ancient Pylôros. The chamber, like those in Brittany, is preserved by a long alley or *δρόμος*, the cell itself or *θάλαμος* being large and wedge-shaped in the vault, like the regular *θόλοι*. The height of the arched tomb is about four and a half mètres; the gallery leading to it is about five mètres long, and just high enough for a man to creep in on hands and knees, still the urns must have entered by it. The opening to this gallery was to the west, and was found closed by a dry wall.

The tomb, in which was found the bath-shaped

<sup>1</sup> Fig. of Teutonic hut sepulchral urns at p. 595, 2nd ed. Nothing like the Cretan sepulchral urns, of which I ex-

hibited photographs taken on the spot, can be found in Birch's work.

sepulchral urn, of which I exhibited a photograph and several coloured drawings, is situated on the slope of the hill to the south of Milatos (near the modern Cretan village of that name), some two miles above the ancient city of *Μίλατος* or *Μίλητος*, and was accidentally revealed by a plough at work striking on it.

The vault is arched like an oven, and the floor elliptical in shape, the opening being towards the east. The largest diameter from north to south was 2·30 mètres, its smallest 2 mètres, both measurements having been taken on the level of interment. The peculiar shape of these tombs, common to all southern Europe, is supposed to recall a Phrygian hut, while the ark-shaped coffers would recall the more advanced sort of dwellings used by the inhabitants of that early time. Whether ancient in form, however, like a round hut, or of contemporaneous design, like a square-built house, the receptacle for the dead, was ever made to resemble the home of the living.<sup>1</sup>

“The Teutonic huts represented on the triumphal column of Marcus Aurelius are round. So, too, Strabo describes the dwellings of the Belgæ. The primitive form of the Italian hut, again, has been shown by Helbig to be round; and as the ash urns from the necropolis of Alba Longa are obviously intended to represent the round huts of the living, so, too, the prehistoric dome-shaped graves of Mycenæ, Menidi, and Orchomenus, are to be regarded as but reproductions of human dwellings—of the ‘circular tent,’ and ‘semi-subterranean hut of earth.’” (Shrader, p. 345).

In this last tomb were found two earthenware urns or sarcophagi, in size and shape like a child's bath, both of which were presented to the museum of the Greek Syllogos at Candia, by the bishop of Vianos. One of these urns, which both within and without is plain and undecorated, is 52 centimètres high, the diameter length at the bottom being 83 centimètres, the width 35 centimètres, thickness of the lip 4 centimètres, of the sides 19 millimètres, length

<sup>1</sup> Other bell-shaped tombs excavated on the hillside like these two recently found in Crete, have been discovered of late years at Mycenæ, at Menidi, at Palamidi near Nauplia, at Spata in Attica, at Vapheion near Sparta, and at

the older Epidauros. All these tombs belong to the same so-called age of Mycenæ. The round huts, from which the round tombs were copied, may have derived their shape from the round tents of nomad days.

measured at the mouth 1·18 mètre by 45 centimètres at the narrowest width.

The second of the bath-shaped sepulchral urns found in the tomb at Milatos, is richly decorated on the exterior, on one half with lozenge shaped network, in the irregular loops of which are rhomboids each with an eye in the centre; on the other with a wider or more open network of larger irregular lozenges, in each of which is a star with three rays, or an oblong star with four wavy rays or spikes; in the interior a similar and larger wavy lozenge ornament enclosing fishes, four times repeated, with a border of small fan-shaped leaves running round the inner edge. In make this second urn is like the first, only smaller. It is 48 centimètres high, the length at the bottom being 70 centimètres, and the width 39 centimètres. The curved lips of the urn almost conceal from view the four handles, which are characteristic of this kind of urns, and are placed for convenience' sake directly opposite one another.

The measurements of the three four-cornered house-shaped coffers, urns or arks, found in the tomb first described are as follows: first urn, 99 centimètres long by 42 in width; height, without feet and lid cover or roof, 64 centimètres; thickness of the sides from 35 to 38 millimètres. Of the four feet, one at each corner, the only one remaining is 14 centimètres high. The roof or saddle-shaped cover, is perfect and is 17 centimètres high. The top is not a sharp edge, but a flat rim, 95 millimètres wide and 1·045 mètres long. A raised cord or roll border runs round the base of the cover, having six ring-shaped handles, two on each of the longer sides, and one in the middle of each of the narrower ends. The body of the urn itself has a double cornice and is furnished with the same number of half rings for handles in exact correspondence with those of the cover, placed standing out vertically, so that a metal wire or other tie might run through them all, fastening the lower to the higher, each to each in order to secure the cover on the urn.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the *Odyssey* we read, that when Arete gave Ulysses the beautiful chest containing presents, she said to him "Thyself now look to the lid, and quickly

put a chain upon it, lest any one should defraud thee on thy way, when again thou sleepest sweet slumber, going in the black ship." (Bk. viii. l. 443.)

The second urn or coffer is smaller than the former, is more simply decorated, and at present without feet, as these have been carried away. It is 54 centimètres high, 80 long and 42 wide, the thickness of the sides at the upper lip being 35 millimètres. Here again two half rings stand up perpendicularly, two on each of the two fronts, and one at each narrow end.

The two coffers described above were, in 1887, placed in the museum of the Greek Syllogos of Candia, thanks to the strenuous exertions of its president, Dr. Chatzidakis; a third was unfortunately broken in pieces as soon as discovered; and a fourth exists only in fragments, and all the efforts made have been fruitless to rescue it for purposes of art and science from the precincts of the church of Anoja in which it is now preserved. Incomplete though this urn is, its measurements can be given, as 61 centimètres high, 43 wide, length of the bottom 89, thickness of the sides 26 millimètres. Two detached feet of this urn are also preserved, and the bottom is pierced by ten holes arranged, seven in a long line and three in a short line across the top end, making a figure like a carpenter's square rule. The bottom of the second bath-shaped urn has a hole in the shape of a horizontal, not vertical channel running along the side; while the first coffer has twelve holes (diameter  $1-1\frac{1}{2}$  centimètres), three in a row at each end and six down the middle of the bottom; and the second coffer has ten holes in the bottom, three at each end and four down the middle. These holes are evidently to drain the vase of putrid liquid from the remains buried in it.

Yet another bath-shaped urn or sarcophagus, in form and size like the second or decorated one mentioned above, has been found near the village of Pendamodi and has been bought by the Candian Syllogos, but no information can be obtained by these zealous Greek archæologists as to where it was discovered. It is in perfect preservation, and represents an ark or square box standing on feet, with a pent-house or double slanting roof, terminating at each end of the top or ridge with two projections, which, while they offer a purchase to the hand, are a memorial or remnant of the master beam (*μεσόδμη*) which supported the roof of the primitive house, after the



fashion of which the urn was evidently made. The top of the roof has thus the appearance of a prolonged anvil—wide above and narrow below. The dimensions are, length 96 centimètres, height (from the base of the feet to the upper rim) 74, depth 53, height of the cover 41. The bottom has three holes (diameter 15 millimètres), arranged along the greater length. Here, on this seemingly contemporaneous urn, appears the scale, or triangular overlapping roof-tiling ornament. In the four-cornered coffers at Anoja were found the remains of bones in a very decayed state, so that the discoverers could not determine whether they had been burnt or not, and twelve small earthenware vases painted in the style of Mycenæ. These were of different shapes, but several were of the water-pitcher type, or cruse, with an additional handle right over the mouth. One of these, 7 centimètres high, was seen by Professor Halbherr in a house at Anoja, while another just like it was bought by the Greek Syllogos. Pitchers of this shape are amongst the most common and widely spread of the type known as that of Mycenæ. Schliemann<sup>1</sup> mentions them as being met with at Mycenæ, Nauplia, Menidi, Salamina, Thera, Cnossos and even in Egypt. They have also been found at Spata on the Hymettan side of Athens, and in the necropolis of Ledrai in Cyprus.

What Shrader says at p. 365-6 of his most instructive work may here be quoted to throw light upon a species of sepulchral urns, now for the first time, it would appear, found in tombs of the age of Mycenæ.

“The so-called house-urns which have been discovered in Italy, Germany and Denmark, and which, in spite of many differences of detail, yet resemble one another in the important points, that, says Virchow, ‘As a receptacle for the remains gathered from the funeral pyre, an earthen vessel of the shape of a house was employed, and that this house always possessed a large practicable door which could be closed from without by means of a cross-bar.’

“As for their appearance, Helbig, in his work on the Italian Lake-Dwellers in the Plain of the Po, describes

<sup>1</sup> Tiryns, p. 129-131, French ed.



the Latin *house-urns* of the necropolis of Alba Longa as follows :—‘ The urns represent roundish huts, the walls of which we must imagine to be composed of loam, twigs, or other perishable material. The roof seems to have consisted of layers of straw or reeds, and to have been held together by ribs, which in the real house obviously were made of wood. The compluvium characteristic of the later Italian house is wanting. To let light in and smoke out, the doorway seems to have served instead—and also a small triangular sort of dormer-window, which is shown by some of these burial-urns in the front slope of the roof, by others in the back.’

“ As regards the German urns also, both those shaped like a bee-hive or an oven, and the real house-urns, Lisch, who first examined these antiquities scientifically, comes to the conclusion that the circular was the original form of these urns. A glance over these urns suffices to make one involuntarily see that in their shapes we have the evolution of the ancient dwelling-house traced before us. The oldest form of house, undoubtedly, is given by the urns from Burg-Chemnitz and Rönne, which have the doors in the roof, as is the case frequently in the dwellings of primitive peoples for the purposes of protection against wild-beasts; the occupant entered by means of a ladder, which he pulls up after him, and thus had a defence the more, in the steep, smooth walls. Those round-houses which have the door in the wall, like the urns of Kiekindemark and Klus, are certainly younger. The youngest is represented by the urns from Aschersteben; this house was rectangular, with a tall, steep roof of straw, a striking prefiguration of small country cottages of the present day.”

The decoration of the funerary urns is of the style called geometric, with vegetable motives, and an early attempt at animal delineation, by means of a few simple lines. The colours used are a more or less deep red, and dark chestnut, according to the more or less baked condition of the surface. The ground seems buff or cream colour. The first urn, besides wavy serpentine lines around the field reserved for the efforts of the artist, and straight bands, has for its chief picture, on one side,

three ducks, three fishes, and on the other, a duck, two radiated discs, or star-fish (perhaps meant for the sea hedge-hog), and a long tassel, or four-lined painted leaf dropping down from the upper rim. A large palm, with long stem, with two palmettes springing up from the foot, complete the decoration of one front. The other is simpler, representing palmettes, ducks, a fish, and a radiated ring, all, however, on a larger scale than on the former.

The cover has on one side five ducks ; and on the other, two ducks, three fishes, two star-like figures and a palm-leaf issuing from a long stalk. The two lateral fields at the narrow end show two fishes each, while along the top runs a coloured wavy line.

The two other coffers are decorated in a simpler way, and show but geometric and vegetable designs, as palm-leaves, fan-shaped flowers or buds.

The style of decoration visible on these six urns or sarcophagi I have described, the expert, Dr. Orsi, would attribute to the later stage of Mycenæan ornament, to the third, rather than to the fourth period, when the artist, without knowledge of perspective or background, was endeavouring to represent a lake scene, in which plants, fishes and ducks all appeared together on one horizontal plane in stiff geometric, face to face, precision.

As these newly-discovered Cretan funereal coffers and vases are not large enough to contain the whole body of a man, and are too large to be receptacles for mere ashes, it is surmised that at the Mycenæan epoch such urns were made to receive either the bones alone or else a half-burnt body. Complete combustion of the body seems uncertain at that time, and partial combustion for the sake of preserving the form of the body only exceptional, while embalming was very rare, the variation in the rite of sepulture being due to Oriental influence on the pre-Dorian races of Greece before the time of Homer. If Dr. Orsi's theory be true, that only an initial and partial combustion of the corpse can be admitted in Mycenæan times, we have in these Cretan urns the most ancient *ossilegium* known, but an *ossilegium* without cremation.

The partial burning of the corpse, which, as at

Mycenæ, would seem to have taken place in the grave itself, was most likely in order to better preserve the original appearance of the body of the dead, a motive evidently suggesting the embalmment practised by the Egyptians.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To my friend, Dr. Orsi, director of the Royal Museum, at Syracuse, well known for the excavations he has conducted for the Italian government at Locri in Magna Græcia, and at Megara Hyblæa, in Sicily, I am indebted for the technical description of the vases, which I have taken from his elaborate mono-

graph published at the end of last year in the *Monumenti Antichi* of the Royal Academy of the Roman "Lincei," and to another friend and correspondent, Dr. Halbberr, Professor of Greek Epigraphy at the University of Rome, I am indebted for the photographs and coloured illustrations.

## OUR LADY OF PITY.<sup>1</sup>

By E. PEACOCK, F.S.A.

The forms in which the Blessed Virgin was pictured in English art during the middle ages, is a subject of great interest. Foreign antiquaries have done much towards classifying the various representations of the Blessed Virgin, which have been preserved in their several countries, but very little has been done for England. This may easily be explained. The storms of the sixteenth century, and the great Puritan revolution in the middle of the seventeenth, swept away the greater part of the memorials we should now prize. The few that survived the political and religious hurricanes have many of them perished in more recent days from neglect.

It is not my intention at the present time to endeavour to explain or classify the various Marian types, but to draw attention to one form only, that of our Lady of Pity.

This representation, in which Our Lady was figured sitting with the dead body of her Divine Son in her lap, seems to have been one of the commonest forms under which she was figured in this country, but there is little mention of it in the old English literature that has survived to our time. The late Mr. Waterton quotes a pretty poem entitled *Quia Amore Languéo*, in which the lines occur,

“ perfor axe pou merci, y schal pee saue,  
With *pitee* y rue vpon pee so.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, March 15th, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> Waterton, *Pictas Mariana Britannica*

I., 239. Quoting *Political Religions and Poems*, E. E. Text Soc. p. 150.

Dr. Rock describes these objects in words which I could not improve, and which it might be unbecoming to paraphrase. "Not unfrequently," he says, "was the B. V. Mary presented to the people's eyes crownless, ungemmed, sorrowful, forlorn, as our 'Lady of Pity,' the mother weeping over that same Divine Child, that Son of hers full-grown but dead, just unmailed from the Cross, stretched, blood-stained and naked, on the ground at her feet, with his wounded head upon her lap, bedewed by the tears trickling down her own wan cheeks."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Waterton tells his readers that in the Sarum Prymer of 1534, which I have not had an opportunity of examining, there is a rubric directing that the prayer, "Obsecro te Domina," should be said before an image of our Lady of Pity.<sup>2</sup> This would seem to imply that these representations were very common. I believe that they were in old times to be found in nearly every church. After careful enquiry, extending over a long period of time, I have only been able to hear of three sculptured representations of Our Lady of Pity, which yet remain. There is, or was one, seemingly well-preserved, in the westernmost arch of the sedilia in Battlefield Church, Shropshire. The right arm of the figure of Our Lord seems to be missing, but all else is perfect. There is an engraving of this interesting sculpture in the *Archæologia*.<sup>3</sup>

The second representation with which I am acquainted stands in a niche over the arch of the porch of Glentham Church, Lincolnshire. From the architecture of the porch, I apprehend that it was executed at the very end of the fifteenth century, or, perhaps, a few years later. It does not seem ever to have suffered from violence. The features have, however, perished by the action of the weather on the soft oolite stone out of which it is carved. There cannot be much doubt that it was made for some member of the Tournay family. The charges on the shield have been so far effaced by the hand of time, that Mr. Howlett could not show them in a sketch he was kind enough to make for me; they are, however, the bearings of that family. Argent, a chevron between three bulls sable attired Or.

<sup>1</sup> *Church of our Fathers*, iii. I, 271.

<sup>2</sup> *Pictas Mariana Britannica*, I., 127

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xiv, p. 272.







PIETA AT BREADSALL.

The race is now extinct in the male line; they were, it is believed, to the last, Roman Catholics. To this fact we probably owe the preservation of this very interesting piece of sculpture.<sup>1</sup> If the drawing of the Glentham example be compared with the engraving of that at Battlefield, it will be found that the pose of the figures is so nearly identical, that there cannot be a doubt that the sculptors had some well-known model from which to copy.

I have recently become aware that a figure of Our Lady of Pity is represented on the monumental brass of Andrew Evingar, in the church of All-hallows, Barking. It is engraved in the late Rev. Joseph Maskell's *Brief History* of that church,<sup>2</sup> the general arrangement of the figures is the same as that of the Battlefield and Glentham examples, but though much worn away by the passing feet of centuries, it is sufficiently distinct for us to perceive that when unmutilated it was from an artistic point of view much superior to those previously mentioned.

I may be, perhaps, permitted to return for a moment to the Battlefield example. It is well known that artists have at various times endeavoured to represent a certain likeness between the features of our divine Lord and his blessed mother. The idea was well known to Dante, who says:—

“Riguarda omai nella faccia, ch’ a Cristo  
Più s’ assomiglia, chè la sua chiarezza  
Sola ti può disporre a veder Cristo.”<sup>3</sup>

The likeness between the face of the mother and son in the Battlefield example is striking. It cannot be accidental.

In the year 1877, when the church of Breadsall near Derby was restored, a remarkably beautiful sculpture of Our Lady of Pity was discovered; a descriptive account of this group accompanied by a sketch appeared in the *Journal* of the Archæological Association for 1878.<sup>4</sup> There cannot be any doubt that it had been carefully hidden by some adherent of the old faith at the time of the change of religion. The material out of which it is

<sup>1</sup> It may be well to note that in the writer's *English Church Furniture*, p. 215, there is a pedigree of this family, accompanied by monumental inscriptions from Glentham church.

<sup>2</sup> p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Paradiso*, xxxij, 85-87. “Look now upon the face that most resembles Christ, for its brightness alone can dispose thee to behold Christ.” A. J. Butler's Translation, p. 413.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. xxxiv, pp. 348-351.

formed is alabaster. Mr. Alfred Wallis, the gentleman who contributed the account to our contemporary, says that the alabaster of which it is made, came in all probability from the quarries at Chellaston, a place about nine miles distant from Breadsall. It was his opinion that the sculpture was executed on the spot by some wandering artist, who was, he suggests, probably a foreigner. In this latter conclusion we think him mistaken. The Breadsall sculpture, though presenting slight differences (the pointed shoes of Our Lady for example) is in character almost identical with the three other specimens known; all of them seem to us to have a marked English character. In this specimen as in the others we have mentioned, there seems to have been on the part of the artist, a desire to represent a likeness in the features between the holy mother and her divine Son.

One of the older chapels in Cromer church was dedicated to Our Lady of Pity. An image and an altar existed there under that invocation. This chapel seems to have been in existence in 1388.<sup>1</sup>

There was an image of our Lady of Pity in the Church of Bishop's Stortford in the fifteenth century as the following extract testifies:—

“Solutum Adae Drakelowe pro emendatione candelabri coram ymagine beatae Mariae de Pictate,” 1431—1440.<sup>2</sup>

There cannot be much doubt that the most solemnly beautiful representation of the pity of Our Lady that is in existence, is preserved in the chapel of the *Albergo de' Poveri*, at Genoa. It is an alto-relievo by Michael Angelo. The Blessed Virgin is represented supporting the head of the dead body of her Son whose lips she had just kissed.<sup>3</sup>

In the interesting account of religious customs which had passed away, known as *The Rites of Durham*, a manuscript written at the end of the sixteenth century, we meet with the following account of the image of Our Lady of Pity, which existed in that great Northern Minster before its spoliation.

<sup>1</sup> Walter Rye, *Cromer Past and Present*, pp. 83—158.

<sup>2</sup> Records of St. Michael's, Bishop's Stortford, ed. Glasscock, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Webb, *Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 401.

"There was betwixt two pillars, on the leaft hand in the north allie as you tourne into the Galleley from the north church dour, our LADY OF PITTIES ALTER, being enclosed of either syde with fine waynscott, with the picture of our Lady carrying our Saviour on her knee, as he was taken from the crosse, very lamentable to behoulde."<sup>1</sup>

By far the best known representation of this holy subject is by Michel Angelo. It is now in the chapel della Pietà, in Saint Peter's, Rome. It has often been engraved. An excellent woodcut thereof may be seen in the *Michel Angelo* of Charles Clement.<sup>2</sup> It ought to be compared with the existing English examples. Though so far superior to anything our native artists could produce it is most interesting to find that the greatest of Italian sculptors did not strike out a new line for himself, but was content in the general arrangement of his subject to tread in the path which time had consecrated.

By the obliging co-operation of Mr. H. Swainson Cooper, I am enabled to add the following note from the Rev. R. B. Billinge :—

"The sculpture on Urswick church tower, is in my mind, certainly a 'mater Dolorosa;' the form held in the Virgin's arms is that of a man, not a child. The church is dedicated to the Virgin, or St. Mary-in-the-Fields. I have not any photograph, but hope shortly to have one. The sculpture is, I should say, in its original niche. There are two other niches in the front of the tower, which are empty."

Mr. Cooper adds :—

"This description seems to leave no doubt as to the subject. The material of the sculpture is red sandstone."

I append references to such examples of Our Lady of Pity as I have met with in my reading. It will of course be understood that the list makes no pretention to being exhaustive

- Archæologia, xij, 218.
- xvij, 127.
- xl, 115, 117, 119.
- xlvi, 308.
- l, 34.

<sup>1</sup> *Surtees Soc.*, vol. xv, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> p. 14.



- Burton's History of Kidderminster, p. 68.  
Bury St. Edmonds (Camden Soc.) Wills and Inventories, p. 85.  
Derbysh. Arch. Soc. Jour., vj, 79.  
Essex Arch. Soc. Jour., II, 155.  
Gibbons', Lincoln Wills, 201, 212.  
Glasscock, Bishop's Stortford, 9.  
Oliver, Monasticon Dioc. Exon, 323.  
Peacock, English Ch. Furniture, 184, 237.  
Ripon, Chapter Acts (Surtees Soc.) 264.  
Ripon, Memorials of (Surtees Soc.) III, 229, 245, 252, 264, 268, 276.  
Rock, Church of our Fathers, ii, 209 ; iii, i, 271.  
Surrey Inventories, 80.  
Waterton, Pietas Mariana Britannica, I. 127, 240. II. 14, 28, 29, 31,  
32, 39, 50, 51, 54, 55, 60, 90, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 119, 127, 134,  
139, 142, 155, 229, 238, 249, 291, 299.  
Weaver, Wells Wills, 31, 35, 40, 62, 71, 104, 111, 196.

## ARSENALS AND ARMOURIES IN SOUTHERN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.<sup>1</sup>

By the BARON DE COSSON, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

### PART I.

When I first had the honour of writing in the *Archæological Journal*, now ten years ago, I endeavoured to formulate what I considered the true principles which should guide the student of Mediæval Arms and Armour in his researches :—"For the study of ancient armour to be successfully pursued, it is of primary importance that a careful examination should be made of every existing specimen within our reach. This alone will enable us to derive full profit from our researches into ancient authors and our examination of ancient monuments. Every hole and rivet in a piece must be studied and its use and object thought out. The reasons for the varied forms, thickness and structure of the different parts of armour must have special attention. The methods of work by which the pieces were produced, and the nature, quality, hardness, and colour of the metal should all be the subject of close investigation. This preliminary study will alone enable the student to form a sound opinion on two most important points. First, the authority to be accorded to any given representation of armour in ancient art, for he will then be able to discern whether it was copied from real armour worn at the period, or whether it was the outcome of the artist's imagination. Next, whether a piece of existing armour is genuine or false, and whether or no it be in its primitive condition."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, Feb. 5th, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> Ancient Helmets and Examples of Mail. *Arch. Journal*, Vol. xxxvii, p. 466.

Again, five years ago at Derby I insisted with reference to the same study, that "it is necessary to have a very complete technical knowledge of real armour; to have seen, to have examined, to have weighed, to have felt as much real armour as possible, to have endeavoured to learn how armour was made, what means of manufacture the mediæval armourer possessed, to have thought out the why and the wherefore from a constructive and mechanical point of view of each piece found and of each form given to it;"<sup>1</sup> and I remember adding on that occasion that it was not unprofitable to have tried wearing armour for some hours, and, as far as possible, handling all the different forms of weapon.

I have had the satisfaction of finding since then that my fellow students in this country and abroad, accept these principles and in many cases work on these lines, and I myself have always done so, convinced that the true foundation for the study of armour and weapons must be a thorough practical acquaintance with as many existing pieces as possible; I may almost say a mechanical or engineering acquaintance with them. It is by that study that we shall learn what were the needs of the fighting man at different epochs, and how those needs were met by the skill, ingenuity and invention of the armourer. Thus alone can we get the clue to the development of types and forms.

Just as we now see each invention in ordnance or in explosives causing a corresponding development in the construction of our armour-clad ships, and each improvement in the armouring of those vessels stimulating the artillerist to new efforts to obtain greater penetration with his projectiles; so the progress of arms and armour in past times are inseparably linked, and mutually explain one another. This is a constant factor in the question, but in mediæval times we have a special and charming factor, which can scarcely be said to have much influence on matters military or naval in our own days, and that is the exquisite artistic instinct of the gifted workmen, who without ever impairing the strength or practical utility of the piece, lavished all the treasures of their taste and

<sup>1</sup> English Military Effigies, &c. *Arch. Journal*, Vol. xliii, p. 327.

imagination on the richer armour and weapons produced in the best times of their manufacture.

No study of books, paintings, documents or monuments, other than the actual weapons and pieces of armour, will give us this mechanical knowledge. We cannot tell the flexibility or stiffness of a blade, its weight or thickness, from a drawing in a manuscript, or description in an inventory, and yet when we meet with a sword, it is just these technical matters which will prove our truest guides to a knowledge of where and when it was made; and, doubtless, at the time when the sword was in use, these were the most vital questions of all to its owner.

The documentary portion of the study is of the utmost importance; far be it from me to deny it, but the two must go hand in hand for the conclusions one may form to approach as nearly as possible to truth. At every step, if carried on together, the two branches of the study will mutually throw unexpected light on one another.

Most of the errors into which writers on arms at different times have fallen, have arisen from want of what I will venture to call experience in arms and armour. It is manifest that all that remains to us of European weapons and armour does not represent a tithe of the varied forms which we know must have been made when its use was universal from Poland to Britain, from Norway to the Straits of Gibraltar. But still, each collection visited by an observant student teaches him something new, and just because so little is left, it is important that, as far as possible, he should be acquainted with the whole of it. Above all, the comparative study of collections enables him to localize types. If a certain type of weapon is found with great abundance in one country, whilst examples of it are rare in others, it may be fairly inferred that the country where it abounds is the land of its origin.

After all, the comparative method is the foundation of all true scientific inquiry and it should be applied equally to archaeological research. To build up a scientific theory, we must, as far as possible, have a knowledge of all the phenomena which have ever been observed in connection with the subject we are investigating. The naturalist needs to be acquainted with every variety of

beast, bird or fish on the face of the globe, and even with those which have been buried beneath its surface in geological epochs, before he can attempt to generalise and build up correct theories. Who would attempt to write a complete system of Natural History, were his knowledge of animated nature limited to those forms which inhabit this island? The same holds good with archæology and the arts of the past. What light has been thrown on Greek antiquities in recent times by the investigation of the remains of earlier peoples, who were unknown to our forefathers except by name! How different is our knowledge of Italian art now, when a systematic comparison of its monuments has for years been carried on in all the galleries in Europe, from what it was when the writings and appreciations of Vasari formed the principal basis for it! Even in more specific matters, who can thoroughly understand the remains of a monastic establishment in England, unless he have a knowledge of the forms of the parent houses in Italy, France or Flanders?

Holding these views, I had long felt that there existed a most serious gap in my own limited knowledge of arms and armour. I knew that of all the armouries in Europe, the Ambras collection at Vienna was in many ways the most interesting and the most authentic. With the exception of, I think, eleven suits pillaged by the French, the collection had remained untouched since the middle of the sixteenth century, when it was formed by the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol. Besides this I had heard of the great treasures preserved in the Imperial Arsenal, of suits of armour and weapons which had been deposited there immediately after they had been used in tournament, tilt or pageant, and never since disturbed. Hitherto, I had always regarded the Madrid armoury as the richest in Europe. Alas! since the days of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, it has suffered from continued robbery and neglect. There is scarcely any collection of importance which does not contain pieces which now can be shown to have once belonged to it. Even my own humble collection contains a bevor which we now know passed from the armoury of Philip the Fair, in Flanders, into that of Charles the Fifth, at Valladolid and belonged to one of the sallads described in the album



of the arms of that emperor as "old stuff that came from Flanders." Missing pieces of suits at Madrid are being continually identified in other European collections by the present learned and indefatigable director of the Spanish armoury, the Count de Valencia de Don Juan.

I must here mention that for six or seven years past it has been my habit each autumn to meet that distinguished student of arms in Paris, where, with three or four other enthusiasts, we would pass pleasant weeks comparing notes and talking of arms. About the same time, he and I, independently, began collecting all the armourers' marks and notices of armourers we could meet with, and each year it is our custom to supply one another with any notes that we may have made in the course of the year; the result being that if either of us were to lose his collection, which now amounts to over two thousand sheets, the results of our work would not be lost. He, I must add, set me the example of this generous method of study, at a time when my own collection was very small and his already considerable.

This excellent friend and fellow-student had assured me that the two collections in the Austrian capital, in every way surpassed the Spanish one, if we except the unique series of pieces made by the Negrolis for Charles V.; and, moreover, it had long been settled that at the first opportunity I should make the journey to Vienna with this congenial companion.

Last summer circumstances enabled us both to carry out our project. He kindly left the itinerary to me, and I endeavoured to arrange it so that the fortnight, of which he could dispose, should include as much armour as possible.

Germany has, on the whole, preserved a more perfect series of its ancient armour and weapons than any other country in Europe. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, Germany was perhaps the country which produced most arms through the course of the middle ages. Arms of German make are found in abundance in every other country. Although the blades of Toledo were prized above all others in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, three out of every four rapiers one meets with in Spain itself, have German

blades mounted in Spanish hilts. In English swords of the same epoch, the proportion would be nine out of every ten. This shows, that just as in the present day, Germany floods the markets of Europe with cheap imitations of the goods manufactured at greater cost in other countries, so in past times did it compete in like manner; for all the German blades found in these Spanish hilts are formed more or less after the Toledan pattern, with inscriptions generally in bad Spanish, recording the names and origin of their makers, Heinrich Köhl becomes *Enrique Coel*, Peter Lobich, *Pedro Lobaco*. Clement Dinger adds, "Mi sinnal pajaro," my sign is a bird. They generally have the honesty to add IN SOLINGEN or EN ALHAMANIA, but there are other blades which are distinct forgeries of Toledan blades, with imitation Toledan names and Trademarks.

And here we have an excellent example of the value of what I have ventured to term experience in actual arms. When one meets with a fine blade signed *Monte en Toledo*, the natural impression would be that the blade was of Toledan make; but, nevertheless, I have the full certainty that the whole series of blades signed in that manner are of Italian fabrication. I may briefly state that the reasons for this certainty are to be found:—Firstly, in the form and fashion of these blades, which differ slightly from the Toledan model, and approximate to the Italian form; next, in the fact, that these Monte blades almost all come from or can be traced to Italy, whilst they are almost unknown in Spain; and lastly, because there was a very celebrated Toledan maker named Pedro Velmonte or Belmonte, with whose blades and manner of signing his name we are perfectly acquainted. Still, nothing but a very extensive acquaintance with sword blades would enable one to come to such a conclusion with any degree of safety. In like manner we know that the vast number of blades signed SCHAGOM or some other corruption of the Spanish name Sahagun, are Solingen imitations of the work of the celebrated Toledan master of that name, whilst a good half of the blades inscribed *Tomas Aiala en Toledo* are also of German origin.

It is also certain that, common as blades bearing the

signature ANDREA FERARA are in this country, scarcely any of them are the work of Maestro Andrea de i Ferari, who gained such great renown for the superb temper of the blades which he produced in his workshop at Belluno in Venetia in the second half of the sixteenth century, where he worked with his brother Giovan Donato de i Ferari, some of whose blades signed ZANDONA, still exist.

Nearly all the blades commonly attributed to Andrea Ferara are manifestly of seventeenth century make, and Böheim states that Andrea was born in 1530 and died about 1583.<sup>1</sup> Cicogna in his "Trattato Militare," published at Venice in 1583, specially mentions the two brothers as celebrated blade makers.

It is possible that a few of the finest blades existing in Scotland and England bearing the name Andrea Ferara may be his work, but as yet I know very few which I can positively attribute to the master, or even to the epoch when he lived; and it is curious that the Italian collections possess very few even bearing his name. What is certain is that for nearly fifty years after his death Solingen turned out hundreds of blades bearing his name, for exportation to those countries where a true Ferara was held in high repute, just as it supplied false Toledo blades to those where a rapier was preferred to a broad sword. In short, it stamped *Thomas Aiala* on a narrow stiff blade, *Sahagun* on one of medium width, and *Andrea Ferara* on a broad flat one, as a matter of course, because each of these masters had, no doubt, been celebrated for that special make of blade.

Italy, too, was a great centre of manufacture, and it might be hard to say whether Italy or Germany produced most during the middle ages, or was more excellent in the armourer's art. But it is not in Italy, at the present day, that the finest Italian armour or arms can be seen. Of all the pieces signed by that greatest of all masters, Negroli of Milan, I do not think one now remains in Italy. So, the grand fifteenth century suits of armour made by his predecessors, the Missaglias, are not to be found in the land in which they were made. It is at Vienna and Bern that they can be studied, whilst helmets

<sup>1</sup> Handbuch des Waffenwesens. Leipzig, 1890, p. 663.

bearing their mark are to be found in France, England and Spain.

But if Italy shares with Germany the honour of having produced the greatest amount of arms and armour, and even of having surpassed it, in the beauty and originality of its inventions in this branch of art, there is no question that it is in Germany that the study of arms can be most successfully pursued. There has always existed in the Teutonic mind, a conservative and somewhat romantic care for the weapons of past ages. Every town at one time had its arsenal; every noble who owned a castle, had his armoury; and the conservatism of the Germans has preserved some of these collections to us almost in their entirety. The town of Gratz, in Styria, possesses to this day an arsenal containing the complete equipment in arms and armour for a force of eight thousand men, such as it might have turned out during the thirty years war. The whole collection reaches the amazing number of 26,000 pieces!

In Switzerland, where Teutonic ideas were prevalent, there are more than a dozen towns possessing more or less well stocked arsenals.

Not only has Germany preserved great stores of its arms and armour, but it has supplied the collections in other European countries with the majority of the pieces now found in them. It may be affirmed with little hesitation that in every collection, be it in France, England, Italy, or even Spain, more than half, and in most cases three-quarters of the pieces are of German origin. Many of them, particularly in Italy and Spain, passed into those countries at the time of their manufacture, but in collections of more recent formation, as in France and England, Germany has supplied dealers and collectors for years past with the greatest proportion of these antiquities.

Our first stage on the journey was Bern. We knew that the Museum there was marvellously rich in tapestries of the fifteenth century, and possessed some arms, but I was not prepared to find there one of the most interesting suits of armour with which I am acquainted. Hitherto I had regarded the suit attributed to Frederick the Victorious, at Vienna, as the oldest complete war harness



remaining to us. There is every reason to believe that it was made about the year 1450 by one Tomaso da Missaglia, at Milan, who was then, perhaps, the most distinguished armourer in Europe. Before we had been five minutes in the Museum, I perceived the greater portion of a suit of armour of precisely the same character and epoch as that one, and soon discovered that it bore on all its principal pieces, the helmet alone excepted, the marks of the very Missaglia just mentioned.

The mark on the helmet, which had, however, been evidently made for the suit, was apparently a German one. It is the clover leaf which Böheim attributes to Treytz of Innsbruck.

Without the aid of illustrations it would be tiresome and useless to attempt a detailed description of the peculiarities of these suits, but the large ovoid helmet of a bassinet character, the construction of the shoulder and elbow pieces, and the presence of four tassets besides a broad tasset shaped piece at the back of the shirt, all clearly prove its early date. After a brief survey, we sought the Director of the Museum, M. de Roth, a young and ardent student of antiquities, and he kindly had the whole suit dismounted for our examination. The leg pieces and gauntlets were wanting. Looking about, I saw on an Elizabethan suit, a pair of legs which appeared to me of Italian fifteenth century form. Turning to M. de Roth, I said, "I should not be surprised if those were the missing legs of your Missaglia suit. They were speedily unmounted and there true enough was the same armourer's mark as on the rest of the suit.

In many ways the Missaglias are the most interesting armourers of the fifteenth century. In the first place they are the earliest armourers whose work we can identify by their marks, and of whose family and lives we know something. The discovery of the Missaglias is due to the researches of Mr. Wendelin Böheim, the learned Custos of the Imperial collections of Armour at Vienna. He related to me the manner of it one day as we were traversing that fascinating capital in a tramcar together.

In former years he had served in Lombardo-Venetia as an Austrian officer, and was well-acquainted with Milan and the Italian language. Knowing that the Imperial



collection was particularly rich in works of the Milanese masters, the thought came to him to revisit Milan and endeavour to discover something about them in the archives there. At Milan, as in many Italian towns, there is Via degli Armorari or Armourer's Street, and a Via degli Spadari or Swordmaker's Street. Böheim was naturally attracted by these names and spent some time gazing at the different houses in these streets. Peering into a curved passage in the courtyard of a house in the Via degli Spadari, he saw on the abacus of a column of the end of the fourteenth century, something which resembled the marks on suits of armour, and looking more closely, he instantly recognised in this sculpture the identical marks existing on the two earliest suits of armour in the Ambras collection. He at once hurried to the archives and addressing the Director, Signor Pagani:—"Do you know," said he, "to whom such a house in the Via degli Spadari belonged?" "Yes," replied the other, "to the family of Missaglia, and we have a bundle of papers concerning them." The result of Böheim's investigations are to be found in his remarkable memoir on the Milanese Armourers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, published in the *Jahrbuch*.<sup>1</sup>

There is abundant testimony that about 1450, at the very epoch when Missaglia was making these suits, the armour of Milan was very much in advance of that made in other countries, and was regarded as the most complete and impenetrable to be met with. The armet, the most perfect form of close helmet, had just been invented in Italy. It was a helmet which *enclosed* the head, allowing it to turn freely, and the weight of which rested on the shoulders. Before this, and in other forms of helmet, either the whole weight of the headpiece was borne on the head itself, as in the bassinet with a camail of mail, or the helmet was fixed fore and aft to the breast and backplates, as in the large ovoid bassinet with a gorget or camail of plate, and in this last case when the wearer wished to turn his head he had to do so *inside* the helmet. But earlier than this the fame of Milanese armourers had spread to other lands. In 1398, when the Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV., proposed to fight a duel with the

<sup>1</sup> Werke Mailander Waffenschmiede in den Kaiserlichen Sammlungen, 1889.

Duke of Norfolk, it was to the Duke of Milan that he applied for armour, and the Duke sent him not only the harness, but four of his best armourers to arm the Earl to his wish.<sup>1</sup> It is only fair to add that the Duke of Norfolk sent to Germany for his harness, but the two facts taken together tend to show, that, as I always suspected, the armour made at those times in England was not quite equal to that made in Germany and Italy. About the same time, Charles V., of France, was causing armour to be imported in large quantities from Milan.<sup>2</sup> But by 1445 the harness of plate at Milan had almost attained perfection, as may be learnt from the medals of Vittore Pisano and the pictures of Paolo Ucello. At that time it was causing wonder at the wealthy Court of Burgundy by its admirable quality. In 1446 the Seigneur du Ternant fought Gaillot Baltasin, Chamberlain to the Duke of Milan, in the town of Arras. Baltasin was a Castellan, but he had just come from Milan to gain renown by feats of arms, and his harness was no doubt of the latest Milanese fashion. In one of the combats, after a course with lances, the Seigneur du Ternant "*commença à charger et a quérir son compagnon de la pointe de l'espée, par le dessous de l'armet, tirant à la gorge, sus les esselles, à l'entour du croissant de la cuirasse, par dessous la ceignée du bras, a la main de la bride, et jusque a bouter son espée entre la main et la bride.....et partour le trouva si bien armé et pourvu, que nulle blessure n'en advint.*"<sup>3</sup>

That the "armet" at this early date was of that form which we know as an armet with a roundel, is proved by Pisano's medal of Felippo Maria Visconti, Baltasin's master, on which is a man at arms wearing this head-piece with the identical type of armour which we see in Ucello's pictures and which still exists in these suits at Bern and Vienna.

The Duke died the year after the combat just mentioned, so the medal is a contemporary document. In 1449 Jacques de Lalain, the mighty Flemish champion, was holding the lists at the Passage of Arms of the Fountain and Lady of Tears at Chalon-sur-Saône in Burgundy.

<sup>1</sup> Froissart.

<sup>2</sup> Christine de Pisan "Les faits du Roi Charles."

<sup>3</sup> Olivier de la Marche, *Memoires*, Ed. of 1616, p. 253.

Among his opponents was an Aragonese knight, also in the service of the Duke of Milan, Messire Jean de Bonniface who is mentioned as wearing an "armet d'Italie," and so perfect was his harness, that it was currently reported that "ledit Bonniface avoit trempé son harnois d'une eae qui le tenoit si bon que fer ne pouvait prendre sus, et à la verité il courrait en un léger harnois de guerre, et n'étoit pas possible sans artifice ou aide, que le harnois eust pue soustenir les atteintes que fit dessus Messire Jacques."<sup>1</sup>

If we compare these Missaglia suits with the representations of German, French, or English armour of the same date, we shall understand how great was the advance that had been made at Milan, and I have little doubt that it was the Missaglias themselves who brought the plate armour of that epoch to its very great perfection. They can be traced back to the end of the fourteenth century and their relatives and successors the Negrolis carried the great traditions of the family through the sixteenth century. The cradle of both these families appears to have been the little town of Ella near the Lake of Como, for although the name Missaglia is derived from another town a few miles from Ella, Antonio Missaglia in documents in the Archives at Milan, is termed "da Ella." It is true that there is German armour of the fifteenth century still in existence of marvellous beauty of workmanship and design, and some most admirable examples will be referred to further on, but they all date from a quarter of a century later than the two Missaglia suits I speak of.

Most English readers can obtain a perfect idea of a suit of armour such as these masters manufactured about the year 1450, by looking at Stothard's plates of the effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, on his tomb in St. Mary's Church, Warwick. We all know how admirable is the workmanship of that effigy and how faithfully it must represent the suit of armour from which it was copied.<sup>2</sup>

In a former paper, I stated that I had almost complete conviction and proof that the model from which it was copied

Olivier de la Marche, *Memoires*, Ed. of 1616, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, plates 121-4, Ed. of 1876.

was of North Italian and most probably of Milanese manufacture.<sup>1</sup>

I may now add my personal conviction that it came from the workshop of the Missaglias.

The Earl of Warwick died in 1439, and the contract for the tomb is dated 1453. Hewitt, feeling it difficult to assign so advanced a type of armour to the lifetime of the Earl in England, says, "the effigy appears to have been made about 1454, *the fashion of that period being adopted for the armour.*"<sup>2</sup> The contract between the Earl's executors and John Essex, marbler, William Austin, citizen and founder of London, and Thomas Stevyns, coppersmith, expressly states that the effigy shall be made *according to patterns*. It is somewhat difficult to suppose that the Earl's executors, having all his armour at their disposal, should have sought and procured a new model; but if the armour be Italian, much of the difficulty disappears. Knowing what Milanese armour was in 1446 it is not difficult to suppose that even as early as 1438 it had attained that perfection shown in the effigy. It is also a curious coincidence that in his early life the Earl himself had been in Lombardy, thus having an opportunity of appreciating the great excellence of the armour of Milan. In those days Petrajolo da Missaglia, the earliest of that family with whom we are acquainted, was the Ducal armourer, for it was in 1408 that the Earl passed through Lombardy on his way to the Holy Land, and was challenged by Sir Pandulph Malacet, probably a Pandolfo Malatesta, to fight him at Verona. What is more probable than the supposition that once acquainted with the excellence of Milanese harness, the Earl should have continued to order armour from Milan to the end of his life? It can be shown that great noblemen in other countries were doing so at the same epoch.

On comparing this Beauchamp armour with that on other contemporary effigies, many differences become apparent, not only in details, but what is more important still, in the general style and character. The Beauchamp monument may almost be said to occupy a place to itself in any classification of English military effigies. The

<sup>1</sup> English Military Effigies, Archæol. Journal, vol. xliii, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Ancient Armour, vol. iii, p. 405.



details of a suit may be personal to him who made it, or for whose wear it was designed, but it is more especially by differences of general character and physiognomy that the works of separate schools or countries can be recognised. It would take too long to go into that matter in detail here, but I may state that between the Beauchamp effigy and the two existing suits of the same epoch by Tomaso da Missaglia there is the strongest resemblance, whilst a distinct difference of *style* exists between it and the thoroughly English effigy of Robert Lord Hungerford in Salisbury Cathedral, who died in 1459.<sup>1</sup>

But more curious still, if we come to matters of detail, is the fact that the North Italian painter Mantegna has armed his beautiful St. George in the Academy, at Venice, with a suit of armour, which is almost line for line, and plate for plate, identical with the harness of the Earl of Warwick. That I think is a conclusive proof that the suit of armour so minutely copied by William Austin was of North Italian make. Mantegna was born in 1431, so it is just possible that he may have painted his picture about the same time when the London brass-founder was modelling a similar suit for the Beauchamp chapel.

I am not aware whether it be known exactly at what period of his life Mantegna painted his St. George, but it has the appearance of being in his earlier style. Even if painted later he may have had an old Missaglia suit in his studio to paint from. There are instances in which an artist of those times has drawn a suit by no means of the latest fashion, as when Durer, in 1498, made his beautiful study of a man-at-arms on horseback, now in the Albertina at Vienna, above which he has written, "this was the manner of arming in former days."

When he drew it the suit might be five and twenty or thirty years old; but, when fifteen years later, that study had matured itself into the grimly determined warrior in his wondrous Knight Death and the Devil, the suit of armour was almost becoming an antiquity.

Besides this most important suit of Italian armour, the Museum at Berne possesses a very complete example of that form of Maximilian harness, known as puffed armour, in which the steel is wrought to imitate the puffings so

<sup>1</sup> Stothard, plate 129.



fashionable in the civil dress of the epoch, some rare early swords and daggers, amongst which a dagger with roundels and its sheath, of the fifteenth century, in so wondrous a state of preservation that it seems as though it had only just been made, but which is notwithstanding of evident and absolute authenticity, and a remarkable series of early Swiss halbarts.

At Basle, but little remains in the Museum of the arsenal which the town once possessed ; but there are two interesting cannon, a very beautiful dagger of Italian make, a few early and rare forms of helmet, and three fine examples of those Swiss daggers on the sheaths of which are wrought in spirited relief representations of the dance of death, William Tell and other subjects. It is, however, in the picture gallery at Basle that the most interesting documents for the history of armour are to be found. There is a series of three paintings representing Knights fully armed in the fashion of about 1460, which is most instructive. They represent three of the strong men of David, and are ascribed to the Dutch school of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately they have not been photographed, but I sketched one of them as a type.

From Basle we went to the pretty little town of Sigmaringen. I had long known that a fine collection of arms had been formed there by one of the Princes of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen. Demmin had sketched some of the pieces,<sup>1</sup> and I had seen at Nuremberg casts taken from portions of a German gothic suit there of rare beauty. Count Valencia also had met the present Prince at Lisbon and had heard from him something about the collection.

I must first mention the perfect courtesy with which we were received by the Custos of the Museum, the Hofrath Dr. von Lehner, and his colleague, the Hofrath Herr Gröbbles. The Schloss Museum contains besides armour a very remarkable collection of objects of mediæval art of every kind, and for the better study of these, there is a library well stocked with books on art and precious manuscripts, amongst which is a magnificent tournament book.

The learned keepers have published exhaustive

<sup>1</sup> Guide des Amateurs d'Armes.

catalogues of most of the collections in the Museum, but the section of arms is still to be completed. A fresh and pleasant surprise awaited us here. Portions of the Gothic suit I have mentioned are of the very finest epoch of German fifteenth century armour, and on obtaining permission to unmount it, we were able at once to name the master by whom they had been made. Both the breast and the backplates bore the mark of Lorenz Kolman, (*Helmschmied*), of Augsburg, who, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, was to Germany what the Missaglias were to Italy, the great master of his time.

Mr. Böheim is at the present moment engaged on a study of the Augsburg armourers, similar to that which he has published on the Milanese masters, so I will only say that for nearly a century the Kolmans were the most distinguished armourers north of the Alps.

The Courts of Spain and Mantua vied to obtain their masterpieces. The Madrid armoury contains marvellous pieces made by Desiderius Kolman for Charles V. and Philip II., whilst Vienna is rich in the work of his predecessor, Lorenz. Desiderius even persuaded himself, that he had surpassed his great Milanese rival, James Philip Negroli, for on a shield now at Madrid he has represented himself as an infuriated bull overthrowing a Roman warrior who bears on his shield the name NEGROL.

As an artist, however, Negroli has never been surpassed. There is a grandeur of conception and execution in his works which raises them to the highest level as works of art. His shield with the head of Medusa, and his shield with a lion's head, both at Madrid, are worthy of the chisel of a Greek sculptor; and, above all, the refined artistic instinct of Negroli is shown by the fact that he never covers his pieces with embossing, as did so many of his rivals and successors. He knew the value of plain spaces for the purpose of preserving the sense of form in his pieces and of giving relief to his magnificent work.

There is a remarkable series of fine swords at Sigmaringen, which supplied us with several new names and marks, and amongst the very rare pieces, two German leather tournament helms with wirework over the opening for the face like huge fencing masks, must be mentioned. They date from about 1480.

Knowing that Augsburg had been the seat of a great armour industry, renowned especially through the eminence of the Kolmans, we made that town our next stage. When I had visited it fifteen years before, it contained in its Maximilian Museum an interesting collection of armour and arms belonging to a Herr Soeter. The town and he, however, could not agree on the price to be paid for it and it has unfortunately been dispersed, and the great centre of the armour making industry in Germany possesses nothing in the way of armour but a fine tournament helm hanging so high in the Cathedral that it can scarcely be seen, and which was used at the funeral obsequies celebrated there for Charles V., and a sword used on the same occasion and both attributed to him; and some good pieces of embossed armour in the possession of Prince Fugger-Babenhauseu, of which we unfortunately did not hear until after we had left the town, somewhat disappointed in our quest for arms. We knew, however, that at Munich we should find ample material for study.

The National Bavarian Museum at Munich contains sixty-eight rooms filled with various collections relating to past times. In so vast an assemblage there is naturally much of minor importance, but, although the collection of arms is by no means in the first rank amongst European collections, it contains some pieces of the highest rarity and interest. We are, for instance, all well acquainted with the horizontal knightly belt which appears on the hips of our monumental effigies of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries; but, as far as I am aware, it is only at Munich that the greater portion of one of them can be seen and its construction studied.

The pieces of which it is composed are of gilt and engraved brass, and have staples at their backs, which pass through holes in a leather belt and are secured by thongs of leather. There is also a breastplate with its skirt of steel, the whole covered with red velvet and adorned with gilt brass nails, to which I should assign an early date in the fifteenth century, and which is quite unique.

There is a rich series of painted targes of the fifteenth century, and of helmets and weapons of the same epoch, but the case which fascinated us most was case 9, in

room 3, in which is a series of ten swords of the fifteenth century, of marvellous beauty and preservation.

Several of them have their original sheathes, one being admirably embossed in cuir bouilli. One sword has a wheel pommel of rock crystal, and such a crystal pommel may be seen represented in a picture by Dierick Bouts, painted in 1467, in the Old Pinakothek, in the same city. Another has a circular pommel, with admirable enamels inlaid on either side of it, such as is seen in so many of our brasses and effigies. It is impossible here to enter into a description of all the rare and fine pieces in the collection, nor would it be profitable to the reader that I should do so unless I had photographs to illustrate my remarks, and unfortunately they do not exist.

I was also somewhat amused and interested to see in the Museum a piece which had once been my own, a small backplate for a child, of Italian workmanship richly engraved and gilt, which I brought from Seville many years ago, but which was in so decayed a state that I exchanged it away. The Old Pinakothek, to which reference has been made, with its unrivalled collection of early German pictures, presents a mine of information to the student of arms, and many of the pictures have been admirably photographed.

It is impossible to speak of Munich in an archæological sense without referring to the bewildering wealth of treasures contained in the Reiche Kapelle and in the Schatzkammer.

A special excuse for so doing may be found in two remarkable swords contained in the latter. One is of the fifteenth century and attributed to the Bishop of Wurzburg. Its pommel is of red jasper, the grip and sheath are covered with violet velvet, over which is a silver-work of admirable design, whilst the cross guard of gilt silver ends in dog's heads, after the fashion of the quillons of an early fifteenth century sword of my own. The other is a rapier with a hilt of solid gold, exquisitely chased and enamelled by Reesin, of Nuremberg, in 1571. It is impossible to have an idea of the marvellous work executed by the goldsmiths of Augsburg and Nuremberg in the sixteenth century, without having seen the treasures massed in these two small rooms in the Alte Residenz. Our own regalia is a



paltry and vulgar show compared with either of them. There is a Royal Crown in the Schatzkammer which dates from before the Norman conquest of this island, and another equally admirable in beauty and preservation of the middle of the thirteenth century. To see these things in the reality is something for which neither the antiquary nor the artist can be ungrateful.

Besides all this, there is at Munich, in the possession of the Knightly Order of St. George, a sword, which is the most wonderful example of a highly decorated weapon of the fifteenth century in existence. We did not succeed in seeing it on this occasion, but I saw it at the Exhibition of German Art in Munich, in 1876. Not only does its decoration by far surpass that of any other sword of its epoch still extant, but it is also perfect in proportion and form. The hilt is of chased silver, and in the grip are niches with exquisitely wrought little figures. The decoration of vine-leaves, birds, &c., on the silver sheath is most beautiful. Of course it is a ceremonial sword, but it is the very beau ideal of a fifteenth century weapon. It is said to have been given to Duke Christoph of Bavaria by Beatrix, wife of King Matthias Corvinus, of Hungary, and its epoch is 1476 to 80.

Whilst at Munich it was our privilege to make the acquaintance of that veteran archæologist, Herr von Hefner Alteneck, and to visit his collection. He is the happy possessor of a German beaked visor bassinet, even finer than the one in the Londesborough collection, which was sold for so large a sum at Christie's a few years ago, and of the finest chapeau de fer or *eisenhut* of the fifteenth century in existence. Besides these, he owns many pieces of rare interest, not only in armour and arms, but in other branches of mediæval art.

And with Munich, this first portion of my notes must close. The vastness of the collection at Vienna precludes me from attempting to describe it at the present moment. The subject is too large for the time I have had at my disposal. The collection of arms and armour from Ambras and the Imperial Arsenal are now united in the new Museum of Mediæval and Renaissance Art in the Burg-Ring. They fill twelve large halls. During the fortnight I was at Vienna, although I worked assiduously every day,



I was only able to make a complete study of three out of these twelve rooms, and of the smaller but interesting collection in the Town Arsenal at the Rathaus. I worked carefully through the rooms containing the arms of the fifteenth and first quarter of the sixteenth centuries, and also in that devoted to tilting and tournament armour, which contains about a quarter of a hundred almost complete suits of jousting harness. The other rooms I merely walked through, under the guidance of the most amiable and learned Custos of the collection, Mr. Wendelin Böheim. When I find time to write the sequel to this paper, besides the results of this examination, I shall have to refer to the private collection of Mr. Franz Thill, and the Rathaus collection at Vienna, the series of arms in the National Germanic Museum at Nuremberg which has recently been enriched by the acquisition of Prince Sulkowsky's most important collection, and of the smaller museums of Linz and Salzburg.

## THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF AUGSBURG AND RATISBON.<sup>1</sup>

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

Augsburg is one of the finest provincial cities in Europe. At first sight it impresses us by architectural magnificence, chiefly of the Renaissance style; it has also a long and eventful history. Founded after the wars of Drusus, to which Horace alludes,<sup>2</sup> Augusta Vindelicorum is described by Tacitus as *splendidissima colonia*.<sup>3</sup> In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it attained the zenith of prosperity, flourishing in art, in trade and manufactures. The Fugger and Welser families were merchant princes—the Medici of Augsburg—they amassed enormous wealth, which they used wisely and liberally. Nor should the Augsburg-erinnen be passed over—Philippine Welser<sup>4</sup> Agnes

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 3rd, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Tiberius and Drusus conquered Raetia in B.C. 15, and Augsburg is said to have been founded in the following year, or thereabouts. Horace, Odes, iv, 4, 17sq.,

Videre Raetis bella sub Alpibus

Drusum gerentem Vindelici.

So both Bentley and Orelli—the greatest scholars who have edited this author—read the passage. “Raetis] pro Raeticis. Haec, ut docent Inscriptiones, rectior scriptura est quam *Rhaetis*. Vera autem lectio corrupta est partim errore *Racti*, partim interpolatione Codd. aliq. : *et Vindelici*.” Orelli, in loco. The subject reminds us of the monument supposed to have been erected in honour of Drusus at Mogontiacum (Mayence); it is noticed in my paper on Roman Antiquities of the Middle Rhine, *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. xlvii, pp. 208—211.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 41. Hier-mundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa (Danubii) commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia.

passim sine custode transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. Though another interpretation has been proposed, it is generally agreed that Augsburg is the place which the historian intends to designate. A good illustration of the last clause is supplied by the great mosaic described hereinafter.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. F. Marion Crawford has well related the romantic story of Philippine Welser's union with Ferdinand of Hapsburg, to whom she was indeed *conjugae carissima*, as her epitaph records: *English Illustrated Magazine*, Sept., 1890, vol. vii, No. 84, pp. 841—848, with portraits of the married pair, and views of the Weiherburg and Schloss Ambras in the Tyrol. The memory of this admirable woman is perpetuated by the name of the Philippine Welser Strasse, which ends in the Ludwigsplatz. The house in which she was born is conspicuous on the east side of the street, opposite the Maximilian's Museum, and near Fugger's statue.

Bernauer, Clara von Detten, remarkable for their beauty, and the matrimonial connexions they formed with Imperial and illustrious houses. Moreover, the city has for us a religious interest, for the famous Confession here presented to Charles the Fifth was not only an epoch in the Reformation on the Continent, but also the basis for the Articles of the English Church.<sup>1</sup>

With few exceptions, Roman Antiquities at Augsburg must be studied in the Maximilian's Museum, where monuments of various kinds have been collected—historical, in honour of the gods, sepulchral, etc. I proceed to notice some of the most important, beginning with the Inscriptions.

IMP · CAESAR  
 L · SEPTIMIUS · SEVERVS · PIVS  
 PERTINAX · AVG · ARABIC<sup>1</sup> &  
 ADIAB · PARTHICVS · MAXIMVS  
 PONTIF · MX · TRB · POT · VIIII  
 IMP · XII · COS · TI · P · P · PRO COS · ET  
 IMP · CAESAR · MRCVS · AVREL  
 ANTONINVS · PIVS · AVG · TRB ·  
 POT · III · PRO COS · ET  
 " " " " " "  
 VIAS · ET PONTES · REST ·  
 A · CAMB · M · P ·  
 XI

#### TRANSLATION.

The Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax, August, Arabian, Adiabedian, Parthian Maximus, Chief Pontiff, holding Tribunician power for

<sup>1</sup> See Archdeacon Hardwick's History of the Articles, chap. ii, pp. 13—30, Appendix ii, pp. 259—276. Notes and Illustrations at the end of the vol., pp. 391—420. Some portions of the English Articles of 1538 are almost identical with the Augsburg Confession, *e.g.*, Deus aeternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia sapientia bonitate, Creator et Conservator omnium rerum visibilium et invisibilium, et tamen tres sint

personae ejusdem essentiae et potentiae coaeternae, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. This creed, the composition of Melancthon, was written in Latin and German; the vernacular was read, 1530, before the Emperor and the assembled States of Germany, in a hall of the Episcopal Palace, now the Residenz-Schloss, adjoining the Cathedral. Merle d'Aubigné, Histoire de la Réformation, vol. iv, pp. 155—390, livre xiv.

the ninth time, saluted Imperator for the twelfth time, Consul for the second time, Father of his Country, and the Proconsul and Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Pius, August, holding Tribunician power for the fourth time, and the Proconsul and ... .. repaired the roads and bridges. Eleven miles from Cambodunum.<sup>1</sup>

As I have remarked on a former occasion, Roman milliaria are far more instructive than the stones placed along English and French roads, which only indicate names of towns, and distances marked in miles or kilomètres.<sup>2</sup> The monument under consideration is no exception to the rule; on the contrary, it suggests many points of interest, both geographical and historical. *Adiabenicus* comes from *Adiabene*, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, the more recent appellation of the primitive Assyria;<sup>3</sup> this province, south of Mount Niphates, lay between the Tigris and the chain of Zagrus. In it was situated Arbela, which gave its name to the last and decisive victory of Alexander over the Persians, B.C.,

<sup>1</sup> *Campodunum* is the form of the name that more frequently occurs, and more closely resembles the modern Kempten. Brunet, *Supplément Géographique au Manuel du Libraire*, gives three varieties. *Campidona*, *Campidunum*, *Cambodunum* ...anc. abb. de Bénéd.; concile de 1238; l'abb. s'est appelée aussi *Camp. Vetus* et *Campinacus*. Roman Britain also had its *Cambodunum*, mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, a *vallo ad portum Ritupis*, but difficult to identify, partly because it lay remote, on the west side, from the direct route between Hadrian's Wall and Richborough in Kent. This town of the Brigantes was in the neighbourhood of Halifax and Huddersfield; Greta, Sowerby, Almondbury, Grimsby, Stainland and Slack have been named as its modern representatives. The road from York (*Eboracum*) to Manchester is thus given in the *Ant. Itin.*, p. 468, edit. Wesseling.

Calcaria (Tadcaster).....mpm. viii.

Camboduno ..... mpm. xx.

Mamucio (Manchester).....mpm. xviii.

As there seems to have been some omission in the MSS., see the note on *Calcaria*, p. 223, edit. Parthey and Pinder.

Instead of *Cambodunum* (in Britain) Ptolemy has *Καμουλόδουνον*, lib. ii, cap. 3, § 10, on which edit. Car. Müller (Didot)

vol. i, p. 98, has the following note, *Aliud Camulodunum (hodie Colchester) infra p. 100, 8...Camulodunum de Camulo deo dictum; with references to the Archaeologia and the Archaeological Journal, quoted by Hübner, Corp. Inscr. Brit. Lat., p. 54. Camulus was the Celtic Mars: see Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims, année 1859—1860. Reims pendant la domination romaine, d'après les Inscriptions par M. Ch. Loricquet. Plate facing p. 53, fig. 1, pp. 53—69, esp. 63, 68: comp. my Paper on the Gallo-Roman monuments in that city, Archæol. Journ. 1884, vol. xli, p. 131 sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See my Papers, *ibid.*, *Antt. of Touraine and the Central Pyrenees*, 1888, vol. xlv, pp. 325—329; *Antt. of Trèves and Metz*, 1889, vol. xlvi, pp. 229—232.

<sup>3</sup> Edit. Eysenhardt, 1871, *Index rerum*, *Adiabene provincia Assyriae*, xviii, 7, 1; xxiii, 3, 1; in *primis* xxiii, 6, 20, 21. *Intra hunc circuitum Adiabena est, Assyria prisca temporibus vocitata, longaque assuetudine ad hoc translata vocabulum ea re quod inter Onam et Tigridem sita navigeros fluvios adiri vado nunquam potuit: transire enim διαβαλεῖν dicimus Graeci* (var. lect. Graece). Ammianus gives another explanation, but it is too long to quote here.

331, though the battle was fought at Gaugamela more than twenty miles off.<sup>1</sup> As Adiabene was a border-land between two great empires, and also an extensive plain suitable for military operations, we might *a priori* expect to read of many engagements in the country, and that a successful commander would hence derive a new title.<sup>2</sup>

Proceeding to the next title we find it still more worthy of attention. On the coins of Septimius Severus, for the year A.D. 195, the legend PART. ARAB. PART. ADIAB. occurs; *i.e.*, Parthicus Arabicus, Parthicus Adiabenicus. At this period the Romans were not openly making war upon the Parthians, and Eckhel ingeniously accounts for the repetition of their name by supposing that they sent troops to assist the two nations here mentioned. We have the same iteration in the inscription upon the Arch of Severus at Rome, near the Capitol.<sup>3</sup> The surname *Parthicus* was omitted from coins

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the camel's or dromedary's house: Thirlwall, History of Greece, 1st edition, vol. vi, p. 217. The great mosaic at Naples—the finest that remains from antiquity, and I might even say the finest in the world—probably represents the battle of Arbela, or the earlier one at Issus fought two years previously. There is a close correspondence between the figures in the tessellated pavement and the narrative of the battle at Issus by Q. Curtius, especially the mention of *one* chariot; lib. iii, cap. 27, Jamque qui Darium vehebant equi, confossi hastis et dolore efferati, jugum quatere, et regem curru (τέθριππον Diodor.) excutere coeperant: eum ille, veritus ne vivus veniret in hostium potestatem, desilit, et in equum, qui ad hoc ipsum sequebatur, imponitur. It is said that Cardinal Richelieu at Rochelle, with Q. Curtius in his hands, imitated the siege of Tyre by Alexander the Great; so one might imagine that the mosaicist at Pompeii composed his design with this passage before his eyes. Cf. Diodorus, xvii, 33 sq.; and Plutarch, Life of Alexander, chaps. 20, 33; C. O. Müller, Denkmäler der alten Kunst, edit. Wieseler, part i, pp. 52—54, Taf. lv, No. 273; Id. Archäol. d. Kunst, Sect. 163, Remark 6, where many modern authorities are cited; Eng. Translation p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> For the same reasons the Low Countries have been the scene of war for centuries: a mere arena for combat—the *Cockpit of Europe*: Murray's Handbook

for Travellers on the continent, Sect. i, Belgium, Introductory Information, § 22.

Milton mentions this region with his usual, though not unfailing, accuracy: Paradise Regained, iii, 319.

From Atropatia and the neighb'ring plains

Of Adiabene.

Strabo has Ἀτροπάτιος, lib. xi, cap. 13, § 1, p. 523, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα μέρος ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀτροπάτιος Μηδία (S.W. of the Caspian); and Ἀτροπάτιοι *ibid.*, § 6, p. 524. This country is very mountainous, but Adiabene level: Strab., xvi, 1, § 19, p. 745, Τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἀδιαβηνῆς ἡ πλείστη πεδιάς ἐστὶ. See Bishop Newton's excellent commentary on the Paradise Regained, loc. citat. Comp. Pliny, Hist. Nat., vi 13, § 41. Adiabene Assyriorum initium: Tacitus, Ann., xii, 13, Postquam campos propinquabant, copiis Carenis adjunguntur, transissequae amne Tigri permeant Adiabenes.

<sup>3</sup> Gruter, vol. i, no. cclxv, with prefatory notice: Orelli, Collectio Inscr. Lat., vol. i, p. 211, c. ii, Monumenta historica, § 22, No. 912, with the letters erased after the murder of Geta, A.D. 212

Professor J. H. Middleton, Ancient Rome in 1885, p. 217 sq., gives a brief, but detailed, description of the reliefs on the Arch of Severus, "very interesting for their representations of scenes of battle and sieges in the East." Those who desire fuller information will find it in Rossini's Archi Trionfali; the plates are of folio size, and nine are devoted to this



for a time, because the Emperor was fully occupied with the war against Albinus, and therefore unwilling to assume any designation that would provoke the hostility of the Eastern power. It was resumed in A.D. 198; and *Maximus* was added in the following year to commemorate the great victories that had been obtained. In 201 *Parthicus Maximus* on the obverse disappears, *Pius* begins, and a medal exhibits Obv. IMPP. INVICTI. PII. AVGG., busts of Severus and Caracalla, conjugated and laureated; Rev. VICTORIA. PARTHICA. MAXIMA. Victory holding a crown and palm. The plural IMPP., i.e., *Imperatores*, agrees with the mention of Severus and his son on the milestone at Augsburg.<sup>1</sup>

At first the elder son of Severus was called Bassianus—a name which he derived from his maternal grandfather; this was changed to M. Aurelius Antoninus. The vanity of Severus appeared most conspicuously in an attempt to connect himself with illustrious predecessors; thus he claimed descent by adoption from Aurelius, Pius, Hadrian, Trajan and Nerva; of the last Emperor in this series he is said to be the *adnepos*, i.e., great-great-grandson; see Orelli's Inscriptions, Nos. 904, 908, 915. Hence we cannot wonder that he gave his son a name in accordance with this flattering genealogy. Caracalla does not occur on coins or monuments, because it is a *sobriquet* of Gallic origin, which means a short dress, like a frock coat.<sup>2</sup> The case is analogous to that of Caligula, so-called from *caliga*, a soldier's boot; but in the official documents he is Caius Caesar.<sup>3</sup>

subject; they exhibit the sculptures on both sides—many of them on a large scale. These reliefs are important as illustrations of the rapid decline of art which had commenced in the Antonine Age, as the column of M. Aurelius proves if compared with that of Trajan.

<sup>1</sup> Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. vii, pp. 166-194, esp. 172, 179; Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, vol. iii, p. 329, no. 6.

<sup>2</sup> This garment seems to be described by Strabo, iv, 4, 3, p. 196 (197?) quoted by Rich in his Dictionary, 'Ἀντὶ δὲ χιτῶνων σχιστοὺς χειριδωτοὺς φέρουσι μέχρις αἰδολῶν καὶ γλουτῶν; it is called by Martial *Gallica palla*, Epigrams I, 93; cf. the Augustine History, Spartianus, Vita Caracalli, cap. 9, with the note of Salmasius (Saumaise). There were two

kinds—one worn by the Gauls, reaching only down to the thighs; the other, introduced by this emperor at Rome, extending to the ankles, and named from him *Antoniniana*. Dr. W. Smith, in his edition of Gibbon, chap. vi, vol. i, p. 264, note, remarks that the modern writers have adopted the form Caracalla, though the ancients wrote Caracallus.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* i, 41 Jam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. These words are part of that most pathetic passage, in which the historian relates the departure of Agrippina and the Roman ladies from the camp of the revolting legions on the

VIAS . ET . PONTES . REST. Some have expanded the abbreviation as *restauraverunt*; on comparing this inscription with others relating to the repair of roads, *restituerunt* seems more probable: for example, at Pène d'Escot in the Pyrenees, on the road from Oloron to Jaca, the following words are to be seen on the natural rock:—

II VIR BIS HANC  
VIAM RESTITVIT<sup>1</sup>

Here we may also notice the title *Duumvir*, which frequently recurs at Augsburg. Wilmanns in his *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Index xiii, Notabilia Varia, Viae et Pontes, vol. ii, p. 670, gives the phrases *viam facere*, *restituere*, *munire*, *sternere*, *silice sternere*, with the word *passim* appended; but he does not mention *restaurare*. Another expression is supplied by Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitatis*, p. 271, VIAS ET MILLIARIA...RENOVAVERVNT, on a column two miles from Sidon, in the direction of Tyre. Lastly, compare the fragmentary REST on the mile-stone at Augsburg with ESTITVER still legible on the entablature of the Temple of Vespasian at Rome, supported by three columns, which every visitor must remember.<sup>2</sup>

lower Rhine. Comp. Suetonius, Caligula 9; Caligulae cognomen castrensi joco traxit, &c. Cohen, Op. citat. vol. i, pp. 146-153, pl. ix. Eckhel, vi, 228, At vero plebeium istud nomen ausum non est inferre pedem in monumenta publica, tam parum, quam serius nomina Caracallae et Elagabali, illud per ignominiam datum Severi filio, hoc Soaemias filio.

The last-named emperor in the legends of coins is usually Antoninus, but originally he was called Varius Avitus Bassianus. Where Elagabalus appears on his medals, it may be taken as an apposition with a case of Sol, meaning the same deity, e.g., Rev. SACERD DEI SOLIS ELAGAB. Cohen iii, 529, nos. 116-119. Inscriptions relating to him occur in Britain: Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 4to. edition, pp. 159-161, 320, 322, 412; Henzen, *Supplement to Orelli's Collection*, no. 5514; *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Nos. 121, 571, 943; C.I.L. *Britanniae*, edit. Hübner, nos. 585, 1039, 1191,\* (dubious) 664, 964. These monuments exhibit many erasures, such as may be observed at present in France, resulting from changes of government; and in some cases we cannot decide with cer-

tainty what emperor's name should be supplied, but in those above mentioned there are strong reasons for preferring Elagabalus to any other.

<sup>1</sup> See my Paper on Antiquities in the South-West of France, *Archaeol. Journ.*, 1879, xxxvi, 9, text and notes.

<sup>2</sup> This Temple on the Clivus Capitolinus, built by Domitian in honour of his father, Vespasian, about A.D. 94, was restored by Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The whole inscription upon it, of which only a few letters are now legible, was copied in the eighth century by a monk from the convent of Einsiedeln (Switzerland, Canton Schweiz). The latter part of it suits our present purpose—IMPP. CAESS. SEVERVS . ET . ANTONINVS . PH . FELIC . AVGG . RESTITVERVNT: Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, A, i, § 17, *Antiquarian Ramble from the Colosseum to the Capitol*, p. 14. See Professor Middleton's *Ancient Rome* in 1885, pp. 213-215, comp. 240, 241 with notes 1, 2; he gives a full account of the sculptured frieze representing sacrificial instruments enriched with minute reliefs. Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 119, sq., plates at pp. 93, 99, 118, which show

Campodunum is now Kempten, in Bavaria, a station on the line of railway from Munich to the Lake of Constance (Bodensee), not far from Lindau. A part of the town called Neustadt is situated on an eminence, which corresponds with the termination *dunum*, signifying a hill, as in Augustodunum, Camulodunum, etc. The Antonine Itinerary mentions Campodunum three times—on the road from Augusta Vindelicum to Brigantia (Bregenz); it belonged to the tribe of Estiones; vid. Strabo, lib. iv., p. 216.<sup>1</sup>

This inscription formerly lay buried in the cellar of the Monastery at Isny (*in cella vinaria abbatiali*), a place West of Kempten, within the frontier of Württemberg.<sup>2</sup>

MVNICIPI AEL AVG NEGOTIATOR  
 VESTIARIAE ET.....IARIAE · AEDEM  
 CVM SVIS ORN.....NTIS · SIBI · ET · P · RAT  
 C · ANTONIO · AELIANO · EQVITI.: ROMANO  
 DECVRION. MVNIC · AEL · AVG.....O

The letters underscored with wavy lines are not distinctly legible.

adjacent buildings—Tabularium, Column of Phocas and Temple of Saturn; comp. Smith's Dictionary of Anc. Geography, s.v. Roma, Vol. ii, p. 781 and engraving. Nibby, Roma nell'anno mdcccxviii, Parte i. Antica, pp. 541-545, thinks that the three columns still remaining belonged to the *aedes Tonantis Jovis in Capitolio* mentioned by Suetonius, Augustus, cc. 21, 91 (cf. Dion Cassius, liv. 4; καὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βροντῶντος ἐπικαλουμένου ναὸν καθιέρωσε; edit. Sturzius, Vol. iii, p. 252; Vol. vi, p. 100, note 32); he, therefore, calls the ruins Tempio di Giove Tonante, but more recent topographers do not agree with him.

<sup>1</sup> Itinerar. Antonini, edit. Wesseling, pp. 237, 250, 258; edit. Parthey and Pinder, pp. 111, 116, 120. Strabo, lib. iv, cap. vi, § 8, καὶ οἱ Ἑστίωνες δὲ τῶν Ὀυνδαλικῶν εἰσι καὶ βριγάντιοι καὶ πόλεις αὐτῶν βριγάντιον καὶ καμβόδουνον, κ.τ.λ. Brigantium (or Brigantia), Bregenz in the Austrian Tyrol, capital of the Vorarlberg,

must not be confounded with Brigantes, a tribe in the North of England.

<sup>2</sup> The preceding inscription is given by Mezger, Die Römischen Steindenkmäler, Inschriften und Gefäss-Stempel im Maximilians-Museum, Augsburg, 1862, p. 2; also by Von Hefner, Das Römische Bayern, Dritte Auflage, München, 1852, p. 127 sq., No. CXLVII, with notes subdivided—Literatur, Geschichte, Form. This important work contains copious Indices, which assist us to ascertain the provenance of monuments and the places where they have been deposited, and the meaning of abbreviations (*sigla*), &c. It is accompanied by an Atlas of 8 plates, see pp. 378-380 of the Text, Uebersicht der auf den acht Tafeln abgebildeten Gegenstände. Comp. Von Raiser, Der Ober-Donau-Kreis im Königreiche Bayern unter den Römern, 1830, 1<sup>te</sup> Abtheilung, pp. 34, 45; Id. Guntia und das römische Antiquarium zu Augsburg, 1823, p. 64. Tab. III, Fig. II, No. 11; and Tab. B,

## EXPANSION

According to Mommsen.

Municipi Aeli Augusti negotiatores rei vestiariae et ...iariae aedem cum suis ornamentis sibi et populo patefecerunt (vel patrauerunt) C. Antonio Aeliano equite Romano decurione municipi Aeli Augusti curatore.

## TRANSLATION.

The sellers of clothes and... in the borough Aelia Augusta have built the temple with its decorations for themselves and the people; Caius Antonius Aelianus, a Roman knight and decurion of the borough Aelia Augusta, superintended the work.

The first word which arrests attention is *AEL*, an abbreviation of *Aelia* or *Aeli*. This name was given to Augusta Vindelicorum, in honour of Hadrian, who reigned A.D. 117-138; hence the inscription cannot be antecedent to the former date. It was right that the great Emperor should be honoured at Augsburg, because more than any other he had contributed to the erection of the Limes Transdanubianus and Transrhenanus. His biographer, Spartianus, informs us that by fixing great stakes deep in the earth, like a mural hedge, he separated the barbarians from the Romans (stipitibus magnis in modum muralis saepis funditus jactis atque conexis barbaros separavit);<sup>1</sup> and Colonel von Cohausen, the best modern authority on this subject, thinks that the Teufelsmauer in Bavaria was constructed by Hadrian, and, therefore, subsequently to the Rhenish boundary wall.<sup>2</sup> The former is carried North of the Danube, and nearly parallel to its course from the neighbourhood of Ratisbon to Lorch in Württem-

<sup>1</sup> Vita Hadriani, cap. 12. Thos. Hodgkin, The Pfahlgraben: An Essay towards a description of the Barrier of the Roman Empire between the Danube and the Rhine, p. 85. "Hadrian is spoken of as the great developer of this scheme of defence at various times and in various places, and, upon the whole, the German antiquaries are probably warranted by this passage in attributing to that Emperor more than to any other single name the construction of the *Limes Transdanubianus et Transrhenanus*."

<sup>2</sup> Der Römische Grenzwall in Deutsch-

land, Militärische und technische Beschreibung desselben von A. Von Cohausen, chap. III, p. 12, Wir glauben, was wir hier schon aussprechen wollen, auch wegen der Ähnlichkeit mit dem notorisch in Nordhumberland angelegten Grenzmauer, dass die Teufelsmauer durch Bayern durch denselben Kaiser, also später als der rheinische Grenzwall angelegt worden ist. The Atlas of fifty-two Plates forms the 2nd volume; Tafel I. contains, in addition to the Roman Wall in Germany, those in Britain, Vallum Hadriani and Vallum Pii.



berg, so that it protected Augusta Vindelicorum and South Germany, just as the wall in our own country defended the Britons against the Caledonians. We may remark that the memory of this universal benefactor was perpetuated in other places after the same fashion; Pons Ælii was the ancient name of Newcastle; Pons Ælius, now Ponte S. Angelo, is the bridge that leads to his Mausoleum at Rome;<sup>1</sup> and Jerusalem, after the suppression of a Jewish revolt, was called Ælia Capitolina.<sup>2</sup>

When the Swedes occupied Augsburg during the Thirty Years' War, the compliment that had been paid to Hadrian was repeated in honour of Gustavus Adolphus; a silver medallion was struck, 1632, bearing in its legend the words *Gustava* and *Augusta*, probably with allusion to the anagram by which the former is made from the latter.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nibby, *Roma Antica*, vol. I, pp. 159-167, 1838, says of this bridge, which at that date had borne the traffic of seventeen centuries, *E questo il ponte più bello e più comodo di Roma moderna*. Middleton, *Ancient Rome* in 1885, p. 487, "The Pons Ælius was built in A.D., 135" (TRIB. POT. XVIII, which fixes the year) "by Hadrian, to connect his Mausoleum and Circus with the Campus Martius: Spartianus, Hadrian, c. 19. "It is shown on the reverses of bronze coins of Hadrian, dated from his third consulship." But there is some doubt whether these coins are genuine, see Eckhel *Doct. Num. Vet.*, VI, 511 sq. *De numo hoc sic Baldinus: dummodo sit indubitata antiquitatis, a peritis enim pro suspecto habetur*. Sane in Caesareo quoque Museo ejus exemplum adest, sed haud dubie spurium. Cohen, *op. citat.*, vol. II, p. 172, Among Médailles de grand bronze sans le S.C. gives a reverse, No. 576, Sans légende. Pont à cinq arches orné de quatre statues. He adds Le Médallion avec le pont Elie est faux.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's *Dict. of Class. Geogr.*, vol. ii, p. 27, first column, supplies many references. With the addition of the surname of a deity to the Emperor's *nomen gentilicium*, which occurs in Ælia Capitolina, we may compare Ælia Augusta Mercurialis, as Thænæ (Θεναί) was called when it received a Roman colony—a town in Byzacium, near the Syrtis Minor, and south of Thapsus. It appears in an inscription, Gruter's Collection, p. cccxiii, No. 3, *tabula patronatus*, which evidently belongs to the Constantine period, because it begins

with DD.NN. CRISPO ET CONSTANTINO. Corp. Inscr. Lat. vol. viii, pt. 1, p. 10, where the various forms of the Greek name may be seen—*ε* and *αι* in the former syllable, singular and plural numbers. Itinerar. Antonini, edit. Wesseling, pp. 46, 47, 48, 57, colonia 59; hodie Thaini, Tëny.

C.I.L., vol. viii, part 2; Tabula II, Provincia Africa, is an excellent map on a sufficiently large scale, 1:1,000,000, showing Roman roads—certain and uncertain—places where mile-stones have been found, ancient bridges, ruins, &c.

Under the Republic, the families of the gens Ælia—Catus, Gallus, Gracilis, Lania, Ligur, Paetus Staienus, Stilo, Tubero, &c.—produced many distinguished men, but they are all cast into the shade by the fame of the illustrious Emperor: cf. Horace, *Odes*, i, 26, 8, *Necte meo Lamiæ coronam*; *ibid.*, iii, 17, 1, *Æli vetusto nobilis ab Lamo*. Ernest Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des Monnaies de la République Romaine*, vol. i, pp. 107—113. This author has improved upon his predecessor Cohen, and the present case is an example of it. The earlier writer gives engravings of seven coins under Ælia; but the later, ten, intercalated in the text, with references in the footnotes, both ancient and modern.

<sup>3</sup> Von Raiser, *Guntia und das römische Antiquarium zu Augsburg*, p. 62, note 6, describes this medal at length, but a much more copious account will be found in the following Catalogue, *Verzeichniss der in der Münzsammlung des historischen Vereins von Schwaben und Neuburg*



It has been plausibly conjectured that the second line of the inscription might be completed by inserting *patagiariae*, the adjective formed from *patagium*, a broad stripe of purple or gold ornamenting the front of a Roman lady's tunic, and similar to the *clavus* of knights and senators. A good example is supplied by a painting in the tomb of the Nasones, where Proserpine is represented as wearing it; she is seated beside Pluto, and Mercury, *ψυχοπομπός*, conducts a soul into their presence.<sup>1</sup> In this case the *patagium* is not only upon the chest, but also round the neck, so that De Vit correctly interprets it by *collaretto* as well as by *pistagna*. The word is rare, but

befindlichen Münzen und Medaillen der Stadt Angsburg von Johann Paul Grosshauser, Domkapitular. Erste Abtheilung, p. 46 sq., No. 281. Obverse, the fir-cone, heraldic device of the city, with the name Jehovah in Hebrew letters, in the second row armorial bearings of the Duumviri (Stadtpfleger), in the third and fourth of five Councillors (Geheimen), in the fifth of three architects, in the sixth of two masters of ordnance. Round the fir-cone winds the motto POST NVBILA PHOEBVS, accompanied by two letters intertwined, G. and A., i.e., Gustava and Augusta; behind the cone is another motto *Crescit et—1632—florescit*. Reverse, plan of the town and fortifications designed, but not executed; above it the royal arms of Sweden, and below, the words GVSTAVA ET AVGVSTA CAPVT RELIGIONIS ET REGIONIS. In the middle of this plan are the arms of the Swedish military Governor Benedikt Oxenstirn (doubtless a relative of the celebrated Chancellor Axel Oxenstirn), of the Stadtholder Count von Hohenlohe and others. Outside the fortifications is a landscape, including the river Lech with a bridge and *tête de pont*. This medal, which contains other details too numerous to be mentioned here, may be justly regarded as an historical monument of great importance.

<sup>1</sup> *Picturae Antiquae Cryptarum Romanarum et Sepulcri Nasonum, delineatae et expressae a P. Sante Bartolo, descriptae a J.-P. Bellorio et Mic.-Ang. Causeo*, 1819, Tab. viii, pp. 47—49, fol. The article is a long one and illustrated by apposite quotations from the poets, but, strangely enough, nothing is said about the *patagium* of Proserpine. On the contrary, the colours of the drapery are especially noticed. Pluto's head is covered as far as the forehead by a violet

robe; his consort wears a dress of the same hue, and the other female figure is clothed in red. This tomb was discovered in 1674, and Bartoli's plates were published in 1680, so that the drawings were executed when the paintings, which have long since disappeared, were still fresh and beautiful.

The subject reminds me that in the year 1879, I had the opportunity of seeing some frescoes at Pompeii, which had been uncovered only a few days previously on account of the celebration of the eighteenth centenary, commemorating the eruption that overwhelmed the city. They presented a delightful contrast to the Collection of similar relics of art in the Museo Nazionale; for the latter have lost their "original brightness," and are now one dingy red.

The engraving of Bartoli is copied on a reduced scale in Milman's edition of Horace, Odes, I, 10, as an illustration of vv. 17 and following.

Tu pius laetis animas reponis  
Sedibus, virgaque levem coarces  
Aurea turban.

The drawings from the antique are by Mr. G. Scharf, Director of the National Portrait Gallery; but in this case the engraving is unsatisfactory, because it does not show clearly the ornamental border, as distinct from the rest of the garment. Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary, gives the figure of Proserpine, s.v. *Patagium*; Smith's Dict. of Ant., 2nd edition, omits the word, but some collateral information may be found in the article *Clavus Latus*, *Clavus Angustus*, esp. the latter part, where there are figures of the goddess *Moneta*, *Priscilla* an early martyr, one of the three Holy Children, and Rome personified.

we find its derivatives in Plautus, *patagiatus* and *patagiarius*, a maker and seller of such borders or edgings.<sup>1</sup> We infer that it was sometimes of gold from a passage in Tertullian, *De Pallio*; he compares it with the plumage of a peacock, and uses the term *inauratio* (more gilded).<sup>2</sup>

In the first line of the inscription we have noticed *Ælius*, in the fourth we find *Ælianus*, by its termination indicating an adoption. Two of the most remarkable instances are Publius Cornelius Scipio *Æmilianus*, who was the son of L. *Æmilius* Paullus, conqueror of Macedon; and Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus, usually called Augustus. This practice was specially common under the Empire, which is proved by the recurrence of such names as Sejanus, Vespasianus, Domitianus, etc.; and hence the allusions to it may be accounted for in those passages of the New Testament, where filial and servile dispositions are contrasted.<sup>3</sup>

C. Antonius has here the title *Eques Romanus*, but I presume that he was one of the *Equites Municipales*, who were probably descended from provincial families; accordingly we find them described by such adjectives as *Aretinus*, *Florentinus*—of Arezzo, of Florence. The Romans would consider them to be an inferior class, as Londoners and Parisians look down upon country people.

<sup>1</sup> *Aulularia*, Act iii, Sc. v, v. 35, *Ciniflōnes, patagiārii indusiārii* (v. le *Caupones*)

*Epidicus*, Act ii, Sc. ii, v. 47, *Tūnicam rallam, tūnicam spissam, linteolum caesiciūm,*

*Indusiatam, pātagiatam, cāltulam aut crocōtulam.*

The last word means a saffron-coloured dress, and has the same derivation as *crocodiles* a kind of eye-salve, which I have mentioned as explanatory of *CIKKON* on an oculist's stamp, in my Paper on Touraine and the Central Pyrenees, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xlv, p. 225, text and note 1. *Ibid.*, two lines later, *Plantus* has *melinum* (i.e., *vestimentum*), a quince-coloured garment.

<sup>2</sup> *De Pallio*, cap. iii, edit. Fr. Oehler, vol. i, p. 925 sq. *quanquam et pavo pluma vestis, et quidem de cataclists, immo omni conchylio pressior qua colla florent, et omni patagio inauratio qua terga fulgent.* See the notes; the editor rightly calls attention to *pavo*, dative of *pavus*, the common form being

*pavo, pavonis*; *Cataclists*, i.e., pretiosis et diligenter adservatis; *pressa purpura... quæ purius et meracius lucet.*

<sup>3</sup> Other texts might be quoted, but one will suffice here; *Epistle to the Romans*, viii, 15, *Οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον, ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας, ἐν ᾧ κρᾶσμεν Ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ.* Luther to express the familiarity of Abba renders *lieber Vater*, dear Father; v. Alford in loco. Comp. the exactly parallel passage, *Galatians* iv, 6; and Conybeare and Howson's excellent note upon it, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 8vo. edition, vol. ii, p. 176. St. Paul seems to be the earliest writer that uses *υἱοθεσία* to mean adoption; but we find a similar expression in Herodotus, *Erato*, vi, 57, where he is describing the duties and prerogatives of the Spartan kings, *καὶ ἦν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλη, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποιέεσθαι.* The Athenians used the words *εἰσποίησις,ποίησις* and *θεῖσις*; for these and other terms v. Smith's *Dict. of Antt.*, art. *Adoptio*, 1 Greek, by Mr. G. Long.

So Juvenal intimates that Cicero himself, a native of Arpinum, when he first came to Rome, was despised because he was a knight in a borough; and Tacitus indignantly remarks that Livia, the sister of Germanicus, grand-niece of Augustus and daughter-in-law of Tiberius, disgraced herself, her ancestors and descendants by her connexion with Sejanus a municipal paramour.<sup>1</sup>

*Decurio* would properly mean a chief of ten, but, like *decanus*, a dean over monks or a cathedral, the word is sometimes used without reference to any decimal division, and here signifies a member of the Town Council, called *Ordo Decurionum*. At first, the popular assembly in Italian towns, as at Rome, had supreme authority; afterwards it was transferred to the senate, which had the grand titles, *splendidissimus*, *honestissimus*, etc., *ordo*, and managed all affairs belonging to internal administration; throughout the Empire this system, now called Home Rule, or local self-government, seems to have been generally adopted. That such was the case may be inferred from the great number of Inscriptions in which the decurions are mentioned; e.g., the abbreviation D.D.P.P. often occurs, i.e., *decreto decurionum, pecunia publica*.<sup>2</sup>

Orelli gives us the compound *condecurio*, in an inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal, Sat. viii, 237 sq.

Hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romæ  
Municipalis Eques.

Der nun eben erst noch in Rom ein  
Municipalritter gescholten wurde, als  
Spottnamen, edit. Heinrich, Erklärung,  
p. 347.

Tacitus, Annals, book iv, chap. 3, Atque illa, cui avunculus Augustus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, sequere ac majores et posteros municipali adultero foedabat, ut pro honestis et presentibus flagitiosa et incerta expectaret. See the note of Orelli, who quotes Cicero, Philippics, 3, 6, Videte, quam despiciamur omnes, qui sumus e municipiis. This Livia or Livilla, wife of Drusus, is mentioned in the Stemma Angustæ Domus, Tacitus, edit. Lipsius, folio, Antverpiæ, Ex officina Plantiniana, mdcvii, pp. 545-547, esp. 547; also in the Stemma Caesarum, edit. Brotier, 4to. tom. 1, p. 461, no. 71: Brotier gives a much longer list than the earlier commentator, "Ad Nummorum, Scriptorum veterum, ac maxime C. Cornelii Taciti intelligentiam

illustratum." The genealogical table is repeated, and the notes translated by Valpy, 12mo., vol. i, pp. xi-xxviii. Livia, this passage of Tacitus, should not be confounded with Livia, wife of Augustus, ibid. no. 66. As the Emperor is the principal figure around which the others are grouped by the historian, it is important for the student to know the relations of consanguinity or affinity, in which the members of the Imperial family, *domus divina*, stood to him.

<sup>2</sup> Daremberg et Saglio, Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, s.v., divide Decurions into four classes. "Il y avait...des décurions en Italie, non seulement dans les colonies municipales et préfectures, mais encore dans les petites communes appelées *conciliabula* et *fora*, .. En outre, les *vici*, les *pagi* et même les *castella* possédaient un conseil local, bien que subordonnés à la cité dont ils dépendaient. Comp. Smith's Dict. of Antt., third edition, 1890, vol. i, p. 482, s.v. Colonia, ibid., 606-608, s.v. Decuriones, esp. Decuriones Curiales.

tion at Sicca, with the remark that it is scarcely to be found elsewhere; but the researches of recent scholars have supplied other examples.<sup>1</sup> Wilmanns mentions six in Africa, and Mommsen one at Eburum (Eboli) near Paestum.<sup>2</sup> There is an analogous word *conveteranus*, but it also is rare. *Decurio* has other meanings, with which we are not at present concerned, a commander of cavalry (*dux turmae*), and a head chamberlain (*praepositus cubiculo*).<sup>3</sup>

Among the monuments preserved in the Maximilian's Museum, we may notice a bas-relief representing a cask (*cupa*),<sup>4</sup> bound with strong hoops, and placed on a cart (*plaustrum majus*, *clabulare*); the fore and hind wheels are of the same height; the naves project considerably; and the spokes, eight in number, are conical. Probably

<sup>1</sup> Orelli Inscr. Lat., vol. ii, p. 162, No. 3733, Orelli incorrectly adds Tuneti as the site, following Donati; the inscription was really found (in basi inserta parieti mosceae ejusdam) at Sicca, a town east of Cirta (hodie Constantine), on the road from Carthage to Hippo Regius (Sallust, Jugurtha, chap. 56, Sicca, Siccenses). See Corp. Inscr. Lat., Africa, part i, pp. 197—208, Provincia Proconsularis, LXXII, Colonia Julia Veneria Cirta Nova Sicca (Schak-Benâr el Kef). Tribu Quirina. An historical introduction is prefixed, as usual in this work, to the epigraphy of the town. The inscription itself is given more accurately than by Orelli: I quote the latter part of it, which is apposite for our present purpose.

ORDO SICCENSIVM  
CIVI ET  
CONDECVRONI  
D'D' P'P'

(decreto decurionum pecunia publica).

<sup>2</sup> C.I.L., *ibid.*, part ii, p. 1100; Index xi. Res Municipalis. B. Ordo populusque. Curia. 1284, 2711, 4202, 9052; condecurio ex Campania 2801; civis et condecurio 1647. Wilmanns Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. ii, p. 613, Index, Condecuriones Eburi 687, Lambaesi 2359, Verecundae 2365. This book, 2 vols. 8vo., contains copious Indices, more complete than I have seen in any publication of the kind. C.I.L. Inscr. Regni Neapolitani Lat., edit. Mommsen, p. 13. No. 189, Eboli in turri campanaria eocl. paroch. S. Mariae ad intra; line 15 CONDEC.

<sup>3</sup> As an illustration I repeat the beginning of an inscription copied by

VOL. XLVIII.

Spon at Rome, Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitatis, Lugduni, 1685, p. 214, Sectio vi, Officia et Artes.

T. FLAVIVS AVG. L. ACRABA  
DECVRIO OSTIARIORVM.

In Aula vero ubi plurimi ostiarii, Praefecti quidam eorum Decuriones vocabantur, qualis iste Titus Flavius Augusti Libertus Acraba.

Mezger, *op. citat.*, p. 3, gives the bibliography of the Inscription that commemorates the erection of a temple by tradespeople at Augsburg. Von Raiser, Die römischen Alterthümer zu Augsburg, 1820, p. 32, Monument xix; Tab. x; Guntia, etc. 1823, p. 62, Tab. A.; and p. 63, note 7; Oberdonaukreis unter den Römern, 1832, III<sup>te</sup> Abtheilung, p. 69 sq., Monument xix, Tab. x. This writer's expansions are by no means satisfactory. Von Hefner, das römische Bayern, 3 Auflage, p. 80; other authorities are cited, but they are of less importance.

<sup>4</sup> *Cupa* has a second meaning—the hostess of a wine-shop, who also entertained the guests by dancing; see Bentley's Horace, Sat. II, 2, 123, Post hoc ludus erat cupa potare magistra.

All the manuscripts *uno consensu* have CULPA MAGISTRA, a reading very difficult to explain. By omitting one letter, Bentley has made the passage intelligible. Ubi *Cupa* eadem erit, quae *Copa*, *Caupona* Καπηλις mulier quae vinum e taberna vendit. The "mighty scholiast" has devoted six quarto columns to the emendation of the text. Cf. Virgil, *Copa*, init.; *Copa* Syrisca, caput Graia redimita mitella, Crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus, &c.



this device was the sign of a wine shop ; for an illustration of it, I beg leave to refer to my Paper on Langres and Besançon, in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. xliii, p. 105, sq., where I have given an account of the Museum in the former city. A bas-relief, No. 185, exhibits three mules drawing a four-wheeled waggon, the whole length of which is occupied by a cask.<sup>1</sup> In No. 240, we see three shelves arranged vertically ; three sandals are placed on the highest, three bottles on the middle, and three boxes on the lowest. Mons. Brocard, the local antiquary and author of the catalogue, explains the objects as emblems of a trade.

Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, has an excellent article on the ancient sign-boards (*Aushängeschilder*, *Insignia*). He cites a passage in Cicero, *De Oratore*, where mention is made of a shop at Rome, that had in front of it a caricature of a Gaul painted on a shield.<sup>2</sup> The text is accompanied by two engravings ; it seems doubtful whether the former belongs to this subject, but about the latter there can be no mistake. It contains five hams in a row, which would be appropriate for a pork-butcher (*pernarius*). The signs were of two kinds ; one like our figures of animals, lion, swan, etc., to distinguish a shop or a hotel ; the other symbolical of the business which the tradesman carried on ; *e.g.*, a potter had for his device men with an amphora, and a baker, an ass with a mill.

<sup>1</sup> There is an engraving of this relief in the *Mémoires de la Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres*, tome I, p. 140 sq., planche 22, No. 3. I exhibited it together with a photograph of the sculptured stone at Augsburg.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. II, cap. 66, § 266, *Ut meum illud in Helvium Manciam : Jam ostendam cujusmodi sis ; cum ille ; Ostende, quaeso ; demonstravi digito pictum Gallum in Mariano scuto Cimbrico sub Novis distortum ejecta lingua buccis fluentibus ; risus est commotus ; nihil tam Manciae simile visum est ; see the note in Ellendt's edition, vol. ii, p. 299 sq., scutum suspenderit tale pro tabernae signo. Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, VI, § 59, p. 95, ed. Mueller, *Sub Novis dicta pars in Foro aedificiorum, quod vocabulum ei pervetustum, ut Novae viae, quae via jam diu vetus ; just as we say New College,**

Oxford. Smith's *Dict. of Geogr.* s.v. *Roma*, II, 772, *Plan of the Forum, Tabernae Novae*, and 782 sq. Cf. Quintilian, *Inst. Orator*, Lib. VI, Cap. III, *De Risu*, edit. Burmann, p. 538.

C.I.L., vol. iv, p. 49, *Inscriptiones Parietariae Pompeianae, etc., Tituli picti recentiores. Vico del Lupanare, Nos. 806, 807, in tectorio. E dipinto a modo d'insegna un elefante [rosso], che cinto nel corpo da grosso [giallo] serpente è custodito da un pigmeo[r], with two inscriptions—*Sittius restituit elephantu[m] and hospitium hic locatur, triclinium cum tribus lectis et comm[odis]*. Baumeister refers to Helbig, *Wandgemälde der campan. Städte*, N, 1601. Comp. H. Jordan in the *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1871, xxix Jahrgang, pp. 65—79, esp. for Cicero, *De Oratore*, l.c., p. 72 sq.*







SO-CALLED DUUMVIRI.

This sculptured stone at Augsburg, of which I exhibit a photograph, like so many others of classical and mediæval times, was used for building materials, and formed part of the wall of the Kreuzkirche; it was placed about one story above the ground, and in such a manner that only half of the cask could be seen. Fortunately, it found a more commodious position in the Antiquarium Romanum, having been transferred thither in the year 1821. Lastly, it was removed to the Maximilian's Museum, where it remains at present.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most interesting objects in this collection is the so-called *Duumviri*.<sup>2</sup> The monument is no new discovery, as it was described and engraved by Welser, whose history of Augsburg—*Rerum Augustanar. Vinde-*

<sup>1</sup> The literature connected with this monument is given by Mezger, p. 5. Von Raiser, die römischen Alterthümer zu Augsburg, p. 94, Tafel ix, 4; Guntia, etc. p. 66, Tafel iii, Fig. 19; Der Oberdonaukreis unter den Römern iii, p. 76, note 49; Tafel ix, 4 and E. 11. Von Hefner, das römische Bayern, 3 Auflage, p. 334.

Mezger in describing the cart (*plastrum*) uses the term *clabulare* which is not found in ordinary dictionaries. Forcellini has an article *Clabularis Cursus*, *ὄχηματικὸς δρόμος*. Erat autem permissio utendi publicis vehiculis...et distincta erat a biroto, rheda et veredo (from veho and rheda); v. *ibid.* Bailey's *Auctarium* in the Appendix to the English Translation; and De Vit's edition of Forcellini's *Lexicon*, *Clabularius*, a, um. Adject. parum certae originis. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xx, 4, 11 (in the Index incorrectly 17), Cum familiis eos ad orientem proficisci praecepit (Julianus), clabularis cursus facultate permissa. Capitolinus, *Life of Antoninus Pius*, chap. 12, Vehicularium cursum summa diligentia sublevavit; see the learned note of Salmasius, which occupies five columns of the Elzevir edition of the *Augustan history*, Lugd. Bat. 1671. *Clabularis* is said to be derived from *clavula*, a rail, diminutive of *clava* a club: Smith's *Dict. of Antt.*, 3d edition, I, 450; in accordance with this etymology Rich, Companion to the Lat. Dict., translates *clabulare*, sc. *vehiculum*, a large cart with open sides made of rails. If this is the meaning of the word, it is correctly applied to a waggon in a Pom-

peian painting (v. Rich's illustration), but not to the monument at Augsburg, where there are no such interstices in the sides.

<sup>2</sup> I have followed the practice of most writers on antiquities in using the word *Duumviri*, but we learn from the Article in the *Dict. of Antt.*, 3rd edition, I, 696 sq., that it is not sanctioned by epigraphic authority. The singular occurs in *Livy*; e.g., ii, 42, 5, filius ejus, duumvir ad id ipsum creatus, dedicavit; of the plural, on the other hand, it would be difficult to find an example. In the *Inscriptions* we have generally *ii viri*. For instances of a peculiar form, comp. *C.I.L.*, vol. viii, p. 1101., Indices. C. Honorati et principales Provinciarum et Municipiorum. *II vir* (duo viru 1270 *al.*, in *Dianensibus constanter fere*. Diana (Veteranorum, Itinerar, Antonini, edit. Wesseling p. 35) is an inland town of Numidia, North of Lambaesis. P. 462, no. 4579 AEMILIANVS \* Q \* AEDIL \* II VIRV. STATVAM...POSVIT; cf. no. 4580, II VIRV...PRO II VIRIS. See also Wilmann's *Exempla Inserr. Lat.*, vol. ii., p. 620, Indices res municipalis: honores et munera majora, c. Duoviri, duumviri, duomviri...duumviratus, e.g., no. 1727 \* II VIR \* DESIGNAT \* EST.

*Dict. of Antt.*, loc. citat., enumerates various classes of these officers, *Juri dicundo*, *sacrorum*, *navales*, *aedi locandae* and *dedicandae*, *viis extra urbem purgandis*, *perduellionis*, *quinquennales* (abbreviated *q.q.*). *Daremberg* and *Saglio* have an article under the same heading with similar divisions, but more elaborate, xiv. *Fascicule*, pp. 416-442.

licar. libri octo—bears date 1594.<sup>1</sup> Two full length figures occupy two niches; they wear the toga with folds gracefully arranged; and each of them holds in his hand a roll, which may be regarded as a sign of some official position. The one to the spectator's left, raises his right hand, as if he was earnestly exhorting an auditory; the right hand of the other is wanting, but it was evidently directed downwards. Thus, although the dress is the same in both cases, variety is introduced by a change of posture, and the monotonous repetition that often disgusts us in modern art is happily avoided.

In these niches the arches overhead are not semi-circular, but nearly elliptical. The former style was generally adopted by the Romans, and became a leading characteristic of their architecture. We see it in the Cloaca Maxima on the Tiber, which probably belongs to the regal period,<sup>2</sup> and in the so-called Tempio della Pace, a Basilica built by Maxentius in the fourth century of our era.<sup>3</sup> But the example before us is a proof that the Romans did not use this form to the exclusion of every

<sup>1</sup> The frontispiece is a fine specimen of the art of engraving in the sixteenth century; the design consists of an entablature supported by two columns; above it Augustus is represented sitting on a curule chair and raising a female who kneels before him; she wears a mural crown, and is emblematic of the province, as underneath this group the words VINDELIC RESTIT are inscribed; two trophies, one naval, the other military, surmount the columns. In front of them stand two gigantic figures RAETVS and DRVSVS: the title of the book, and under it the fir-cone and two river gods occupy the intervening space. The pedestal is ornamented with a view of the city in which we recognize the cathedral and other churches; on the left, a bee-hive, on the right a tree engrafted, denoting a colony, complete the decorations. For the engraving of *Duumviri*, v.p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Burn, Rome and the Campagna, pp. 279-283, &c., text and notes, Cloaca Maxima course, materials, dimensions; p. 280, Plate of the upper end; p. 283, Pl. of its mouth or exit on the bank of the Tiber. Middleton, Ancient Rome in 1885, pp. 75-77, Cloacae, with references to Dionysius and Pliny.

<sup>3</sup> This building has been called the Basilica Constantiniana; begun by

Maxentius, it was finished by his successor. The ruins are three large and conspicuous arches near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, on the visitor's left hand, as he proceeds from the Forum to the Colosseum: see the Plan of Rome, giving both ancient and modern names, that accompanies Murray's Handbook. Burn, *ibid.*, pp. 165-167, &c.; plate at p. 166. Middleton, *ibid.*, pp. 401-404; section, fig. 49, at p. 401. There is a fine engraving of the so-called Tempio della Pace in LXXI Principali Vedute di Roma e suoi dintorni, published at Rome, 1857. For the semi-circular form *conf. passim* Bellori (Jo.-Petr.), *Veteres arcus Augustorum triumphis insignes*, 1690, and the recent work of L. Rossini, *Archi Trionfali*. On the other hand, we have an example of the flattened or depressed arch in the *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum ac veteris sculpturae vestigia*, a P. Sante Bartolo delineata et incisa, notis Jo.-P. Bellorii illustrata, 1693, no. 56., *Nuptiae*. The arch extends over the heads of Juno Pronuba and the bride and bridegroom, who stand between two columns. Comp. a relief in the Museum at Arles, showing four elliptical arches. J. H. Parker's Glossary of Architecture, 5th edition, pp. 39-42, Pl. 12.



other. The arches spring from the capitals of three pilasters ornamented with a foliated pattern, scroll-work and rosettes; the central one is surmounted by a fir-cone. It is not easy to decide whether the two figures here are *duumviri*, or persons holding some other office; and whether the fir-cone is the device of Augsburg, or, like the cypress, a symbol of mortality.<sup>1</sup>

Roman colonies faithfully reproduced in distant regions the constitution of the metropolis; as the parent city had her consuls and senate, so her daughters had their *duumviri* and council of decurions. These magistrates were specially charged with the administration of justice, and hence in inscriptions the phrase *juri dicundo* is often applied to them, but without doubt they also exercised a general control over local affairs.<sup>2</sup> The ancient title of the chief officials was retained at Augsburg down to modern times, and this may have led to its being used by antiquaries, without sufficient reason, in explaining the monument now before us.<sup>3</sup>

Number XII. of the second series in the Museum, is a statue of Mercury in high relief. If the deity had been represented in the usual manner, I should have passed him by in silence, partly because his attributes are well known to all connoisseurs and classical scholars, and partly because I have in preceding Papers had occasion to notice them. We have here not only the customary money-bag, but an infant seated upon it; and this infant had wings, of which some traces are still visible. The right hand of the figure holds the caduceus, with a pair of snakes entwined round it.<sup>4</sup> Over the left shoulder and arm drapery is thrown as in the famous Hermes by Praxiteles, recently discovered

<sup>1</sup> Mezger, p. 6 sq. Von Raiser, die römischen Alterthümer zu Augsburg, p. 38, Pl. xxix<sup>tes</sup> Monument; Guntia etc., p. 61, Tafel A; Der Oberdonaukreis unter den Römern iii., p. 74, Kpfrt Lit. A.; Von Hefner, das römische Bayern, 3 Auflage, p. 328, no. 269.

<sup>2</sup> Daremberg et Saglio, p. 421, *Attributions des duumviri juridicundo* Le plus âgé de ces magistrats était appelé à présider les comices municipaux, soit législatifs... soit électoraux. Les *duumviri* avaient la présidence du sénat municipal, *ordo*, ou *curia*, etc. They were at the head of the executive power, and appear to have been entrusted specially with the

financial administration. (Les lois ne donnaient au *duumvir* que les actes de gestion (*i.e.*, of the local revenues). Note 210 p 422, Les adjudications et les travaux publics se faisaient sous la direction des *duumviri*.

<sup>3</sup> So Welser's History of Augsburg is dedicated *Viris nobilibus et illustr. Joanni Velsero Barthol. F. Christophoro Ilungo Melch. F. Aug. Vind. ii. viris Praef. vii. Virumque collegio*.

<sup>4</sup> Of this remarkable statue I exhibited a large and well executed photograph, taken expressly by Friedrich Hoeffe, *kgl. Hofphotograph*.



at Olympia, and one of the very few Greek statues now existing, which are known, almost with certainty, to be the original work of a celebrated sculptor.<sup>1</sup>

Mercury often appears carrying the little Dionysus, Hercules or Arcas; but none of these was winged, and therefore none could form a part of the group now being considered. A German critic conjectures that the child is Eros; if so, the god of gain bearing on his arm the god of love suggests a combination of affection and prudence, which we often observe and sometimes admire. The dedicator, says Mezger, may have intended to allude to the fortune he received with his wife, and to the accumulations which, with the favour of Mercury, his industry added thereto. Once more, as we read the thoughts of a former generation embodied in their handywork, we are reminded that human nature, under the most various conditions, is and remains always and fundamentally the same.<sup>2</sup>

Ten monuments now in the Maximilian's Museum—statues and votive stones—relate to Mercury.<sup>3</sup> Of one of

<sup>1</sup> Most figures of bronze and marble in Museums are only reproductions during Roman times of earlier Greek works, but this is an "almost unique treasure;" I therefore quote the passage, in which Pausanias mentions it, together with the context: lib. v (Eliaca), cap. xvii, § 1. Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατελεγμένα ἔστιν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσῶν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. Ἐρμῆν λίθου, Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει υἱπιον, τέχνη δὲ ἔστι Πραξιτέλους. W. C. Perry, a Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Casts from the Antique in the South Kensington Museum, 1884, p. 62, no. 114. Discovered by the German Expedition in May, 1877, in the Heraion (Temple of Here), on the very spot where Pausanias saw it. Id. Greek and Roman Sculpture, chap. xxxviii, § 37, pp. 455-459, fig. 201. We may compare Eirene and Plutus in the Glyptothek at Munich, Silenus and the infant Dionysus in the Louvre, Satyr and child in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. A. S. Murray, History of Greek Sculpture, vol. ii, pp. 256-258, text and notes, pl. xx. Hermes by Praxiteles (Olympia), Gem with Apollo Sauroctonos. The group by Praxiteles was probably imitated in reliefs, gems and the crater of Salpion, formerly used as a font in the Cathedral of Gaeta; Spon, Miscellanea, sect. ii, art. i, p. 25. *Vas marmoreum*

*ingens, Caietac*, but now in the Museum at Naples. It is inscribed ΣΑΛΠΙΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ. *Bacchus infans affertur a Mercurio ad educandum, Leucotheae materterae*. Mercury wears a *pileus quadratus*, like a College cap. C. O. Müller, Handbuch der Archäologie, § 127, Remark 2; § 257, rem. 4; § 384, rem. 2, English Translation (Ancient Art and its Remains), pp. 100, 271, 493. Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der Alten Kunst, part ii, pl. xxxiv, no. 396, fully described at p. 15 sq.; cf. nos. 395, 397, 398. Sillig, Catalogus Artificum, p. 403. Gruter, Thes. inscript., vol. i, p. lxxvii, no. 7. Catalogue of Gems in the British Museum. nos 687-689, Hermes holding the infant Dionysus upon the left arm, with both hands, on the left knee.

For a general account of the style of this great artist as contrasted with that of Phidias v. H.d.A., § 127, Eng. Trans., p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Mezger, pp. 20-22. This figure, five feet high, was excavated in 1845, near the Church of Gersthofen, and, with the exception of the face, which is wanting, is very well preserved.

<sup>3</sup> I have already mentioned the frequent occurrence of statues of Mercury, in the East of France, Alsace and Switzerland: my Paper on Langres and Besançon, Archæol. Journ., vol. xliii, p.

the former Welser gives a full-page engraving; besides the attributes above-mentioned, at the feet a cock stands on one side, and a goat kneels on the other. Some explain the bird as an emblem of vigilance, but probably it has reference to the god as *ἐναγώνιος*, presiding over games.<sup>1</sup> A very similar relief was found recently at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and is figured at page 18 of the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*.<sup>2</sup>

But all the objects hitherto enumerated, and, I might say, all the others in the Museum, are not to be compared with an archæological treasure which Augusta Vindelicorum once possessed, and which Welser saw three centuries ago. Writing about 1590, he says, that a few years previously a trench was made three or four feet deep in some gardens near St. Stephen's Church, which led to the discovery of a beautiful mosaic—*pavimentum tessellatum sectile egregii operis*—that must have belonged to a magnificent edifice, perhaps a public bathing establishment. Other remains found in the same place corroborated this conclusion, viz., pilasters, a decorated lintel, fragment of a conduit (euripus), a jasper or turquoise in a gold ring, and a bottle full of some red liquid. After having been exposed for months to frost and snow the mosaic was buried again. Welser says he

230, appendix, where references are given to the writings of Dr. Ferd. Keller, Brambach's *Corpus Inscr. Rhenanarum*, and Schoepfli's *Alsatia illustrata Celtica Romana Francia*.

<sup>1</sup> Welser, op. citat., *Monumenta Augustae Vind. iiii*. In *Peutingerorum aedibus* pp. 208-210. Comp. *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, Müller-Wieseler, part ii, pl. xxix, no. 325, *Hermes mit Bockshörnern*, neben ihm ein Bock und ein Hahn, der als Zeichen der Wettkämpfe auf einer [als Preisgefäß zu fassenden, vgl. Taf. xxx, no. 337, und Lippert's *Daktyl.*, Suppl., no. 203] Vase steht, von einer Silberarbeit aus dem Römischen Castell bei Neuwied. But *horns* do not occur elsewhere on Mercury's head; hence, as Wieseler suggests, it is more likely that the artist intended to represent *wings*, a usual attribute of this deity. The epithet *ἐναγώνιος* is applied to Hermes by Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, ii, 18; and by *Æschylus*, *Fragments*, no. 375, *Poetae Scenici Graeci*, edit. Dindorf. As the cock is a most pugnacious bird, he naturally symbolizes athletic contests. Welser

proposes various explanations to account for the goat—none of them altogether satisfactory.

He ends his article upon this group with the following words, *Vsus est hujus lapidis testimonio Ant. Augustinus, in dialogis quos de nummis antiquis patriâ, hoc est Hispanâ linguâ scripsit: v. Dial. 5*. The title is *Dialogos de las Medallas, Inscripciones y otras Antigüedades*, En Tarragona, 1587. Though superseded by later publications, it deserves to be remembered as one of the most learned among the earlier works on Numismatics, Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. i, *Prolegomena Generalia*, p. cliv, no. iii, and p. clviii, no. xxi, where he refers to *Bandurii Bibliotheca numaria*.

<sup>2</sup> Mezger, p. 18 sq. Von Raiser die römischen Alterthümer in Augsburg, p. 24, pl., ix<sup>tes</sup> Monument, Merkurs Bildniss; Guntia etc. p. 63, no. 9, Tafel B. Marg. *Vueseriae*, epist. ad Chr. Welsrum 1511 (Mscr. aus der v. Halder'schen Bibliothek Nr. 522), fol. 4. Von Hefner, das römische Bayern, 3. Auflage, p. 310. no. 60.

prevailed upon the proprietor to uncover it for a short time, and then he saw many cubes (*tesserulae*) out of place, and the rest so much loosened that there was no chance for the eyes of posterity to behold them.<sup>1</sup>

Of fourteen square compartments the designs remain complete, or nearly so. They are arranged in three rows; the central one is devoted to chariot races, containing three quadrigæ, and three conical pillars forming the goal or turning-post (*meta*). Above, are three pairs of gladiators; the two combatants in the middle are accompanied by another figure, partly effaced, which seems to be the trainer (*lanista*): comparison with a similar and well-preserved group in the grand mosaic at Nennig makes this attribution almost certain.<sup>2</sup> Below, the subjects are of the same kind with a single exception, in which there is but one figure; Welser explains it to be a tiro practising his weapon upon a stake, and in support of his opinion, quotes at length a passage of Juvenal, where the poet satirizes a female fencer<sup>3</sup>:—

quis non vidit vulnere pali?  
Quem cavat assiduis sudibus scutoque lacessit.

Room for the lady—lo! she seeks the list,  
And fiercely tilts at her antagonist,  
A post! which, with her buckler, she provokes,  
And bores and batters with repeated strokes.

—Gifford's Translation.<sup>4</sup>

But I think that the learned historian is mistaken, and that we have here a *Hermes*, *i.e.*, a bust on a four-cornered

<sup>1</sup> Welser's Plate of the Mosaic occupies pp. 238, 239, *op. citat.*, fol.; it is reproduced by Von Raïser in the former of the books just cited, of which the title *in extenso* is *Die Römischen Alterthümer zu Augsburg und andere Denkwürdigkeiten des Ober-Donau-Kreises*.

<sup>2</sup> See for the *lanista* *Die römische Villa zu Nennig und ihr Mosaik erläutert von Domcapitular von Wilmowsky*, Bonn, 1864, large folio with fine coloured plates. Text pp. 8-10, and *Tafel vi*, no. 11; or my Paper on the Antiquities of Trèves and Metz, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xlv, pp. 239, esp. note 2.

It is not necessary for me to explain fully all the details in the mosaic at Augsburg, as I have already described similar pavements at Nennig, *Archæol. Journ. l.c.*, pp. 236-244; and at Reims, in

an account of the Gallo-Roman monuments of that city, *ibid.*, vol. xli, pp. 112-121.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. citat.*, p. 241, *Tiro* is est, ad palum se exercens et seriae pugnae parans. Besides Juvenal, he gives references to Vegetius *De Re Militari*, Martial, Livy, Varro *De Lingua Latina*, and Lipsius *Saturnalia*. Many of the pages in the *Monumenta Augustae Vind.* are wrongly numbered; this has been already noticed by Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sat. vi*, 247 sq.; but to understand the lines fully it would be well to read the whole paragraph vv. 246-267, and Heinrich's notes. *Kraftweiber; sie lernen fechten...* Unter Nero und Domitian sah man wirklich weibliche Gladiatoren. Lipsius, *Saturn ii*, 4.

pedestal, against which a palm-branch and trident are placed. A man with his right hand removes from the Hermes another palm-branch, and holds a staff in his left; he is probably a rhabdophorus, a constable employed to keep order in the circus; and the scene before us indicates the conferring of a prize upon a successful *retiarius* (net-fighter).<sup>1</sup> This group is aptly illustrated by a lozenge in the mosaic of the Promenades at Reims; there we observe a similar figure crowned with a garland of leaves, from which ribbons hang down over the shoulders. A rectangular shield (*scutum*) leans against the column, and between them is a palm; on the spectator's right, detached, is a helmet with visor and conical crest.

Most of the combatants have shields, wedge-shaped, broad at the top, and coming to a point at the bottom, like those in armorial bearings. I do not remember another example of such a form occurring in ancient monuments.<sup>2</sup> But some have a round shield, *parma*, which seems to have been nearly the same as the *cetra* of the Spaniards, Moors and Britons.<sup>3</sup> In all cases their swords are short, straight and two-edged; none of them carries the *sica* or scimitar, the national weapon of the Thracians, which was curved.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, we may remark considerable variety of postures; one pair are crossing swords and contending on equal terms; another

<sup>1</sup> Loriquet, La Mosaïque des Promenades et autres trouvées à Reims, 1862, Planche viii, No. 10, pp. 275—291 esp. p. 290, Vn rhabdophore vient détacher une des palmes probablement pour la donner à un combattant vainqueur. For rhabdophorus v. *ibid.*, Pl. viii, No. 8, pp. 266—270.

Gruter, Inscr. p. cccxxvi, repeats Welsler's plate of the Augsburg mosaic, but on a reduced scale, and with a foot note. Ex Welslero, a quo petenda horum uerborum interpretatio. *Ibid.* p. li, No. 1, he gives the above-mentioned engraving of Mercury with the goat and cock.

<sup>2</sup> These shields in the mosaic correspond closely with Livy's description of those carried by the Samnites, lib. ix, c. 40. Forma erat scuti: summum latius, quaepectus atque humeri teguntur, fastigio aequali; ad imum cuneatior, mobilitatis causa.

<sup>3</sup> We learn from Livy that the *cetra* differed little from the *pelta* (πέλτη,

whence *πελταστής cetratus*): xxviii, 5, cum mille peltastis (pelta caetræ haud dissimilis est); xxxi, 36, caetratos, quos peltastas vocant, and *ibid.*, duces caetratae cohortis. For *peltastis* Weissenborn reads *peltatis*, but see the note in Madvig's edition, vol. ii, Pars. ii, p. xiv, Praefatio, *Ad Livium et militum genus nihil pertinent peltatae poetae Amazones*. Cf. Tacitus, Agricola, c. 36, ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris. Dict. of Antiqq., 3d edition, p. 408, gives two figures as illustrations of *cetra* from a manuscript of Prudentius probably English, and of the ninth century.

<sup>4</sup> The *sica* "had a sharp point and curved blade like a wild boar's tusk." Rich, Companion to the Latin Dict., refers to a passage in Pliny which expresses its form, Nat. Hist., Lib. xviii, cap. i, Sect. 1, § 2, edit. Sillig, Atque cum arbore exacuant limentque cornua elephantis et uri, saxo rhinocerotis, utroque apud dentium sicas.



gladiator lying on his back is attacked by his adversary ; another, semi-recumbent, throwing away his arms, awaits the fatal blow.

The following names inscribed were legible :—CRISPVS, LEONIDES, APRIVS, AIAX, ANTONIVS, MANLIVS, PALVMBVS, ASTIR ; but some could not be deciphered with certainty, viz., SIRIPVS, SPICIVS, ALPVS, LYTRA.<sup>1</sup> They were, doubtless, gladiators well known in the colony. One in the former list deserves notice, because Suetonius, *Vita Claudii*, cap. 21, giving an account of the games of that Emperor, says that he sometimes made dull and far-fetched jokes on such occasions ; for instance, when the people asked him to exhibit Palumbus on the arena, he promised to do so if he could catch him, with a pun on his name which signifies a pigeon. Similarly, Spicius occurs in the same author, *Nero*, cap. 30, but with some variation, for the manuscripts present different forms—Spiculus, Spicillus, Speculus, Specillus.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nomina, quae punctis indicata tantum, nos legere non potuimus, Welser, p. 239. Winckelmann, *Monumenti Antichi Inediti*, tom. ii, pp. 258—260, tavv. 197—199. The first and second Plates represent mosaics in the collection of the Cardinal Albani ; they each contain two groups of gladiators contending, accompanied by *lanistae*, with names inscribed, as at Augsburg, ASTIANAX, KALENDIO, MATERNVS, HABILIS, SIMMACHVS. It appears from the inscription in pl. 198, QVIBVS PVGNANTIBVS SIMMACHVS FERRYVM MISIT, that Simmachus was the *lanista*. The third plate is a single figure of a gladiator inscribed BA.TO.NI. Several Batos are known ; two of them were leaders of a formidable insurrection in Dalmatia, during the reign of Augustus : Smith's *Dict. of Biography*, s.v. See also De Vit, *Onomasticon totius Latinitatis* (Supplement to Forcellini's *Lexicon*), vol. i, p. 690, s.v Bato, § iv, Pannonius dux : Ovid, *Epistles from Pontus*, ii, 1, 45.

Maxima pars horum (hostium) vitam veniamque tulerunt ;

In quibus et belli summa caput que Bato. Winckelmann, *Description des Pierres gravées du Baron de Stosch*, pp. 471—474, Cinquième Classe. Jeux, Festins, Vases, &c., \*67, Carnaline.

The engraved gems in the British Museum furnish an apt illustration of the Augsburg Mosaic ; Catalogue, p. 195, Nos. 1853—1857, Quadrigae and Bigae ; Nos. 1858, 1859, Gladiators with the names EVPR SCOR CEIA and HERIA. Cf.

Pompeii, Anon., 2 vols., 12<sup>mo</sup>, i, 306—313 with woodcuts, in which the names of the *lanista* and combatants, and the number of their victories are expressed.

In Greek vases we have abundant examples of "image and superscription" ; British Museum Catalogue, vol. ii, pp. 330—332, index of names inscribed ; p. 333, Painters and Potters : e.g., for mythical personages, *ibid.*, pp. 8—13, No. 1264, Hydria. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, iii, Band, Art. Vasenkunde, which occupies eighty quarto pages, viz. 1931—2011 ; v. esp. pp. 1963 TIMONIAΔΣ, 1965 ΤΑΕΙΔΗΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ (in both cases the letters are archaic), 1966, 1973, 1980, 1981, &c. Dr. Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, 1st edition, vol. i, frontispiece, Arcesilaus, King of Cyrene, weighing sulphur (polychrome) ; vol. ii, p. 423, 2nd column (Index) Inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Suet. Claudius, 21, Immixtis interdum frigidis et accessitis jocis : qualis est, ut cum Palumbum postulantibus, "daturum se," promisit, "si captus esset." Id. Nero, 30, Menceraten citharoedum, et Spiculum mirmillonem, triumphalum virorum patrimonii aedibusque donavit. With Palumbus compare the similar name Columbus : Id., Caligula, 55, Columbo victori, leviter tamen saucio, venenum in plagam addidit, quod ex eo "Columbinum" appellavit. Seven varieties of the name Spiculus will be found in P. Burmann's edition, *Amstelædami*, 1736, vol. ii, p. 68.



Our mosaic shows us only three chariots (*quadrigæ*), but perhaps there were originally four, as on one side a large part of the pavement is broken off; in that case, the four factions—white, red, blue and green—would be all indicated. I need not dwell upon this subject, because Gibbon has treated it so fully in his narrative of the seditions that raged in the hippodrome at Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> Welser has appropriately inserted an engraved gem by way of illustration; and here we cannot but admire the skill with which so many details are exhibited in so small a space. He has kept the size of the original, but similar specimens of the glyptic art may be seen greatly enlarged in Gori's Museum Florentinum.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the designs above mentioned, which are closely connected with the circus and amphitheatre, we observe three birds, each in a separate compartment. One of them is a cock pecking some fruit, like a pomegranate. This creature would naturally represent combats, and I have already noticed his appearance as an accessory with a statue of Mercury, the deity who presided over games. The other two are crows, and perhaps allude to the names of the charioteers, which are not inscribed on the pavement, but may have been Corax, Corvinus, Cornicula or the like.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Decline and Fall, chap. xl, § ii, vol. v, pp. 48-55, esp. 48 sq., edit. Dr. Wm. Smith.

<sup>2</sup> Welser, p. 243, At quando quidem in hoc sumus, demus formam hippodromi ex heliotropio quæ affabre sculpta apud nos est, qua caeli acumen argumentum multiplex in tantillo spatio quivit assequi. Ant. Fr. Gori, Gemmae Antiquae Mus. Florent., vol. ii, tab. lxxix, Ludi Circenses; lxxx, lxxxi, Bigarum agitadores, pp. 126-129. No. lxxix is correctly described as gemma operosissima; in it are portrayed currentes quatuor factionum quadrigae, spina...obeliscus Soli sacer, mensa tripus encarpis (festoons) ornata cum apophoretis, Victoriarum simulacra columnis imposita, ara, et aedicula Soli dedicata, delphines, metae. Cf. Tab. xi, Annulus aureus tribus gemmis concoloribus ornatus, dono datus in Circensibus, pp. 27-32.

<sup>3</sup> The name Corax occurs in Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. viii, cap. xlii, sect. 65, § 160, edit. Sillig, Claudii Caesaris saecularium ludorum circensibus excusso in carceribus auriga albato Corace

occupavere prima, etc. De Vit, Ononasticon, s.v., says that Corax is the name of the charioteer, but Sillig of the horse; see the note in his critical commentary.

The charioteer thrown out of his car (auriga excussus) is well seen in Gori's gem mentioned above, tab. lxxix; and in a mosaic at Lyons, Dict. of Antiqq., 3rd edition, woodcut, p. 433, from Artaud, Mos. du midi de la France. On the preceding page will be found a plan of the Circus of Maxentius, close to the via Appia, two miles from Rome: Middleton, Anc. Rome in 1885, p. 288 sq. and note i, on p. 289, who gives an account of the remarkable construction; large *amphorae* are embedded in the vaulting and upper part of the walls, so as to diminish the superincumbent weight. Comp. the cupola of the church *San Vitale*, at Ravenna: Murray's Handbook for North Italy, sect. vii, p. 532, edit. 1863. Birch, Anc. Pottery, vol. ii, p. 288, fig. 191, Games of the Circus on a Roman lamp.

The Augsburg mosaic is inferior to that at Reims in the number of subjects, but it is superior in composition, because it contains groups, while the latter has only single figures.<sup>1</sup> Thus the example we have been considering is more graphic and spirited; at the same time it corresponds better with the passages in which the Roman poets describe the conflicts of the arena. One specimen from Horace will be sufficient for our purpose:—

Vel quum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,  
Qui peccas minus atque ego, quum Fulvî Rutubaeque,  
Aut Placideiani contento poplite miror  
Proelia, rubrica picta aut carbone, velut si  
Re vera pugnent feriant, vitentque moventes  
Arma viri?

Satires, II, 7, 95-100.

If some fam'd piece the painter's art displays,  
Transfix'd you stand, with admiration gaze;  
But is your worship's folly less than mine  
When I with wonder view some rude design  
In crayons or in charcoal, to invite  
The crowd, to see the gladiators fight?  
Methinks, in very deed they mount the stage,  
And seem in real combat to engage:  
Now in strong attitude they dreadful bend;  
Wounded they wound; they parry and defend.

Francis's Translation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With Welser's plate compare Planche xviii, in Lorient, op. citat., *Mosaïque des promenades de Reims, réduction au quarantième* (photographie). It gives a general view of the whole pavement—thirty-five compartments, consisting of squares and lozenges, with borders of scroll work and meander patterns. The mosaic at Reims is inferior to that at Augsburg for another reason, viz., because it bears no inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Pausias, an artist of the school of Sicyon, flourished about B.C. 370, and was contemporary with Apelles. Sillig, *Catalogus Artificum*, pp. 326-328, who quotes at length Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv, 11, s. 40, § 123; and Pausanias *Corinthiaca*, ii, 27, § 3. He must be distinguished from Pauson, who painted men worse than they are; Aristotle, *Poetics*, c. ii, § 2, "Ὅσπερ οἱ γραφεῖς. Πολύγλωτος μὲν γὰρ κρείττους, Παύσον δὲ χείρους, Διονύσιος, δὲ ὁμοίους εἶκασεν." *Id.*, *Politics*, lib. viii, c. v, § 7 (V. v. 21). Δεῖ μὴ τὰ Πανσωνος θεωρεῖν τοὺς νέους.

Orelli has a good note on vv. 98-104, loc. citat., *Hujusmodi picturae rudes atque informes ad alliciendum popellum ante ludos exponebantur ab iis, qui munera*

edebant, vel tantum a lanistis; et tales etiam Pompeiis repertae sunt. For a pictorial illustration superior to these caricatures he cites Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxv, 33, 52. But Garrucci supplies us with a still better commentary on the words of Horace; *Graffiti di Pompéi, Inscriptions et Gravures tracées au stylet recueillies et interprétées par Raphael Garrucci, Atlas de 32 Planches, Pls. ix-xv, and xxix, xxx, Text pp. 65-77 and 96-99; see esp. pl. ix, 1-5, p. 65 sq., list of gladiators with number of victories. Plusieurs noms barbares se font remarquer VIRIOTAL, SEQVAN, SEDVLAT, VIRIOD, ITOTAG, ANARTO, with which we may compare the legends on Gallic coins. Pl. xxix, fig. 6, is the same as fig. 281, p. 111 in J. Overbeck's *Pompeii*, 2nd edition, *Graffito mit Bild* p. 102. Rechts steigt ein in siegreicher Gladiator, die Palme in der Hand, eine Treppe, vielleicht die uns bekannte der Gladiatorencaserne herab, &c. The accompanying inscription is probably *Campani victoria una cum Nucerinis peristis*. Consult also C.I.L., vol. iv, *Inscriptiones Parietariae Pompeianae Herculenses Stabianae*, edit. Car. Zangemeister; *Indices*, s.v. *Gladiatores*.*

At the top and bottom the mosaic is bordered with<sup>87</sup> a geometrical design, which consists of oblongs alternating with squares. Lozenges are inscribed in the former, and circles in the latter. The circles are ornamented with a device like a star, and a leaf occupies each corner of the squares. The usual cable pattern, as a kind of framework, encloses the compartments.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The whole subject of mosaic is closely connected with painting : C. O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, § 322, 4, Eng. Transl., p. 376, justly remarks that the finer mosaic tried to come as nearly as possible to pictures properly so-called. As the die-sinkers copied in miniature the statues of Praxiteles and Scopas, the

*musivarii* probably imitated the master pieces of Apelles and his contemporaries. So Venus appears on an imperial medal of Cnidos, and Apollo on the coins of Augustus and Nero ; Greek Court of the Crystal Palace described by Mr. George Scharf, pp. 37, 39.

## FURTHER REMARKS ON JADE.

By JAMES HILTON, F.S.A.

It will be in the recollection of readers of the *Archæological Journal* that volume xlv. contains a paper of "Remarks" as to the archæological relations of the stone or mineral substance known as Jade; a few words of recapitulation will connect it with what is now to follow. We are familiar with many forms of stone implements, tools, hammers, scrapers, weapons, spear and arrow heads, &c., found in all parts of the world where ancient tribes of mankind have had their habitations; they are to be seen in every variety of condition, from the roughest chipped forms up to a high perfection of shape and polish. Any hard stone, particularly flint, was made use of for the purpose. Jade was used as opportunity occurred for so doing, being especially fit in consequence of its tough and hard qualities; examples, however, are comparatively rare. The localities where jade is commonly known to exist *in situ* are extremely few, such as the mountains in northern China, Burmah, New Zealand, some of the Pacific Islands, and, as recently reported, one or two localities in Europe, but none in Britain. Boulders or pieces of jade of unknown origin have been found on the European continent, also in some northern regions of America.

It is in vain to speak of stone or jade implements with reference to any chronological date; it may be supposed that as metal came into use stone weapons became obsolete, except among savage tribes, who had no access to metal. Thus is our enquiry bounded on one side by remote antiquity, and on the other by the periods of discovery of new countries by navigators, as recorded in comparatively

modern history ; and as it is impossible to assign to stone implements any definite age, and we are compelled to regard them all as belonging to a pre-historic period, or at least to a vague period outside the pale of history, or even of tradition, they may be thousands of years old, while some in particular instances, with equal probability, may not be older than 200 years. Perhaps non-historic is the appropriate term.

We are concerned in tracing out the origin of the jade implements which have been found here and there in Europe, and particularly in Switzerland and in the district of Carnac in Brittany ; any such discovery suggests the question, whence came the material and by what means it was removed from any one of the remote localities already mentioned, which, it has been assumed, were the only possible countries whence it could have been procured. It has been held as a true inference, that as no jade rock is known *in situ* in Europe, the introduction of any jade object into Europe must be owing either to man's agency, or to the occurrence of stray bits of the stone or boulders of that material, naturally transported by causes which geologists can appreciate ; both of these agencies carry our investigations back to a period of remote antiquity. My "Remarks" above alluded to will help to a more extended pursuit of the subject with the aid of any new information that may be available. The literature of jade is scattered about in English, German, French, and American books and periodicals, and much is consequently difficult of access. Very few investigators have the opportunity of knowing of all that is recorded on the subject.

The motive in preparing these notes is to place on record the progress in our knowledge of Jade in its archaeological relations. Some two or three years after my "Remarks" were printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xlv., for 1888, Mr. F. W. Rudler, F.G.S., of the Jermyn Street Museum and Royal School of Mines, drew my attention to a paper he had contributed in 1879 to the *Popular Science Review*, "On Jade and its kindred stones" (see vol. iii., New Series). It is still worthy of perusal for general information on the subject, and particularly as to the localities where jade had theretofore



been found; these words occur at page 345 of that volume :—

No jade has ever been recorded from Africa, and it is extremely doubtful whether it occurs in Europe. It is said to have been found in the form of boulders at Potsdam, near Berlin, and at Schwemsal, near Leipsig. It remains, however, uncertain whence the mineral was originally derived, and whether it had been transported by natural or human agency. In the great Exhibition of 1851, there was a large mass of pale green jade reputed to have come from Turkey; but nothing more was known of its origin, and its existence probably does not vitiate the general statement that no true jade or jadeite has yet been found *in situ* in Europe.

Mr. Rudler also wrote the article on jade in the thirteenth volume of the Ninth Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica published in 1881, he there says :—

So far as it is at present known, no true jade has been detected *in situ* in Europe. A loose block has been found at Schwemsal, near Leipsig, and the mineral is said to occur at Potsdam. Corsica and Turkey have also been recorded as jade localities, but probably on insufficient grounds.

Much conjecture has been the outcome of the limited localization of jade *in situ*, which must give place to the record of new facts. Here, again, Mr. Rudler comes to our help. At the Meeting of the British Association, held at Leeds in October, 1890, he read a paper on “The present aspect of the jade question;” the Association does not publish papers *in extenso*, but a summary of what he read appeared in print as follows :—

It has long been known that implements worked in jade have occasionally been found in ancient graves in France and Western Germany, and in certain neolithic stations on the Swiss lakes. Some of these implements are wrought in nephrite, or true jade, and others in jadeite. As neither of these minerals had been found *in situ* in Europe, while both were known to occur in Asia, it had been conjectured that the European jade implements must have had an Oriental source, and that either the implements themselves, or the raw materials of which they were made, had been brought to Europe in prehistoric times. But within the last few years Herr Traube, of Breslau, has discovered nephrite *in place* near Jordansmühle, and near Reichenstein, in Silesia. Pebbles of nephrite have also been recently recorded by Dr. Berwerth, from the valleys of the Mur and the Sann, two rivers in Styria. A pebble believed to be of jadeite was found by M. Damour at Ouchy, on the Lake of Geneva, and the same mineral has been recorded from Monte Viso, in Piedmont.

Jade implements are found along the coast of British Columbia and Alaska, and it has been suggested that these, or the raw jade, had been obtained from Siberia, where the occurrence of nephrite is well-known. Dr. G. M. Dawson has, however, recorded the discovery

of small boulders of jade, partially worked, in the lower part of the Frazer River Valley; and Lieut. Stoney has obtained the mineral *in situ* at the Jade Mountains in Alaska, 150 miles from above the mouth of the River Kowak.

The present aspect of the jade question is, therefore, quite different from that which it presented when the late Professor H. Fischer and others strongly favoured the view that the jade implements of Europe and America had an exotic origin. In both these continents jade has now been found *in situ*, and it seems, therefore, probable that the material of the implements is indigenous, as maintained by Dr. A. B. Meyer for those of the Old World, and by Dr. Dawson, Professor F. W. Clarke, Mr. G. F. Kunz, and others, for those of the New World. If future discoveries should confirm the indigenous view, the famous jade question will be lifted out of the domain of anthropology.

Whatever proceeds from Mr. Rudler's pen on Geological or Mineralogical matters is authoritative, and becomes a scientific record of fact up to date. We are further indebted to him for another memoir which he read at a meeting of the Anthropological Society on 13th Jan., 1891, which will be published in their Journal; meanwhile, however, the following note thereof has appeared in the *Athenæum* of 24th January, 1891—

ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.—Jan. 13th, E. W. Brabrook, V.P., in the chair. Mr. F. W. Rudler read a paper on "The Source of the jade used for ancient implements in Europe and America." Its object was to call the attention of anthropologists to certain mineralogical discoveries which have been made within the last few years, and which tend to overthrow the well-known theory which suggested early intercourse with the East as the source of the jade objects found in the lake-dwellings of Switzerland, the pre-historic burial places of France and Germany, and the ancient Indian graves on the north-western coast of America. Herr Traube, of Breslau, first recorded the occurrence of jade *in situ* at Jordansmühle, in Silesia, and afterwards discovered it at the arsenical-pyrites workings at Reichenstein. Rough pebbles have also been found in the valleys of the Sann and the Mur in Styria. Dr. G. M. Dawson has described the occurrence of boulders of jade partly sawn through at Lytton and Yale, on the Frazer River, and Lieut. Stoney has actually found the mineral *in situ* at the Jade Mountains, north of the Kowak River, in Alaska. These discoveries prove that, contrary to general belief, jade does occur in the rocks of Europe and of North America, thus supporting the views so long held by Dr. A. B. Meyer, of the Royal Zoological Museum in Dresden, and accepted in America not only by Dr. Dawson, but by Prof. F. W. Clarke and Mr. Merrill, Mr. Kunz, and others. In England most anthropologists have hitherto inclined to the exotic rather than to the indigenous origin of the prehistoric jades.

This touches particularly the archæological consideration of jade, as well as such of my "Remarks" as appear at

pages, 192, 194, 195 and 204 of the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xlv. It is of much interest to those who are watching all jade questions, and suggests the probability that as we become better acquainted with the earth's surface more jade-bearing rocks will be brought to notice than are yet known of; our adopted beliefs about jade will be modified and inferences corrected. The question to be solved affects the finding of shaped implements belonging to a prehistoric period, in the great ruin-mound at Hissarlik, in the caves at Mentone, in the gravel of the Rhone Valley near Geneva, in Brittany, and at the submerged remains of the Swiss lake-dwellings. From whence did they come? No one will doubt that the Chinese people fetched their jade from their own Asiatic quarries; but no one will venture to say that the New Zealander exported his green jade to the shores of Brittany, or to affirm what race of men brought jade weapons to that region and buried them under the dolmens at Carnac, although those weapons, it is said, resemble in colour the New Zealand jade. The question is not confined to Europe, it relates also to the American Continent in all its bearings. Let the fact be always remembered, that there is a material difference between true jade and jadeite. The numerous known jade-like minerals may lead to erroneous conclusions, but we may look to Mr. Rudler for intelligent guidance to avoid them. A comparison of the prehistoric implements with rock specimens alluded to in his several papers would be a good starting point. As jade is a mineral of rare occurrence, it may be possible to identify some of those implements with jade rock *in situ* at any given locality, and so we may hope to arrive at the origin of some prehistoric implements of that material. Jadeite resembles jade only in appearance, analysis shows it to be a different mineral.

To Mr. Rudler my thanks are due for permission to use his contributions to the literature of jade.

In my "Remarks" I alluded to the finding of jade boulders in British Columbia; also to the supposed existence of jade-rock in Brittany. On this last point I suggested strong doubts, which derive some support from the "Catalogue raisonné des minéraux du Morbihan, par le Cte. de Limur" (member of many Societies,

*inter alia*, the Geological Society of France, and the Mineralogical Society of France), published at Vannes, 1883. Under the group of jade-like minerals named "Oligoclase," Plagioclase is thus described:—

Compacte, blanc, avec pyroxène en grains ou en lamelles, vert-grisâtre et idocrase brune amorphe (Jade-Breton), rochers de Roguédas. . . . . Un bijoutier de notre ville fabrique, avec cette roche de Plagioclase Pyroxénifère, sous le nom de *Jade-Breton*, des petits objets de luxe qu'il vend fort cher, vu sa dureté et la difficulté de le polir."

(The writer goes on to mention the stone or jade weapons found, but he does not state that they are made of the local rock in Brittany.)

It will be interesting to know whether the discovery reported in Germany, is of jade-rock *in situ* at the surface, or arrived at through the work of excavation; if the latter we must be cautious in supposing that primitive or non-historic man so procured his supply, but even supposing that he did, it is remarkable that so limited a number of jade implements have come to our knowledge, as compared with implements made of other stone material, which are almost innumerable. As appropriate to this point of inquiry I will add the substance of a communication which reached me quite recently from Mr. Chas. Seidler, who has devoted much attention to our subject; with his permission I give his own words:—

The discovery of a few boulders here and there, or even the occurrence of jade *in situ* in Silesia does not solve the question of where the numerous worked implements found in various countries come from. The rough material was worked up somewhere, and where it was worked chips and refuse pieces ought to be found, and where has such a "workshop" come to light? No mention of such a place of manufacture at Jordansmühle, or indeed anywhere else, is made, and yet what a number of places are known strewed with refuse flakes of flint! I have a collection of minute implements made of chalcedony, agate, moss-agate, carnelian, rock crystal, and jasper found in caves and rock shelters of the Vindhya Hills, Central Provinces of India. But with these finished implements of such unusual materials were found flakes and cores, showing conclusively that the manufacture had taken place on the spot.

Later on some facts are quoted which in some degree meet this suggestion. A near approach to the ancient manufacture of jade implements may be seen in the recently arranged Ethnological Gallery in the British Museum: in a case of American objects, there is a piece of dull green jade from Lillooet on the Fraser River in



British Columbia, about fifteen inches long by about three or four wide, partly sawn through in the straight line of its length, as if for the formation of a weapon; also another smaller piece, mottled green in colour, showing a like mode of treatment; both are out of the "Christy Collection." These, and the examples from the Fraser River of other pieces of jade partly sawn through, mentioned by Mr. Rudler, raise a strong presumption that the material which they represent had its origin in the North American Continent, especially as jade is reported to occur *in situ* in the territory of Alaska. The distance, however, of Lillooet from the southern boundary of Alaska may be judged, from the map, as about 600 miles.

All who are interested in the subject are referred to the South Kensington Museum and the Indian Museum for some most remarkable works of art in carved jade; and to the British Museum for the very extensive collection of stone implements from European and other localities, it is in the hall at the top of the main staircase and in the room adjoining on the left hand. A large collection is also in an "American room" now in course of arrangement, comprising a few jade implements; also in the Ethnological Gallery a very important collection of jade weapons and objects from New Zealand is exhibited, while in the drawers beneath is a great collection of similar treasures, the manufacture of which by the natives of that island country has ceased; a piece of green jade about fourteen inches long, split to form a weapon, and worked on one side with a groove as if it had served for rubbing other pieces into a desired form, is exhibited with the finished objects. The book by Mr. John Evans, F.S.A., on the Stone Implements of Great Britain; that of Dr. Ferdinand Keller (translated) on the Lake Dwellings of Switzerland and other parts of Europe, edition 1878; and that of Dr. R. Munro on the Lake Dwellings of Europe, edition 1890; are conspicuous among a multitude of others as authorities on the whole subject.

Keller says on page 195—

How are we to explain the presence in our lakes, of stones which have come from such a distance . . . on the supposition that the migrations of man have caused it. It seems to me that the issue of



commercial relations between Switzerland and the East by people who did not even know the use of metals, still less of the art of writing, ought to be laid aside as a simple absurdity.

And at page 215 he says—

That out of a large number of stone implements in one particular locality, only two small celts of jadeite have been found, also one other of a beautiful dark green nephrite [*i.e.*, jade] with a perfectly cutting edge.

(This conclusion is affected by the facts quoted later on.)

A French pamphlet gives some interesting though not recent information, the title is “*Le Jade, Etude historique, archéologique et littéraire sur la pierre appelée Yu par les chinois.*” Par S. Blondel. Paris 1875. It describes the analysis of jade-stone, the localities in China where it is found, the different colours and quality, the estimation in which it has been held by the Chinese, and the poetic, flowery, and figurative allusions to jade as expressive of all that is good and beautiful; the early dates recorded in Chinese literature when jade was an article of tribute to the Emperor from the province of Khotan, are about the time 965 A.D. and 1167-70 A.D. As to the medicinal qualities of the stone (at one time named nephrite, then jade) it was regarded as a remedy for “nephritic colic,” and affections of the kidneys, it was not taken inwardly but was worn by the sufferer as an amulet. The brochure touches but lightly on the archæological questions.

I hasten now to the highly important work of Dr. Munro, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and with his kind permission I have made some extensive quotations bearing on the archæology of jade. The title is, “*The Lake Dwellings of Europe; being the Rhind Lectures in Archæology for 1888.* By Robert Munro, M.A., M.D.” London, 1890. We learn from the preface that it was prepared by the author after four years of travel throughout Central Europe, undertaken on purpose to acquire accurate information on all matters connected with the subject. Great attention is paid to the jade question; his narrative contains such a mass of information not hitherto brought together, or but little known, that long extracts are needful in order to bring our archæological knowledge of jade down to the present time most of the discoveries recorded having been made some ten years ago. It is surprising to find how numerous

are the specimens of anciently worked implements of jade-stone which in recent years have been found in Europe, and are now preserved in museums and private collections. The work is illustrated by a profusion of engravings from the author's original drawings, and concludes with a Bibliography of at least 469 separate works on the Lake dwellings of Europe. The author frequently uses the word "nephrite," the early expression among mineralogists to signify the stone, which in a less scientific way has been called jade, and which, as I have already pointed out, means a mineral which is not jadeite or chloromelanite, though all the three resemble each other. He uses the word *jade* in a somewhat generic sense to cover the various forms of the mineral nephrite, jadeite, &c. Hence in ordinary English a jade implement might be either the one or the other. At page 498 we learn that—

"One of the stations in Moosseedorfsee the remains of the lake-dwellings became completely exposed in consequence of drainage operations, and was carefully examined by experienced archæologists, it yielded a large assortment of osseous remains . . . and cultivated plants . . . Among an assortment of its industrial remains now in the Berne museum, are about a dozen celts of nephrite, one of jadeite, and many articles of pottery &c."

Heavy objects dropped into the water at these ancient dwellings are now found in the peat and soft mud and sand beneath here they once stood, the author says at page 500 that—

Arrow-points of flint and sometimes of other minerals, rock-crystal and jade, and of bone, are amongst the most common relics.

At page 505,—

"In the museum of Zurich there is a large water-rolled stone of serpentine<sup>1</sup> measuring 14 by 9 by 8 inches which was dredged up at Wollishofen, showing a cut 11 inches long and  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch deep. One side of the cut was broken off, but the fragment was found and it fits the place, proving the breadth of the cut to be  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch. No problem has for many years puzzled archæologists more than the effort to account for the finding, from time to time in various parts of Europe, of those remarkably elegant implements made from the mineral substance commonly known as jade. Hitherto they have been generally found isolated in the soil or in graves of the Stone Age, such as the dolmens of Brittany. The favourite theory, seeing that no local habitat could be assigned to this mineral, was that these implements were imported by the original neolithic people, who were supposed to have migrated westwards from the plains of Northern India. The

<sup>1</sup> This mineral often resembles jade, but it is very soft in comparison.

discovery of a large number of celts and small chisels in the lake, dwellings, together with a few other objects made of nephrite, jadeite and chloromelanite, has reopened the problem as to their origin, with the result, however, of making the controversial flame burn brisker than ever. Independent of the lake-dwelling finds, the number of jade objects now known in Europe may be roughly stated at 200, about the half of which come from some 44 departments of France. Of the remaining 100 about 80 are from Western Germany, the rest being assigned to various localities in Italy, Austria, and Greece. According to the opinions of competent mineralogists the vast majority of those from Western Europe are made of jadeite and chloromelanite, the number made of the former being slightly in excess of the latter. In the French group there is only one of nephrite, from the vicinity of Rheims, and in the German group three or four, found in Baden and Bavaria. Mr. A. B. Meyer states that, with the exception of one from Posen, all the German examples were found to the west of the Elbe. In appearance nephrite, jadeite, and chloromelanite closely resemble each other, and, owing to considerable variations in the colour to which they are all more or less liable, it is difficult to distinguish them by the unaided eye. Generally speaking nephrite has a somewhat soapy feel, with a lighter and more transparent tint of green than jadeite, while chloromelanite is darker and less transparent than either. From the large number of implements, especially hatchets, small chisels, and sometimes knives—rarely arrow-points and ornaments—found in almost all the lake-dwelling stations of the Stone Age, it would appear that they were greatly admired and much sought after by the inhabitants of these settlements. Dr. Gross thinks they were in greatest abundance in these stations which flourished in the period immediately preceding that of the introduction of metals, and that after this event they disappear altogether.

At page 507 Dr. Munro sums up the number of jade implements found at the Swiss lake-dwelling stations, having, as we have already seen, enumerated those found at other places in Europe; he says—

From Lake Constance the number of jade implements now considerably exceeds 1000, as may be verified by an inspection of the museums in the neighbourhood, one station alone, Maurach, on Lake Constance has supplied 349 tolerably well, and 141 badly, made implements, and no less than 154 chips and sawn portions varying from the size of a finger-nail to a few inches. Similar chips have also been occasionally met with in other stations. This at once settles one important point, viz. that the lake-dwellers were in actual possession of the raw material, which they worked on the spot. Although most of the settlements in Lake Constance have yielded more or less specimens, there is none that even approaches Maurach in point of numbers, the next highest being Unter-Uhldingen, Immenstadt, and Sipplingen, from each of which two or three score have been collected. In moving eastwards towards the Danubian valley they became much rarer. According to Fischer 97 per cent. of the implements from Lake Constance are of nephrite, while the other 3 per cent. are nearly equally divided between jadeite and chloromelanite. In the Zurich Museum he found

28 implements of nephrite, one of jadeite, and 6 of chloromelanite, out of the former, 22 are from Meilen, and 4 from Robenhausen. Out of 295 in the museums of Berne (which came from the lakes of Neuchâtel, Bienne, Morat, Inkwyl, and Moosseedorfsee), 118 are of nephrite 124 of jadeite, and 53 of chloromelanite. From these approximate calculations we see that while nephrite was greatly in excess of jadeite in the settlements of Lake Constance and its neighbourhood, this inequality becomes gradually removed as we move westwards, till we come to Franco, where their relative frequency becomes actually reversed. Chloromelanite, on the other hand, though as a whole much rarer than either nephrite or jadeite, seems to have been more evenly distributed. Roundly speaking we have in all Europe between 300 and 400 worked objects of jadeite, and about 200 of chloromelanite, while those of nephrite amount to twice these numbers combined.

Thus the jade implements, known to have been found in Switzerland and other parts of Europe, reach a total of 1200. The next remark by Dr. Munro is important; at page 508 he says—

These facts are very suggestive, and undoubtedly give some support to the theory that these minerals were found by the lake-dwellers somewhere in their own neighbourhood. But notwithstanding the most careful searching on the part of geologists and mineralogists not a particle of any of them has yet been found *in situ* in any part of Switzerland. As an inducement to country people to be on the look-out a reward of 200 francs was offered a few years ago to anyone who could produce a bit of nephrite, found *in situ* of the size of a man's fist, but as far as I know, the reward still lies unclaimed. Three isolated portions have been found in Germany, one in the alluvial sands of Potsdam, another in the vicinity of Meersburg, and a third in the vicinity of Leipzig. Also in somewhat similar circumstances two portions have been recorded from Styria. It is said to have been found *in situ* in small quantities in the rocks of Silesia . . . at Jordansmühl. And in the Canton Freiburg as stated in a work published in 1834. Also a few chips were found in the prehistoric caves at Mentone associated with worked flints, (see *Archæological Journal*, xxxvi). To these remarks on the jade question I have only to add that Dr. Arzruni maintains that the nephrite and jadeite of the lake-dwellings can be microscopically shown to differ from the Asiatic mineral."

The finding of thirteen small implements of jade at the prehistoric city of Troy, by Dr. Schliemann, is alluded to in the *Archæological Journal*, xlv, p. 196. One other remark by Dr. Munro is deserving of consideration; at page 533 he says—

"The extraordinary number of implements and chips of nephrite found at Maurach, and the equal predominance of flint refuse and implements in all stages of manufacture at some of the other stations suggest the idea that the various industries prosecuted by the inhabitants of the lake-villages had already developed to such an extent as to become localized in certain centres." . . . "That the lake-dwellers



kept up commercial relations with foreign countries is proved by their possessing materials, not only peculiar to distant or limited areas, such as amber, jade, flint, etc. but also certain objects having such peculiarities in form or style of ornamentation as have enabled experienced archæologists to trace them to their original areas of evolution."

The foregoing extracts add very much to our knowledge by telling what is new to students of the subject; they should have the careful consideration of all who are pursuing the enquiry with an unbiassed mind. The finding of so many implements in Europe, whether they be of all true jade or other kindred mineral, while we know of only two or three remote places where jade is known to exist *in situ*, rather encourages the belief that non-historic man procured the material from drifted rubble, a mixture of all sorts of rock tossed about by water torrents, and transported about in long past ages by floating ice and glaciers from incalculable distances and unknown localities. The proofs of such natural forces are patent to all geological observers, and can be no more called in question than those of a like character constantly taking place before the eyes of the present inhabitants of the earth's surface. Boulders and stones of jade can thus have been scattered over Europe, as easily as stones of granite or other kinds of rock whose home can be identified. It seems likely that non-historic man picked up and appropriated these stones, and did not work the rock *in situ*, or in quarries, which we now know requires the use of iron tools and manufactured explosives. But this view is not conclusive while the question is unanswered, why is this drifted material so exhausted that in the present day no jade is to be found in any of the existing deposits yielding almost every rock substance but jade. As for the jade *in situ* at Jordansmühle we cannot yet regard it as evidence that it was known, much less that it was worked in ancient times, or rendered available by the makers of the discovered implements. More facts are required before it is safe to dispose of the question which is so perplexing to archæologists.



## NOTES ON BATH AS A ROMAN CITY.<sup>1</sup>

By EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.

Much has been written about Roman Bath, but excepting the records of actual finds, nearly all seems speculative and conjectural. Further speculation however cannot be out of place, as only by such efforts, accompanied by good reasoning, can we make any advance in our knowledge.

The first question which occurs is the origin of the pentagonal form of the city. It has been generally supposed that Roman camps and cities were always rectangular. This is only partially true as there are many exceptional cases, caused generally by some peculiarity in the site chosen. The fine city known to us as Silchester is octagonal, and is so because its walls were built on the lines of a British encampment. Pevensey is an irregular oval, the plan following the form of the ground.

Adhering to the first theory, in a paper printed in the Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society, vol. 31, 1884, it is argued that the outline of Bath was originally rectangular having the full dimensions of a large Roman camp. The argument was accompanied by a plan which greatly aids towards making it clear. In this plan the North Gate has a central position in the northern line, somewhere near the now top of Milsom Street, but suggests no road attached to or passing through it. The pentagonal form, it was argued, was the outcome of circumstances, such as when peace reigned after the subjugation of the Britons, there being no necessity for a full-sized camp, the plan was reduced

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, May 7th, 1891.

practically to one-fourth the original size by cutting off the northern part and building a wall at the offcut on the line now known as the Upper Borough Wall. But the part remaining must have still been rectangular and no way pentagonal. With this suggestion the North Gate must have been shifted from its assumed central position in the first wall, a necessity overlooked or left unaccounted for by the writer. Continuing his argument, the same author, in the next year's Proceedings of the same Society, vol. 32, attempted to show that Bath was a military station occupied by the XX Legion, but the evidences here were not more satisfactory than in the previous suggestions and could not be accepted. There is no evidence of any change of plan or that Bath was ever either a camp or a military station. A small guard it may be assumed would be there, and soldiers as well as strangers came there as invalids and died there, leaving in the form of altar or grave stone or otherwise, some token or record for us to discover. When thus considering the origin of the outline of the city, the mind's eye must be cleared entirely of all present surroundings, of every building and street now familiar, and the spot pictured as a void neglected marsh, over or through which flowed the water from many cold springs as well as the water from the hot ones, forming a bog filled with reeds or rushes extending down to the river side. The Romans, as new comers, having first protected and enclosed the hot springs, would proceed to lay out and wall in their new possession. Like an earlier people, they "walled in the town for their habitation and had the suburbs for their cattle and for their goods and for all their beasts."

Taking the lower part of the site, many places along it must have been found too marshy and too wet to bear a heavy wall, thus the outline was determined here by the suitability or firmness of the ground. Guidott<sup>1</sup> mentions that when digging some foundations in the south-west and north-west of the city, the workmen came to a soft yielding mud, through which on being probed no bottom could be discovered. This was under some yards of gravel supposed to have been laid down by the Romans to make a firm surface. The northern line of wall, where

<sup>1</sup> Discourse &c. 1676, p. 100.

the ground was dry and firm, is straight enough after the expected and usual manner.

Mr. Scarth in his book, *Aquæ Solis*, p. 108, treating of the Roman roads near Bath makes a statement which would be startling except for the qualifying supposition. He says, "after uniting at Batheaston with the road from Silchester, the Fosse road passed along Walcot and is then supposed to have passed up Guinea Lane to the head of Russell Street. At this point the two roads again diverged and the Fosse passed through the North Gate and left by the South Gate, crossing the river by a bridge." He does not say how the road got to the North Gate from Russell Street, or where his North Gate was, but the full result is gathered in conjunction with what is said on an earlier page, p. 8, when treating of the Roman walls. Here he writes, "the great Fosse road ran through the city from north to south entering it at what is now the eastern angle of the Mineral Water Hospital, and passing down Union Street and through Stall Street, quitted the city at the South Gate." The reading of these two paragraphs together means that the Fosse road came down Russell Street to Union Street, where must have been the North Gate, and so passed on through the city southward. A very novel and strange idea. In this statement may perhaps be detected the key to the suggestion already noticed, that Bath was originally a full sized camp, as by the plan given in that argument the same route must have been followed for entering the city on the north side. There never was a gate at the spot here indicated. The North Gate was not at the top of Union Street, and further Union Street is not a Roman Street, nor on the site of one; it is not even medieval but quite modern. The Roman Street hereabouts would be the present Union Passage, a street as Roman in appearance now as when the Romans left, except that the houses on either side are higher. But more than this Stall Street is not a Roman Street, but an early English one, laid down say when the priory grounds were enclosed, and forming as we know their outer boundary along the western side. The many finds in this street prove this assertion. Although already often published a passing notice of some of these must be given to clear

the argument. In 1753, an inscribed stone was found when digging a cellar in the lower part of Stall Street; four feet lower coins were found. In the same place other stones having inscriptions were found at the same time. There was also a find in Stall Street at the west end of the Pump Room. In 1754, an altar to the Leucetian Mars was found in the upper part of Stall Street. About this date also an altar by one Sulinus was found at the lower end of Stall Street. In 1727 when digging a sewer in the centre of Stall Street, about sixteen feet below the surface was found the well known bronze or brass head called that of Apollo. When this was found there was such good evidence of the whole statue remaining in the same spot that a number of curious gentleman entered into a subscription to indemnify for digging for it, but the Corporation absurdly refused lest the course of the water should be affected by the search.<sup>1</sup> There is thus possibly a good find awaiting and ready for some one. The Society of Antiquaries offered a tempting price for the head but could not get it.<sup>2</sup> There was yet another find in this year near the same spot, of which a careful account with a coloured drawing, is preserved for us in the British Museum. It is entitled a representation of the subterranean antient stoves as discovered in 1727 in Bath, where the brass head was found near 16 feet below the surface of the street. It was drawn and measured upon the place "at Bath 20 Aug. 1727 by Bernard Lens" and copied by Priscilla Combe. The original is now in the Bodleian. The top line represents the street or road surface, which was vaulted or under-built with wood for support whilst a sewer was being laid. The "east side" of this vault is shown "as it runs upwards the street." The mouth of the hole was "dug over against Alderman Ford's house in Stall St. the 25 July 1727, to make a common sewer in the middle of the street, and to convey the drains of the neighbouring houses by that means into the antient sewer," which is emptied in the river about ten yards westward of the bridge. This sewer is seen in the drawing descending in the lowest right hand corner. The depth of the hole was 15 feet 10 inches. Just below the surface

<sup>1</sup> Gough's *Topography*, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Cruttwell's *Guide*, 1784.



was "a gutter of freestone of no use at present being underground, the foot seemed all composed of rubbish, coal, mortar, &c. to the gutter." On the extreme left was "a solid brick wall that went athwart the hole," and following this was "a row of bricks twenty in number made in the nature of stoves all of one piece, hollow, a half-inch thick within, sixteen inches high, five inches wide and six inches deep." Between each of these was put a strong and reddish cement of mortar and brick dust and a single tile; in the inside was found sticking "a black stuff very like soot." The stove bricks were placed pretty regular one behind the other, so that a stick of three or four feet long could be thrust in towards each side going towards the king's bath, "was it not for the earth that had got into them perhaps a great deal farther; they came about a foot further the other side and that was their end or closing; they had all pieces of tile clapped before each hollow. N.B.—They stand on a clayish ground." Drawings are given of one of the hollow bricks taken out for the purpose; also of one of the tiles from the top, and one of the single tiles placed between. Again, in 1790, when digging for the Pump Room, with many remains of columns and friezes an altar dedicated to Minerva was found at the western end; these were supposed to belong to the Temple of Minerva, especially when remembering the well-known record of Caius Julius Solinus otherwise known as Polyhistor, who writing about A.D. 250, mentions the Temple of Minerva at Bath. But it was soon detected that such a building must have encroached on Stall Street, a difficulty got over by the conjecture that it was erected after the street was made. Such a conjecture cannot be received as having the slightest foundation or approach to probability. About twelve feet below the level a pavement of freestone was discovered having a channel at the extremity to carry off water and with steps fronting the east.<sup>1</sup> This pavement it was seen extended under Stall Street, but not enough of it was laid open to determine the form or size of the building to which it belonged. On it the foundations of the Pump Room were laid. Again, in 1867, on the destruction of the far-famed White Hart to make way for

<sup>1</sup> Cruttwell's Guide, p. 17; *Archæologia*, vol. 10, p. 327; Brown's Guide, p. 38.



the present Grand Hotel, a bed of paved concrete was found which had been apparently surrounded by a court and smaller buildings. A fragment of cornice was precisely similar to another piece found in 1790 on the opposite side of the street under the Pump Room. The base of a wall uncovered was formed of very large stones, some measuring more than five feet in length, probably part of an outer court. Drawings were made, it is said, of these things with the intention or hope of determining the plan of the building and for publication, but so far they have simply disappeared. It was at once concluded that these remains, as with all others previously found, belonged either to a Temple or the Forum, their front here facing the east, as those found opposite on the site of the Pump Room were the remains of a temple which faced the west, Stall Street passing between them, as it does between the modern buildings there to-day. The simple fact is that Stall Street not being a Roman street does not pass between, but is made or laid on, and really passes over the plan of an important building which covered the ground here in Roman times. It can readily be judged that this was the hall, the ante-rooms, and the hypocaust, part of the frontage of the fine system of baths now partially exposed.

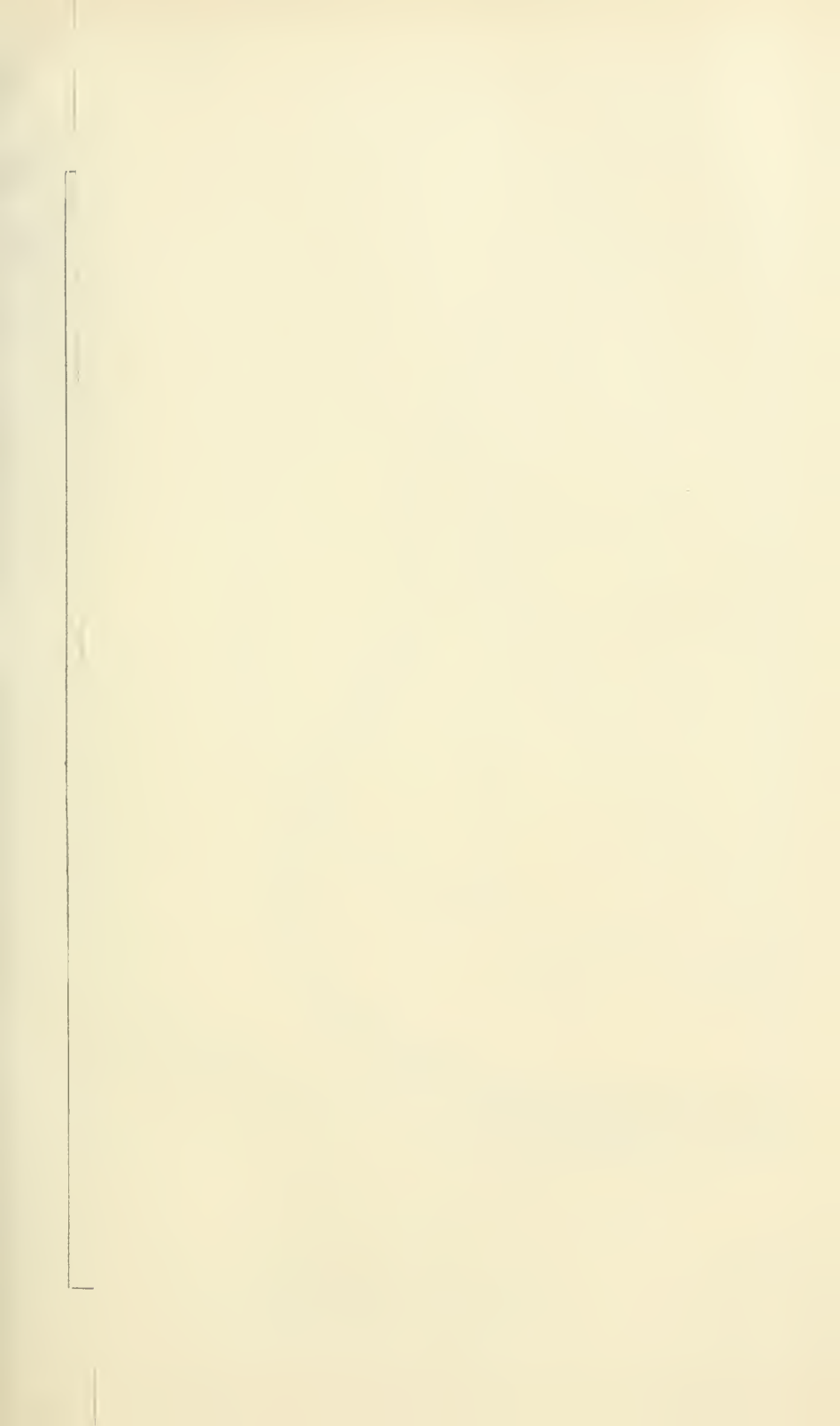
But if Stall Street be not a Roman street and so not the original main central thoroughfare of the city as it is always assumed to have been, where was that street?

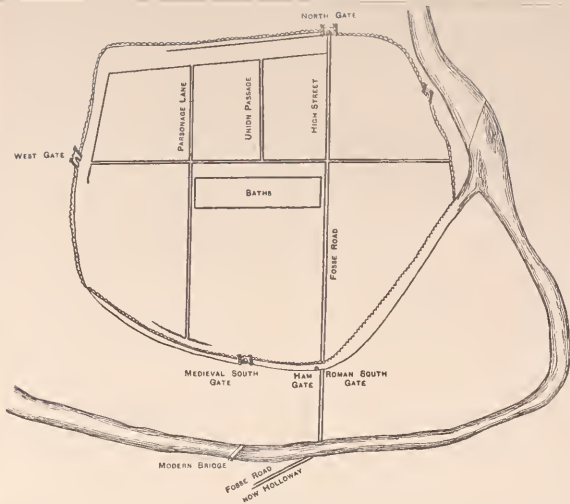
Northward of Bath, the Fosse Road coming by Bath-easton reached Walcot. About the point where now stands Walcot Church a road known now as the Via Julia branched from it, passed up the hill about the site of Guinea Lane and by the head of Russell Street to Weston, and then on across the Severn. The Fosse, continuing its own line, went on by our Walcot Street into Bath through the North Gate, which stood at the end of the present Northgate Street. Bath had the usual four gates at the compass points, so that opposite this point would be placed the South Gate. Besides these four there was in the medieval wall also a postern. This postern, known as the Ham gate, led from the Priory to the Ham meadow. It stood a little eastward of our South Gate.

The supposition or accepted idea, other than the

suggestion already quoted, has hitherto been that the Fosse after entering by the North Gate and traversing High Street, turned to the right along our Cheap Street and then to the left down our Stall Street, and so out on the site of our South Gate. Such a road as the Fosse, a royal highway, ever going straight onward after the known Roman plan, could hardly have twisted about in such an unusual manner. This latter idea has been produced by the obliteration and obstruction caused by the Priory church and grounds; just as the former idea was the result of the usual conviction that the ever present cross roads found in Roman plans must have crossed in the centre of the city; but this was by no means always the case. At Ilchester, on the same Fosse road, and in the same county, it was not so; at Silchester it was not so, as also at Gloucester and other places.

By clearing the ground of all accustomed buildings, by giving up these fancies and continuing the Fosse from the known North Gate through the city southward in the usual straight line, it is brought not to the site of the known South Gate, but to near about the postern or Ham gate, which may be claimed to have been on part of the site of the larger Roman gate. The position now becomes clearer. When the Priory was enclosed, the Fosse road was cut and stopped by its northern boundary, and Stall Street being formed in its place the South Gate was moved westward to meet the new street; the site of the Roman gate becoming thus private property was utilised as a way to the Ham meadow. The line of the Fosse then, entered by the North Gate, passed along our High Street, through near the transept of the present church, on by the site of the Ham gate and across the Ham meadow to, presumably, a bridge in line with it eastward of the present bridge, and so over the river to Holloway. The direction of Holloway from the hill side, as may be seen to-day, is towards such a bridge. To meet the abutment or land end of the later bridges the direction of the road has been changed somewhat at the extreme bottom of the hill. The position can be clearly seen in the outline sketch map here given and in Stukeley's map printed in 1724. Thus the crossing of the highway, always looked for in a Roman town, would have been at the junction of our High Street and Cheap Street.





Ideal outline plus of Roman Bath

One more suggestion must be made, viz., that the line of our Cheap Street was continued in a straight line to an East Gate which stood near the house now known as the Athenæum. Hereabouts long years afterwards, just on the boundary of the Priory grounds, were the Spring Garden stairs and a ferry across the river. Such an outlet is all the Romans could have had on this side. The present East Gate would thus be medieval, and like the South Gate, its position was changed when the ground was enclosed; when the site of the ford was wanted by the Priory; when the mill, known as the Monk's mill so recently burned down, and the weirs made with it were built.

Next an attempt may be made to glance at the interior arrangement or plan of the city, and here it must be remembered that the Fosse road must have been surveyed or made before the city was built; the city is built on the road, not the road through the city; the direction and position of the road, influenced the plan and direction of the streets, which are all parallel with it. However irregular the outline or walls may have been, the streets within were always symmetrical, running parallel with the high road as to one direction, and parallel with the main street which always crossed it, in the other. All the streets thus formed a rectangle at every junction. There was no deviation from this rule.

First, then, must be taken the south-eastern quarter of which most is known, where existed the fine system of baths, now in part visible. Hitherto nothing has been made of the plans of these baths so often published. By the plans given in various books on the subject, such as by Dr. Spry, and reissued in Scarth's *Aquæ Solis*, the front of the baths is supposed to be buried in the space between the end of the large rectangular bath and Stall Street, but the recent discovery that this space is occupied by a round bath makes the idea impossible. By abolishing Stall Street, and so giving space in front, the whole plan can be completed. The Roman street which ran in front of the baths when so completed, is with but a slight exception discernible now. It is known as Parsonage Lane as far as Westgate Street, which it crossed and passed through what is now the back-yard of the Grand Hotel, but which was once the stable-yard of the White Hart



Hotel, and then through exactly No. 11, Bath Street, across that street and on by St. Catherine's Hospital. The continuation on this, the south, side is under the colonnade of Bath Street, and by substituting a colonnade for No. 11 on the north side, the whole street or way would be again open from north to south. By measuring depths and examining generally this position is clearly discerned. The side or foot pavement on the south side of Westgate Street, at the entrance to the stable-yard, shows or marks a former continuation of the now Parsonage Lane. It corresponds exactly with the side pavement of Parsonage Lane and must be there from some cause, as no such work would be put at the entrance to a stable-yard, but would rather be removed as an obstruction. Thus by simply clearing away No. 11, Bath Street there is formed a street duly parallel with the Fosse, giving the line of the western front or end of the baths and giving room for the outer court yard, for colonnade and steps, for entrance hall and side chambers, and all that is wanted. Moreover the flue tiles of the hypocaust which heated the buildings, are still lying *in situ* under Stall Street. It may then be predicted that nothing will be found in connection with the present exposed plans westward of this line, or eastward of the Fosse Road as herein laid down. At the eastern or opposite end, having the Fosse Road for its boundary, is another bath on a smaller scale. This is known to be complete having hypocaust and all usual rooms fairly perfect. Complete drawings and plans were made in 1755 when the remains were uncovered. This bath was supplied from its own hot spring, which in later times was suppressed to avoid or prevent competition. Whether this was a public bath, say for women, or whether it was a private bath attached to some large house seems difficult to determine. The sexes often bathed together then, as near the same spot they did long years afterwards, so that the large bath may have been sufficient for general use. If the Governor's residence could be placed hereabouts, nicely southward, in the sunshine, and on the high road, then it may rather be suggested that this bath was a private one attached to his house. The rooms seem too small for public use. Taking finally a view of the whole system we may imagine the

ground open on the south having promenades and gardens and accommodation for various games.

In the north-east quarter, in the angle now formed by the corners of High Street and Cheap Street, may have stood the Forum and the Basilica, always an important official centre, the Market Place and Guildhall of our day, and not far in fact from the present offices. It is found so placed at Silchester, the only example known. In this block too may be placed the principal shops and artificers, for it was along the high road by the North Gate, still known as the High Street, that all traffic passed.

From the finds in the north-west quarter a different plan may be judged. In 1738 a tessellated pavement was found when the Mineral Water Hospital was being built, also another in 1859, and an inscription on marble in 1861, thus marking the site of a house of some consequence, which probably occupied the frontage between our Union Passage and Parsonage lane. In 1860 a tessellated pavement and other remains were found on the site of the Blue Coat School, showing another good house westward of the last and westward of our Parsonage Lane. Tessellated pavements it may be concluded would only be found in the principal or official houses.

Of the remaining quarter, the south-west, little can be said. It is still almost virgin ground. Some remains have been found there around the present baths, as also an altar in 1774 near the Hot bath and another in 1776. Another altar was found in 1809 near the Cross bath, and in 1825 a stone was unearthed under the United Hospital. Hereabouts may be placed the general Infirmary, an institution usual in Roman cities, but beyond this as a suggestion there is little to guide. Around these springs centres our own history of the Bath waters as public waters, and here now, still all around them, are placed the oldest as well as the most modern Infirmaries. In 1789 an Act of Parliament enabled the Corporation to build five new streets, all of these being near the Cross bath and the General Hospital. One went from Barton Street, near the General Hospital, to Stall Street; the second was Bath Street; the third went from north of the Cross bath to Westgate Street; the fourth from the west side of Stall Street near Bell Tree Lane to the

Borough Walls; the fifth from south of the Cross bath to the Borough Walls. Also the houses in Cheap Street were rebuilt and some houses at the corner of the bridge removed.<sup>1</sup> Consequently this quarter has been so much changed and altered that any Roman plan can hardly be traced.

There is one other point which must come to the thoughts when endeavouring to realize the old position, but regarding which no suggestion has been made, viz.:—how were strangers and invalids housed or lodged. The small rooms, often so great a puzzle in the plans of Roman houses, were used for bedrooms, mere alcoves closed with a curtain when in use. The larger houses had rooms especially for strangers, wings adjoining the private apartments and having separate entrances. Seneca—Ep.89—rallying the Romans on their restlessness, says, somewhat opportunely for the present occasion,—there is no lake, river, or mountain where your villas do not erect their lofty tops. Wherever veins of warm water abound new lodging houses (*nova diversoria*) will be immediately built to gratify your luxury. Whether the meaning here would be equivalent to anything we know as a lodging house must be left an open question. Some accommodation there must have been as the place, with such magnificent baths, may be judged to have been much what it has been and may be still, a place of ease and idleness; a mixture of groans, music, and flippancy; a resting place for humanity, old, infirm, and in ruins; a comfortable thoroughfare from this world to the next.

Where a ground plan has been so closely built over as here at Bath fresh discoveries are necessarily somewhat difficult to make. Caution, too, should be exercised before determining the use of any remains. Of Temple or Forum nothing is known, but now that so much is known of the extent of the baths, the architectural details found may have belonged to them rather than to a Temple, especially as Minerva who is so often indicated in the finds, was directly the patroness of such waters as these of Bath. Also, after so long a lapse of time, many changes will have occurred, so that the line or frontage of any street or way, as seen, must not be too rigidly accepted

<sup>1</sup> Brown's Guide, 1802.

as original. The line of Westgate Street and Cheap Street probably, in the process of widening and shifting southward, will be found like Stall Street, to be over Roman remains. Other less important ways will have deviated to meet later requirements, whilst others, especially in the north-eastern block, will have entirely disappeared. Some portion, too, would be garden ground. But the chief points herein humbly suggested may be even now easily and inexpensively proved and without inconvenience to traffic, by the employment of a couple of men for a short spell with those useful and necessary exploring instruments, the ordinary pick and spade.

## SOME RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN LINCOLN.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES.

May I be permitted to lay before the Institute notes of some discoveries made during the last few months in and near Lincoln. None of them are of any great importance, but I think that they possess sufficient interest to warrant my communicating them to our monthly meeting. My doing so will ensure their being placed on record in the *Journal*, and prevent their being entirely forgotten.

I will begin with some discoveries of the Roman period. Some well preserved bits of the city wall were laid bare last June, in two places, one on the eastern half of the northern wall, the other on the northern portion of the eastern wall. The portions laid bare were of no considerable size, but the facing stones, which, in every other part of the wall now above ground, have been stripped off, were well preserved, thus giving the fragments interest and value.

The first fragment was discovered in the field to the north east of the well-known Roman gateway, the so-called "Newport Arch," in which stands the largest existing mass of the Roman wall, with the *agger* and *fossa* in an excellent state of preservation, offering an instructive example of the mode of fortification adopted by the Romans in their provincial cities. Unhappily for the cause of history and archaeology, the builder who has long looked covetously on this inviting piece of ground has commenced operations, and it is hardly likely that it will continue open long, and we may fear that Lincoln will soon lose one of its most characteristic historical features.<sup>2</sup>

For the erection of a wall running north to south, cutting off the east end of this field, a trench had to be dug, which cut across the line of the Roman wall, and laid bare its northern face at a point about 250 ft. to the east of the existing mass. The southern face was not exposed. The piece revealed was about 3 ft. in height, and about 4 ft. across. It was about 30 inches below the surface of the ground. Six courses of facing stones remained above the plain unmoulded set-off, each course being about five inches in height. Its masonry was of the same character with that of the square tower recently described in the *Journal*, vol. xlv, p. 485.

The other portion was in the northern part of the east face, to the south of the eastern gate, almost midway between that and the south east angle of the city. Its position was immediately to the north of the vestibule of the Chapter House, just outside the east cloister wall. It was discovered when forming a heating chamber for the Chapter House and Library, beneath the staircase to the latter. The masonry was of the same character as that already described. Additional interest attaches to this fragment from its having a bold well-developed base-moulding, instead of the plain

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, December 4th, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Since this paper was written the most important portion of this field, including the large fragment of wall referred to above has been purchased by

Alfred Shuttleworth, Esq., to secure the preservation of these interesting relics of Roman Lincoln. The Archaeological world cannot fail to feel very grateful to this gentleman for his well directed liberality.



sloping set-off common to the other parts of the wall. Of this I send a full-sized section taken by Mr. J. J. Smith, the clerk of the works to the Cathedral. On the same paper is a plan shewing the position of this fragment. It will be noticed that traces of a second wall were discovered parallel to the first. It was impossible to investigate this without disturbing the foundations of existing buildings, and its relation to the general system of the walls cannot therefore be determined.

To pass outside the city walls, traces of a Roman villa were discovered during the month of October, in the Greetwell Fields, about a mile from the east of the city, where the subjacent beds of ironstone are being very extensively worked. The situation is on the brow of the steep slope, which here descends to the valley of the Witham, with a full southerly exposure; seven or eight years ago traces of a bath or cistern were discovered a few yards to the south of this spot. I was unfortunately absent from Lincoln at the time of this former discovery, but it was carefully recorded by Dr. O'Neill of Lincoln, whose account is printed in the forty-first volume of the *Journal* (1884), p. 32. What has been recently laid bare, about 3 ft. below the surface, consists of portions of a plain tessellated pavement, formed of long strips of red tesserae of brick 5 in. wide, alternately with strips of white tesserae of stone 9 in. wide, running north and south and stopped at the north end by a row of square tiles, impressed with diagonal lines. The portion laid bare was about 7 yds. long by 19 yds. wide. As the works proceed more will doubtless be discovered, of which careful note will be taken. About 3 ft. lower than the tessellated floor to the west was a cement floor, from which rude steps led up to the higher level. The only object of antiquity discovered, as far as I could learn, was a small brass coin of Gallienus, bearing on the obverse a stellated bust of the Emperor, and on the reverse a Capricorn. This I send for inspection. We cannot doubt that we have here the remains of the country house of one of the chief inhabitants of the Roman city, perhaps an officer high in command, desiring like Horace's Mæcenas, to avoid "fumum et opes strepitumque Lindi," retired to the green sunny pastures stretching to the east of its walls, a little to the south of the road to Bannovallum, the modern Horncastle.

Another memorial of the Roman occupation I send in the shape of a box of teeth, specimens of a considerable quantity recently dug up in a garden within the walls of the small stationary camp of Caistor, to the north of Lincoln. A similar find of jaw bones was made in connection with the Roman portico, discovered at Lincoln a few years back, and described in this *Journal*. These were submitted to the late Professor Rolleston of Oxford, who pronounced them to be those of young animals of the "Bos Longifrons." It is well known that in the want of winter food for their stock the Romans were in the habit of killing off their young animals on the setting in of cold weather, and salting down the bodies and limbs for domestic consumption. The heads would be eaten fresh, probably forming the staple of many a savoury mess of sheep's-head broth, the jaw bones and teeth going to the kitchen-midden, which, as the recognized depository of all unclean and superfluous culinary waste, now yields such rich stores of knowledge as to the domestic life of men of bygone generations. Wishing to have a professional opinion on these teeth I submitted them to Dr. E. Mansel Simpson of Lincoln, who wrote

as follows :—"I have no doubt about the teeth belonging all save one to the ox tribe ; but to make sure I compared them with those at Allis's, pronounced by Prof. Rolleston to be those of the *Bos Longifrons*, and found them agree. I append a few brief notes.

"One tooth undoubtedly a horse's molar.

"One molar tooth on part of the jaw from an *old Bos longifrons*.

"One smaller from *Bos longifrons*.

"One threefanged tooth from a young *Bos*.

"I am not quite clear what the two smaller teeth are, one looks as though it had never been used at all, the other looks very like a sheep's tooth."

Descending from Roman to mediæval times, I have the pleasure of laying before the meeting some relics discovered during the month of October on the site of St. Catherine's Gilbertine Priory, in the suburbs of Lincoln, in digging the foundations of a new house. Several stone coffins and skeletons were turned up, some of these being in the coffins and others in layers three or four deep. One skeleton the builder alleged—"credat Judæus"—was found "doubled up and built into a wall." There were several incised monumental slabs, but much broken and defaced. Mr. W. Scorer, Architect, of Lincoln took a rubbing of the most perfect of the slabs, which had remains of a marginal inscription, but no more was legible than the first letters of the date mcccc.... A considerable number of architectural fragments were also found, chiefly moulded arch stones, and groining ribs of the Early English period, of which Mr. Scorer took outlines, also a very large and bold plinth or base mould of early Transitional character, probably belonging to the time of the foundation of the Priory by Bishop Robert of Chesney 1148.

The following objects have been lent to me by the builder, Mr. Copley, for the purpose of exhibiting to the Institute.

(1) A small ivory or bone seal, of a pointed oval, or curved lozenge shape,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 1 in., with a silver link at the top for attaching to a chain. It bears a bird with outspreadings and extended claws. Round the margin is the legend "Tecta lege, Lecta tege." "Read what is hidden, and hide it when read."

(2) A leaden "Bull" of Pope Innocent VI., A.D. 1352-1362. It is of the normal type, the obverse bearing the heads of St. Peter (sinister) with short hair and closely cropped beard, and St. Paul (dexter) with bald head and long pointed beard. The names have been erased with the exception of (E.) above St. Peter. Each head is set in an oval ; between them in the lower part of the interspace is a small cross. The reverse bears ·INNOCĒTIVS ·P̄P VI.

(3) A double socket of brass on which I desire the opinion of the meeting. It appears to have formed part of a padlock.

(4) A shield, set in a quatrefoil, from a monumental brass bearing two crosses in chief, a crescent in base, with an estoile above. Can any member identify the charge?

I have also sent for inspection three Bronze Celts dug up in a field known as the "Church Piece," a short distance to the west of the church of Fiskerton, five miles east of Lincoln, in 1890. One is marked with small ridges three in front and one on each side, which are thought by some to mark an early date. I am indebted for these to the Rev. T. H. Vines, Vicar of Fiskerton.

A few weeks since in digging the foundations of a new house on the site of the Gilbertine Priory of St Catherine, without the Bargate, the former south entrance into Lincoln, several objects of antiquity were discovered of which it is hoped to lay a fuller account before the next meeting of the Institute. A number of stone coffins containing skeletons were laid bare together with several incised monumental slabs broken and defaced. One slab only was sufficiently perfect to allow a rubbing to be taken, but the letters were to much decayed to be deciphered, with the exception of a fragment of the date MCCCC . . . . . Some architectural remains were dug up in the shape of carved stones, such as arch molding, vaulting ribs, and the like, of the Early English period; also one piece of a very bold base molding or plinth of Norman character, evidently belonging to the first buildings of the Priory, which was founded in 1139. Several smaller objects were discovered, especially the wafer seal of a Papal bull bearing the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul on one side, and the name of Pope Innocent VI, 1352—1362, on the other; a small ornamental oval bone tablet, with a ring to suspend it round the neck; a brass quatrefoil enclosing a shield bearing two crosses in chief and a crescent in base, above which is a mullet, once belonging to a monumental brass; and other objects, of which want of time prevents my writing more particularly now.

## Original Documents.

### SCHEDULE OF A PARCEL OF THE LANDS OF HENRY DUKE OF SUFFOLK, WITHIN THE MANOR OF LUTTERWORTH, FARMED OUT TO VARIOUS TENANTS AT A SPECIFIED RENTAL.

Communicated by GEO. T. CLARK

Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, Baron Ferrers of Groby and K.G., was created Duke of Suffolk in 1551, was attainted and beheaded in 1554. He was the father of Lady Jane Grey. He represented a family long connected with Lutterworth, Lords of the Manor, patrons of the Church, and of the Hospital of S. John the Baptist.

The manor seems to have been held by Bertram de Verdon in 1086, under a certain Maino, who held it in capite by the tenure of Castle-guard at the castle of Northampton. His descendant Nicholas de Verdon, held both the manor and the advowson, and seems to have founded the hospital in the reign of King John, although the endowment with seven virgates or yard lands was the work of Rohesia, daughter and heiress of Nicholas, in conjunction with Theobald, her son. Rohesia had married Theobald le Buttiler from Ireland, and inherited Newbold-Verdon, Lutterworth, Bittersby, Cottesbach, and Cossington; she being a great heiress her son adopted her surname. He probably re-built the Chancel of Lutterworth Church, the gable end of which bore, and probably still bears, the arms of Verdon upon a stone escutcheon. Theobald left daughters only, one of whom, Isabel, inherited the manor, advowson, and patronage of the hospital of Lutterworth, and married Henry Baron Ferrers of Groby. Their daughter and heiress, Elizabeth Ferrers, married Edward Grey, of the house of Grey de Ruthyn. There were, however, other wives and other children whose interests intervened; but eventually Edward Grey, who died 1457, was allowed to be Baron Ferrers of Groby by 'the courtesy,' and the Barony descended with Lutterworth to his great grandson, the Duke of Suffolk, who was also Lord of the Manor of Lutterworth, and patron of the Church and of the Hospital of St. John.

On the Duke's attainder the estates vested in the Crown, still patrons of the Church. The manor was sold to Basil Feilding and is held by his descendants, the Earls of Denbigh, and the hospital was dissolved, being valued 37 Henry VIII. at £26 9s. 5d. p<sup>r</sup> a<sup>nn</sup>. A

local spring is still known as St. John's Well. The Hospital stood on the River Swift abutting upon Misterton, into which estate its site, called "The Spital," has been incorporated.

In his History of Leicestershire, Nichols gives a very copious account of Lutterworth. *Pace* the author of *Marmion*, it does not appear that any of that family were connected with Lutterworth.

## PARCELLA POSSESSIONUM HENRICI NUPER DUCIS SUFFOLCIE ATTINGTI.

COMITATUS LEICESTRIE.	{	FIRMA unius mesuagii cum gardino et pomario duobuscroftis uno horreo et tribus virgatis terre compertinenciis ibidem in tenura WILLELMI FARNHAM. Reddendo per annum	s. d.
			xxxiiij vij ob.
	{	FIRMA alterius mesuagii cum uno gardino et pomario et duobus virgatis terre arabilis cum suis pertinenciis ibidem in tenura JOHANNIS SMYTHE. Reddendo inde per annum	xxij vj q.
	{	FIRMA unius mesuagii cum gardino tribuscroftis ac in uno illorumcroftorum. BASILIUS FELDING armiger habet unum selionem ac unam virgatam terre arabilis ibidem modo vel nuper in tenura HUMFRIDI MARVEN Reddendo per annum	xxx x ob.
	{	FIRMA unius mesuagii cum uno cotagio uno gardino accrofto et duobus virgatis terre arabilis cum pertinenciis ibidem in tenura WILLELMI WIGHTMAN. Reddendo inde per annum	xxxj v
	{	FIRMA alterius mesuagii cum uno gardino pomario duobuscroftis et iiij <sup>or</sup> virgatis terre arabilis ibidem cum suis pertinenciis in tenura EDWARDI HANDES. Reddendo inde per annum	xxxix x
CERTA TERRE ET TENEMENTA IN LUTTER- WORTH PAR- CELLA MA- NERII DE LUT- TERWORTH PREDICTI	{	FIRMA alterius mesuagii cum gardino pomariocrofto et iiij <sup>bus</sup> virgatis terre arabilis cum suis pertinenciis in tenura WILLELMI SPURSTOWE. Reddendo inde per annum	xxxiiij vij ob.
	{	FIRMA unius mesuagii vocati the CROWNE et unius virgate terre arabilis cum pertinenciis ibidem in tenura EFRANCISCI PECKE per annum	xxvj viij

Valent in



FIRMA alterius mesuagii cum uno gardino uno pomario iij <sup>bus</sup> croftis et iij <sup>bus</sup> virgatis terre arabilis cum pertinenciis in tenura HENRICI NEALE. Reddendo inde per annum	xxx vij
FIRMA unius mesuagii cum uno gardino et una virgata terre cum pertinenciis in tenura RICARDI MURDEN. Reddendo inde per annum	x ij ob.
FIRMA alterius mesuagii cum uno gardino uno horreo duobuscroftis et ij <sup>bus</sup> virgatis terre arabilis cum pertinenciis in tenura HENRICI GRENE. Reddendo inde per annum	xxvj v
FIRMA unius horrei et crofti cum pertinenciis ibidem in tenura THOME BOSSE. Reddendo per annum	ij viij
FIRMA unius pecie terre vocate LE LORDES HEDDLANDES separalis in iij <sup>or</sup> gardinos in tenura dicti THOME BOSSE. Reddendo inde per annum	viiij
Total	li s. d. xiiij x j ob qr:

This particuler is made by vertue of a Warraunte for a lease and consideracion is to [be] had of the severall Tenauntes.

Examinatum per Jo : SWIFTE Auditorem.

Endorsed in a late hand :—  
 “A note of part of y<sup>e</sup>  
 Possessions of y<sup>e</sup> Duke of  
 Suffolke.”

Will<sup>s</sup> COTTON  
 xiiij s iij d ob : q<sup>a</sup> :

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 5th, 1891.

T. H. BAYLIS, Esq., Q.C., in the Chair.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON read a paper on Masons' and other Marks in Eastbourne old church, drawing special attention to the naturalistic character of the representations of various fish incised on some of the stones in the chancel.

THE BARON DE COSSON read the first portion of some notes on Arsenals and Armouries in Southern Germany and Austria. He remarked on the absolute necessity of a practical acquaintance with, and comparative study of all existing arms and armour in European collections, for a proper comprehension of the documentary portion of the study of arms, and related some of the incidents of a tour he made last summer with the learned Director of the Royal Armoury at Madrid, the Count de Valencia, for the purpose of studying the German collections. He mentioned how, at Berne, they found a suit of armour entitled to rank as one of the two earliest examples of steel harness existing in Europe, and discovered on it the punch marks of the Missaglias, the greatest of Milanese armourers in the fifteenth century. He also described the manner in which the erudite Custos of the imperial collections of arms at Vienna had identified the marks of these Missaglias, and learnt their history and their connexion with the Negrolis, who were the greatest masters of the following century. He also related that at Sigmaringen they had been able to identify the finest suit of armour in the collection as the work of Lorenz Colman, the most celebrated Augsburg armourer of the fifteenth century, and the predecessor of Desiderius Colman, who was the rival of the Negrolis north of the Alps.

Votes of thanks were past to Mr. Atkinson, and to the Baron de Cosson, whose paper is printed at p. 117.

### Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited.

By the most Rev. Archbishop Eyre.—A squeeze from an inscription in the old Chapter House of Glasgow Cathedral :—"Wilms : fuda : istut : cupilm' : dei."

March 5th, 1891.

THE REV. SIR T. H. BAKER, Bt., in the Chair.

Mr. E. PEACOCK communicated a paper on "Our Lady of Pity," which is printed at p. 111. This representation, in which the Blessed Virgin is figured seated with the dead body of her Divine Son resting on her lap,

was to be found in almost every church in pre-Reformation days. The *Sarum Prymer* contained a rubric directing the prayer "*Obsecro te Domina*" to be said before one of these images. They are now, however, extremely rare, having for the most part been destroyed during the Puritan revolution. Mr. Peacock described the examples at Battlefield, in Shropshire; Breadsall, in Derbyshire; and Glettham, in Lincolnshire. He pointed out that though there might be slight differences in them, yet their character was almost identical. They were probably derived from some well-known model. Mr. Peacock considered they were doubtless of English workmanship. He concluded his paper by referring to Michel Angelo's representation of this subject in St. Peter's at Rome, in which the great Italian sculptor had followed, in the general arrangements of this subject, the lines which time had consecrated.

THE REV. J. HIRST sent a paper on "Some Tombs in Crete of the age of Mycenæ." This was read by Mr. GOSSELIN, and is printed at p. 101. Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Peacock and Mr. Hirst.

### Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited.

By Mr. Peacock.—Photographs and drawings in illustration of his paper.

By the Rev. J. Hirst.—Illustrations of funeral urns found in Crete, and a bronze palstave found at Wistow, Leicestershire.

By Mr. H. S. Cowper.—Bone chess-piece draughtsman, and bronze socketed knife, found in Thames, in or near London. Concerning these objects Mr. Cowper was kind enough to contribute the following notes:—

"The three objects exhibited are all said to have been dredged out of the Thames, in or near London.

"I. Is a bone chess-piece of a rude and early type. It is of somewhat conical shape, with an irregular oval section, and on the upper part of one of its sides is a projection, presenting a shield-shaped surface. The piece is rudely ornamented. Two incised lines cross the top behind the projection, and descending the sides meet on either side a group of six circle and dot markings (three, two and one). From the lowest marking of each of these groups depends a straight line finished on either side by a single dot and circle.

"From the summit on the opposite side to the projection two more lines pass down the back finishing, in the same pattern as the sides. In the angles near the top between the radiating lines, and on either side of the projection, are four more circle and dot markings; another is found on the summit opposite the end of the pair of lines which pass down the back.

"The shield-shaped projection has three circles and dots (two and one), and three straight lines across the top, or to speak heraldically, the chief of the shield.

"From the bottom of this projection, depend by a short straight line, three of these markings (one and two), and round the outside of the piece at the base run two parallel lines.

"The dot and circle markings correspond so exactly in shape and size, that probably they have been made with a heated metal die. I have thus carefully described this rude ornament, as it is of a class that is found on many ancient objects and has probably a very early origin.

"In the mediæval room of the British Museum are seven bone or ivory pieces, three of which are very similar to this, and show the same shield-like projection; the other four have, instead, two small knob-like projections side by side. Nearly all show variously arranged dot and circle ornamentation. In *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2. S. iii., 385, are engravings of two pieces exhibited by the Rev. C. R. Manning. One is of ivory, and of the same general type as the Thames example. It has on the characteristic shield-shaped projection two dots and circles, and it likewise bears similar ornament in other parts. The piece is conjectured to be a knight.

"In *Journ. Arch. Assoc.* viii., 162, and *Arch. Journ.* xiii., 180, are engravings of two Jet pieces found at Warrington. The larger has again the same class of ornament and a projection (in this case rather square than shield shaped), with two dots and circles. Its general form is also somewhat different. The engraving seems to identify this specimen with one now in the British Museum.

"In *Arch. Journ.* iii., 121, is represented a bone piece found at Woodperry near Beckley, Oxford. This piece is of a different shape, probably a bishop, but has the same sort of ornament. A cast of this and another from the same place (Beckley), are to be seen in the South Kensington Museum. The latter labelled sixth to tenth century.

"Lastly in *Archæological Journal* xxxix., 421, is a plate representing several pieces of this type, some of them being those already mentioned as in the British Museum. They are conjectured to be tenth century.

"Ornament of this character is very common on bronze celts.<sup>1</sup>

"Dot and circle markings are also very usual on the toiletcombs found in Scotch Lake dwellings<sup>2</sup> and Brochs, and in Irish Crannogs. A table piece or draughts man found in the Loch of Forfar, is engraved in Munro's *Ancient Scotch Lake Dwellings*, which is carved with open interlaced knot work, surrounded by ornaments of this description.<sup>3</sup>

"The dot and circle has been styled a "moonsign,"<sup>4</sup> but probably in most cases no mystic signification was attached; and on these chess pieces it is, I think merely rude decoration. Yet it is worth while to note the varieties and arrangement of such crude designs, as they are singular and undoubtedly very ancient.

"What the value of this chesspiece in the game was, I have not been able to determine, nor am I acquainted with any book or treatise, which bears on the question. If I may hazard a conjecture,—and I give it for what it is worth, I suggest that the piece is a barbarous representation of a horse, of which the projection is the head, the ornamentation thereon, the eyes, nose, and forehead band, and the markings on the rest of the piece the trappings.

"Another theory is that the projection really represents a shield.

"In either of these cases the piece would be a knight, the double projection on similar pieces suggest the ears of an animal. Probably this is the later type, and comes from dividing the top of the 'horses head' to represent its ears; if so, both types are knights.

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *Ancient bronze implements*, Figs. 137-142, and 166.

<sup>2</sup> Munro, *Ancient Scotch Lake dwellings*, pp. 217-218

<sup>3</sup> p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Worsæ, *Danish Arts*, p. 114. (*South Kensington handbook*).

"These chessmen seem to be Anglo Saxon and not later than the tenth century.

"II. Is a draughtsman or table piece of a type of which most existing pieces are attributed to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. Pieces of this description can be seen in the British and South Kensington Museums; but most of these are of more elaborate design. The example engraved in Munro's *Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings* before alluded to, bears interlaced work and dot and circle markings, and is apparently an earlier specimen.

"The one I exhibit has carved, within a moulding evidently formed by a lathe, two fishes placed head and tail each holding in the mouth a sprig. This is the zodiacal sign for the twelfth month (pisces). In the hollow part where the material has been cut out to throw the subject into relief, can be discerned traces of gilding. Between the head and tail of the fishes on one side a hole has been bored through the piece, as is also the case with one in the British Museum, but whether this is original, and intended to string a set together, or for a knob or handle to facilitate the moving of the piece in the game, or whether it has been done at a later time, it is not easy to determine.

"The execution is poor. The material I imagined to be, like most pieces of this character, walrus ivory. But Mr. Franks to whom I have shown it, informs me that this is not the case, and inclines to believe it whale's bone.

"I have not been able to ascertain the exact part of the Thames where these objects were dredged up.

"III. Is a socketed knife of bronze dredged up at Hammersmith. It is of a type common in Ireland, but seemingly rare or almost unknown in England. It may be compared with fig. 245 Evans' *Ancient Bronze Implements*, to which although smaller, it is very similar. It belongs to the type in which the junction between the hilt and blade is made to represent that of the bronze swords and daggers with complete bronze hilts.<sup>1</sup>

"The occurrence of Irish types in England is remarkable and should be noted. In June 1888, I exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries a bronze spear head found in Westmorland, of a type, unknown up to that time in England, although common in Ireland."

A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Cooper.



## Archæological Intelligence.

THE CAMDEN LIBRARY, edited by G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A., and T. Fairman Ordish, F.S.A.—Some years ago the late Mr. Albert Way had it in contemplation to edit, under the auspices of the Archæological Institute, a series of what are sometimes called “popular” hand-books, treating of the different subjects contained in the *Journal*, the hand-books to be written by different members, and illustrated by our own woodcut blocks. Mr. Way was, need we say it, *facile princeps* among the antiquaries of his day, and those who knew him best best knew what a loss it was that he could not carry out his cherished scheme. What a volume, for instance, Domestic Manners and Customs, or Arms and Armour, would have made under his own gifted hand, for he was no superficial investigator. To carry out that which Mr. Way had so strongly in his mind happens now to have occurred to antiquaries of our own time, and we are glad indeed to find that there is not only a prospect, but a certainty of so useful a series being issued. We use the word “certainty” advisedly from seeing some of the names of the Editors of the different volumes—men who do not put their hands to the plough and look back, and who have all made their mark in the eighteen years that have elapsed since Mr. Way’s death.

The title of the new series is happily chosen, and under the ægis, as it were, of the father of English Antiquaries, it may not be doubted that Mr. Gomme, shortly about to be released from his long study of—we had almost written, exhumed from his long burial in—*The Gentleman’s Magazine*, Mr. Ordish, and their antiquarian confrères will prove worthy followers of Camden, with all the patience and perseverance, and, what is not less desirable, the succinctness of the old Headmaster of Westminster.

The first volume of the Camden Library will deal, appropriately enough, with the Antiquities of the State and its Executive, *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer*, in which, among other matters, the Old English Official Life will be treated. Mr. Hubert Hall charges himself with this volume. The Antiquities of the Stage, *Old London Theatres*, which will follow, will be undertaken by Mr. T. Fairman Ordish. A subject so linked with social life in Elizabethan and Stuart times cannot fail to interest in these days when “The play’s the thing.” To this volume will succeed Antiquities of Domestic Architecture. In *English Homes in the Past*, Mr. Ralph Nevill will have an opportunity of bringing his capable hand to bear upon the homes of the people, a subject which has been rather thrown into the shade by the great works upon the mediæval castles and Renaissance palaces. The fourth volume

will be a special tribute to the learned Camden, an instalment of a reprint of the *Britannia* from Holland's translation of 1610, restricting the exegesis to a presentation of antiquarian England in Camden's day; the valuable county maps will be reproduced and a much wanted and complete analytical index given.

Among succeeding volumes Mr. W. H. St. John Hope will undertake that on *Monastic Arrangement*, a subject which he has so ably made his own; *English Armour* is the burden which Mr. H. A. Dillon will take up, surely a light one for so accomplished and enthusiastic a student; and who but Mr. Gomme should pursue the devious paths of *Folk Lore! Church Plate* will also fall to Mr. Hope, and Mr. T. M. Fallow. *Parochial Church Life in Medieval England* will find a worthy exponent in the Rev. J. C. Cox; The story of the *Streams of London* will flow from the ready pen of Mr. W. E. Drummond Millikin, and the account of *Miniature Portrait Painting in England*, a fascinating subject, is the happy choice of Mr. J. J. Foster.

Each volume will be fully illustrated, and we hope we are right in saying that further books upon other antiquarian subjects, such as painted glass, seals, heraldry, parish churches, needlework, music, and musical instruments, and such like attractive matters, will follow, and complete the series. The aim will be, not only to furnish a series of interesting and concise volumes, each complete in itself, but also to bring them up to the date of the most recent investigations and criticisms,—this is of great importance—so that, while the books will be attractive to the general reader, they will also serve as handy and reliable works of reference to antiquaries. We may congratulate the publisher on his sensible realization of a scheme which we believe and trust will be well supported and further the objects which Societies like *The Institute* have in view, namely, extension of the taste for and knowledge of antiquities, and reverence and protection for the works of our ancestors.

The volumes will be issued quarterly in three forms. Price to subscribers—No. 1, 4s. 6d.; No. 2, bound in Roxburgh, &c., 7s. 6d.; No. 3, large paper (50 copies only), 21s. Names should be sent to Mr. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

THE BOOK OF OBSERVANCES OF AN ENGLISH HOUSE OF AUSTIN CANONS, written about 1296. Edited, with an English Translation, Introduction, Plan of an Augustinian House, and Notes, by John Willis Clark, M.A., F.S.A., formerly fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Each Monastic Order had, in addition to the Rule, a body of Observances, collected into a volume, which gradually, by long custom, came to be regarded as of nearly equal value with the Rule. The treatise now offered to the public occupies the eighth book of a MS. in the British Museum (MSS. Harl. 3601) containing a collection of documents and historical notices respecting the Augustinian House of Barnwell, near Cambridge. It prescribes, in the most minute manner, how the brethren are to behave in the Church, the Dorter, the Frater, the Cloister, the Farmery, etc., and what are the specific duties of the officers of the House. Moreover, as less space is devoted to ritual than is usual in treatises of this kind, a graphic picture of the daily life of a great religious house is set before us. Internal evidence shews that the MS. was written in 1295 or 1296.

The treatise begins with a Preface, dealing with the subject generally.

This is succeeded by the chapters relating to the officers of the House: the Prior (here called Prelate), his subordinates, or *Obedientiarii*. These are: the sub-Prior; the third Prior; the Precentor, who is to have an assistant called *Succentor*; the Sacrist and sub-Sacrist; the Hall-Butler (*Refectorarius*) with his servitor; the Almoner; the Chief Cellarer and the sub-Cellarer; the Kitchener (*Coquinarius*) with his assistant; the Grainger (*Granatorius*); the Receivers (*Receptores*) the number of whom is not specified; the Guest-master (*Hospitarius*), with his servant; the Chamberlain (*Camerarius*); and the Master of the Farmery (*Infirmarius*.)

The Prelate was elected by the brethren, but, once in office, was to exercise a despotic sway from which there was no appeal, and to be treated with obsequious deference. Next to him came the sub-Prior. Besides certain specified duties, he was generally to bear the same relation to the Prelate as a College Vice-Master does to the Master. The third Prior stood in a similar relation to the sub-Prior. His principal duty was to go round the house at night, and see that all was safe, and no brother lingering where he ought not to be. In matters temporal the Prelate depended mainly on the Chief Cellarer (*Cellerarius Major*), who is called his "right hand." He combined, in fact, the duties of the Senior and Junior Bursar of a College. He was assisted by the Grainger, who seems to have acted as an agent, and by the Receivers, to whom the rents and other monies were paid.

The services were directed by the Precentor (who was also Librarian and Archivist), and the Sacrist and sub-Sacrist. There was also a Priest appointed for each week, called *Hebdomadarius*. The Sacrist and sub-Sacrist were called "the guardians of the Church;" in winter they slept in it, and took their meals in it.

The daily occupations of the brethren began with Matins, about which we find the following directions:

"The brethren ought to rise for Matins at midnight. Hence the sub-Sacrist, whose duty it is to regulate the clock, ought to strike the bell (*nolam*) in the Dorter to awaken them. When the brethren have been aroused by the sound they ought to fortify themselves with the sign of the cross, to say their private prayers noiselessly while getting ready, and then to rise. They are then to sit down before their beds and wait for the Warden of the Order [the sub-Prior] to give the signal for them to leave the Dorter. Next, when the lantern has been lighted, which one of the younger brethren ought to carry in front of them, and a gentle signal has been given, they should put on their shoes and girdles, march into Church in procession, and devoutly and reverently begin the triple prayer.

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"When Matins are ended, the brethren, after making a profound obeisance, ought to leave the quire, the younger leading the way with a lighted lantern, and proceed to the Dorter. No one is to remain in the Church, except the guardians, unless he have leave to do so. When the brethren have reached the Dorter they are not to sit down before their beds, but to place themselves in them, and rest.

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"In the morning, at a signal from the Warden of the Order, all the brethren ought to leave their beds. When they leave the Dorter, after washing their hands and combing their hair, they ought to go to the

Church before they turn aside to any other place. There, after sprinkling themselves with holy water, let them pray with pure hearts fervently, and first seek the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. After this, while the priests are preparing themselves for private masses, let some attend to the duties assigned to them, others take their books and go into the Cloister, and there read or sing without conversation."

Before they left the Church, Prime would have been said—but there is no special mention of this hour—or indeed of many of the other hours—as in the Premonstratensian or Benedictine Statutes—because it was taken for granted that all the brethren would attend them. There is a special chapter, headed, *that all ought to be present at the hours*, which the writer probably thought would be sufficient for his purpose.

Prime was succeeded by the Mass of the Blessed Virgin, and the morning-Mass or chapter-Mass, after which they went to Chapter, which was presided over by the Prelate, or, in his absence, by the sub-Prior.

In Chapter, which all brethren were bound to attend, the ordinary business of the House was transacted, and the offences committed during the previous twenty-four hours made public and punished. Chapter was succeeded by Terce; then came High Mass, followed by Sext. After this the brethren went to dinner in the Frater. The food consisted of fish, meat, and vegetables, and apparently did not vary—for the Almoner is directed "to make up every day for ever three plates for the use of three poor men; viz., of the remnants of bread, meat, fish, and occasionally of vegetables left over." Cooked fruit is also mentioned. The directions for the care of the Frater, and for the behaviour of the brethren in it, are very minute and curious. Scrupulous cleanliness is insisted upon; and, besides, it is to be beautified in summer with fresh flowers, and made sweet with mint and fennel.

After dinner the brethren went, in summer, to the Dorter for a siesta. They were awakened by a bell for Nones; after which came Collation (the drinking of a glass of beer in the Frater, followed by a reading in the Chapter House); then Vespers; then Supper; and lastly, Compline. This over, they retired to their beds in the Dorter.

Silence was to be kept, as directed by the Rule, from morning till after Chapter. After Chapter the brethren might converse in the Cloister till the bell rang for Terce. After this there was to be no more conversation until the same time on the following day. Silence might, however, be broken in the event of four accidents, viz., robbers, sickness, fire, workmen. If strangers of rank, whether lay or clerical, visited the convent, they might be spoken to, and a few words might be used at meals. If brethren were compelled to speak during the hours of silence, they might do so in the parlour.

The curious custom of bleeding (*Minutio*), has a chapter devoted to it from which a short extract may be given:—

"Those who intend to be bled ought to ask leave of the president in chapter, and, having received a bleeding-licence, are to leave the quire after the gospel at High Mass, and to be bled at the usual place in the Infirmary. \* \* \* After an interval of seven weeks permission to be bled is not to be refused, except for a reasonable cause. Those who have been bled ought to take their meals for three days in the Infirmary. During this interval they ought not to enter the quire for Matins or the other Hours." \* \* \*



It should be mentioned, in conclusion, that interesting notices are given of the regulations for the Farmery, the office of the Almoner, the duties of the lay-brethren or *Conversi*, and the selection and reception of Novices.

We are glad to have the opportunity of bringing before our readers from Mr. Clark's prospectus his very interesting résumé of this valuable treatise, which will, fortunately, fall under his editorial hand. Mr. Clark tells us that he has prepared an English Translation of the work; this will be printed opposite to the Latin text, and, as the Rule is constantly referred to in the *Observances*, he has printed it also with a translation. And he has added a few statutes of the Premonstratensians, or Reformed Augustinians, as illustrating and explaining the *Observances* of the present Order. The plan of an Augustinian House has been drawn in accordance with the researches of Mr. W. H. St. J. Hope, so nothing will be left to be desired on this score.

The edition will be limited to 300 copies, 8vo., price to subscribers 12s. 6d. Names should be sent to Messrs. Macmillan and Bowes, 1, Trinity Street, Cambridge.

THE "BOKE OF RECORDER," or Register, containing all the acts or doings in or concerning the Corporation within the Towne of Kirkbie Kendal beginning at the first entrance or practising of the same, which was the Eighth of January in the year of the reign of Elizabeth, &c., &c. the Eighteenth, 1575. — Burgus . de . K . Kendall . — Liber . iste . qu . tantu . Liber . Albi . paperis . fuit . Aldermano . et . Burgensibus . Burgi predict . p . Henricu . Dycksonn . unu . Burgensium . p'd . gratis . Emptu dat . ut . pro . Libro . de record . ville . vel . Burgi . prd . Remanet . in ffutur . Ano . 1575.

This most interesting Volume is a copy of the first Minute Book, or Register of the Acts or doings of the Corporation of Kendal. It was commenced on July 8th, 1575, in a thick quarto book, which seems to have been specially and strongly bound for the purpose, in "antique calf," with diced bands and strap, and was presented by one of the twenty-four Burgesses of the town to the Corporation, to be used as a record for preserving the accounts of their doings to future times. The MS. is mainly engrossed in the peculiar spelling of the period, in a good bold hand, and commences with a list of the Free Inhabitants then residing in each of the streets or "gates," distinguishing the position of their habitations, and recording their several contributions or rates. It also contains a list of the various trades then carried on, including Chapmen, Mercers, Salters, Shearmen, Fullers, Dyers, Websters, Feltmakers, Haberdashers, Drapers, Tailors, Embroiderers, Whilters, Cordyners, Curriers, Tanners, Girdlers, Sadlers, Cardmakers, Glovers, Armorers, Butchers, Smiths, Innholders and Alehouse Keepers, Wrights, Wallers, Joiners, Slaters, Glaziers, Plasterers, Barbers, Fletchers, Coopers, Masons, Labourers, Petty Chapmen, Pewterers, Scriveners, &c., with the names of the freemen employed and the apprentices enrolled from 1571 to 1621. Besides the by-laws of the various trade companies, the "Boke" contains orders relating to the Corpus Christi Plays; the perambulation of the Boundaries of the Borough; the Market Tolls, and regulations for the standings in the Market and for purchasing Victuals; the restrictions against Foreigners and Strangers, Beggars, Lewd Women, common Drunkards and Scolds; Football playing in the streets; swine ranging



about unringed, working on Sundays, &c. There are also curious orders for the regulations of games, and of feasts at Weddings, at Churchings, and on other occasions; for the attendance of Aldermen and Burgesses on set days, when they shall wear their best violet gowns; for the lighting and watching, and the quenching of sudden fires. It also contains a great many rules and orders for the regulation of domestic matters, and gives an insight into the social life and condition of the people, their municipal customs, peculiar trade arrangements, and the management of the concerns of the town; and presents a vivid picture of urban life of the middle class inhabitants of the Borough in medieval days.

As one of the valuable series of extra volumes issued by the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society this volume will naturally be very welcome locally, but it will have a more than local value and interest inasmuch as it will, like the rest of the extra volumes, be edited by the erudite President of the Society, Mr. Chancellor Ferguson, who has done so much to give this body the high position it occupies among county antiquarian societies.

Possibly the publisher is over cautious in limiting the edition to 250 copies. We should imagine the list will be rapidly filled up and that the book will soon become as scarce as some of the extra volumes of *The Archaeological Journal*. Subscriptions to the "Booke of Recorde," 12s. 6d., should be sent without delay to Mr. T. Wilson, Publisher, Kendal.







## Archæological Journal.

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SEPTEMBER, 1891.

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### MORTARS.<sup>1</sup>

By E. PEACOCK, F.S.A.

These objects are among the earliest relics we have of the household life of the remote members of our race. Stone mortars of immemorial antiquity have been found in Assyria and Egypt. In England and on the Continent they have been discovered among the remains of the early inhabitants. The Rev. G. C. Atkinson describes one found in Cleveland<sup>2</sup> which is certainly of pre-Roman time. In many places where Roman habitations have been, stone mortars, or their fragments have been unearthed. I possess one which was found a few years ago during excavations at Lincoln. It was probably made on the spot, for the material of which it is composed is the oolite of the neighbourhood. It is eight inches wide and four and three-quarters high. There are two lips for pouring from and on the opposite sides two unperforated ears. It is probable that these early stone mortars were used not only for the purposes with which we are all familiar, but also, occasionally, for pounding grain when a quern was not at hand. Stone mortars continued to be employed during the middle ages, but few of them have been spared to our own time. One was found some years ago on the east side of Monmouth Castle. It is believed to be made of gritstone from the Forest of Dean. Its four sides are ornamented with shields charged respectively as follows :

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, June 4th, 1891. Several examples of Mortars were exhibited by

the author from his collection of these objects.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. ccxv p. 80.

- I. A fess between six crosslets.
- II. A chevron between three roses.
- III. A chevron between six [or nine] crosslets
- IV. Apparently a saltire, but much defaced.<sup>1</sup>

The modern stone mortars are familiar to all of us from seeing them in chemists' shops. I think they are mostly of Italian manufacture,

"Of bright Carara pure, without a flaw,  
The mortar opes his ponderous marble jaw."<sup>2</sup>

sang an anonymous poet of seventy years ago.

As far as we may judge from the information furnished by inventories there was a mortar in almost every household, at least during the latter part of the Middle Ages. They were usually of bell-metal, then called brass. We not infrequently find them the subject of bequest in wills; for example, in the eighth year of Richard the second, Margery Legat of Wotton, widow, bequeathed to Lord Berkeley, "a brasse mortar and an iron pestle."<sup>3</sup>

What seems to be a very early example of the mediæval brass mortar is figured in the *Journal* of the Institute.<sup>4</sup> It was acquired by my friend Mr. Hartshorne, at Colchester. He was told that it had been found among Roman remains. I can give no very satisfactory reasons for believing it not to be Roman, but its character leads me to the conclusion that it is Early Mediæval. It is  $4\frac{3}{8}$  inches high by  $4\frac{7}{8}$  inches in diameter.

Perhaps the finest mediæval mortar in existence in this country is now preserved in the York museum. In 1813 it belonged to a Mr. Blount, a surgeon in that city, in which year it was rather rudely engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.<sup>5</sup> There is an upper and a lower inscription and between them two sets of quatrefoils containing within them lions, griffins and birds. The upper inscription is—

✠ Mortariu' sci' Joh'is evangel' de i'firmaria b'e Marie Ebo'

That near the base runs—

Fr' Will's de Tovthorp me fecit A.D. M.CCC.VIII.

The Apothecaries company of London sold, to be melted down, because it was cracked, little more than a century ago, a mortar which though not quite so old must have

<sup>1</sup> Waugh, *Guide to Monmouth*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *The Banquet*, 1819. Canto ii, line 337.

<sup>3</sup> Smyth's *lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. ii, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. xl, p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. lxxxiii, p. 17.



been in some respects even more interesting than the York example. It is figured and described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. I give the inscription as there recorded, though there may be some doubt as to its correctness:—

Veni Creator Spiritus, mentes tuorum visita imple superna gracia  
que tu creasti pect[or]a.  
Salve me cristur St. Wenni.

J. N., the writer who communicated the drawing to the magazine, thus describes the ornamentation:—

“On one side were raised two lions rampant, supporting a castle triple-towered, and surmounted by a chevron between two birds in chief: or perhaps the chevron may be a merchant's mark, with a flag, at the head of the inscription, and a roundel for difference. Also two lions rampant supporting a tree. On the other side two griffins rampant, and two antelopes or stags supporting trees.”<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Henry T. Wake in one of his catalogues of antiquities describes the abbey mortar of Holme Cultram then in his possession. It is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches high and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. It is inscribed “Robart Chambr.” Between the christian and surnames is a chained bear. On the side opposite the name are the initials R. C. Robert Chamber was abbot of Holme Cultram in the beginning of the sixteenth century. His name occurs in 1507 and 1518.<sup>2</sup> The same gentleman in other catalogues mentions a mortar  $10\frac{3}{4}$  inches high by 14 inches in diameter inscribed “John Knowles of Pontefract 1675.” It also bears on a shield the mark of the maker,—

S. S.  
Ebor.

The Sellers or Sellors were well-known bell-founders at York in the latter years of the seventeenth and the earlier years of the eighteenth centuries. S. Sellor appears in the Rev. W. C. Lukis's list as in business at York in 1713.<sup>3</sup> A John Knowles, probably the owner of this mortar, was Mayor of Pontefract in 1684.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Wake also describes a mortar  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches high and  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide with letters thus:—

E.  
S. E.

and the date 1715.

<sup>1</sup> Vol lix. p. 877.

<sup>2</sup> *Monasticon*, vol. v, p. 593.

<sup>3</sup> *An Account of Church Bells*, 1857, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> B. Boothroyd, *Hist. of Pontefract*, p. 455.

Mr. Hartshorne has kindly furnished me with a drawing of a very beautiful mortar in his possession  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches high which was obtained by him at Chester in 1885; it is inscribed:—

MARC LE SER ME FECIT. 1565.

Another correspondent has sent me a sketch of a mortar which I also regard as foreign, with the legend:—

SOLI DEO GLORIA. 1655.

I have seen a sketch of another, probably English, with the same motto but dated 1654.

Mr. H. G. Griffinhoofe has sent me rubbings of the ornaments on two mortars. The one bearing lions rampant (5) and the other fleurs de lys. The character of the lions leads me to attribute the mortar that bears them to the fourteenth or the earlier part of the fifteenth century.

What seems to be the oldest brass mortar in my own possession is one which was purchased some twenty years ago at a village near Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire. It is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in diameter, and has four handles, two [c r] half circles and two squares. On one side are the letters:—

T. R. M.

And on the other what I consider as a merchant's mark,



The next is a fine example, which I regard as German, though some have conjectured that it is of Italian manufacture. It is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by 10 inches in diameter. The two handles are finely wrought grotesque male heads. On the body are four masks with long beards and two representations of what I suppose is a coat of arms in an oval. It is not easy to describe it in heraldic language. It consists of a bridge of three arches, the entry and exit protected by a tall embattled tower. In chief a star. Round the base is a narrow moulding containing little animals. Around the upper part is the legend:—

ANNO DOMINI M. CCCCC. LXVIII.

I purchased this interesting object about twenty years ago at the sale of the effects at Walton Hall, an old mansion near Wakefield.

A mortar  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in diameter. It is singular from having a band of 3 inches deep, quite plain,

without any ornament or moulding whatever. It bears a coat of arms; party per pale, a key in pale between two stars of six points. A bird of nondescript character. In a rim around the base is the legend:—

SCHLITZWEGH DROSTE . 1666.

A mortar purchased by me at Rotterdam  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in diameter, inscribed:—

PETRVS VANDEN GHIE ME FECIT MCCCCXLV.

A mortar also purchased at Rotterdam 5 inches high by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in diameter with the legend:—

LOFT · GODT · VAN · AL · AO · 1612.<sup>1</sup>

A mortar  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches high by  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in diameter, inscribed:—

LOF. GODT. VAN. AL. Ao. 1642.

Though of different sizes this mortar and the last are almost identical in their ornamentation. The latter one was acquired by my father in the year 1855 from an old cottage in the Isle of Axholme.\* The Isle of Axholme was settled for drainage purposes in the seventeenth century by Dutchmen and Flemings. It is probable that this mortar was imported from the Netherlands in the baggage of one of these foreign settlers.

Mortar  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in diameter. Legend:—

EVERT BVRGERHVYS ME FFECIT 1617.

Bought at Rotterdam.

Mortar  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in diameter of Renaissance character; around the body Romans in combat. Around the base nondescript animals. Bought in London.

Mortar  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by 5 inches in diameter, inscribed:—

AMOR VINCIT OMNIA 1679.

My friend the Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A., has seen a mortar in the north of England bearing this pretty motto. Probably this and other similar legends were not mere tasteful fancies but used for a serious purpose—intended to add to the efficacy of the drugs prepared therein. My readers will call to mind that

“Amor vincit omnia”

was the motto of Chaucer's prioress. The lady and the mortar-maker alike had taken the idea from Virgil's

“Omnia vincit amor; et nos cedamus amori.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Praise [the] God of all.

<sup>2</sup> Ecl. x, l, 69.

Mortar found by Mr. Hartshorne at Colchester, in 1881, probably of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, with an inscription which has not hitherto been interpreted.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches high,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter.<sup>1</sup>

Mortar 5 inches high,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, charged with six fleurs de lys. Probably of the sixteenth century. The Rev. J. T. Fowler possesses a mortar in the casting of which the same fleur de lys stamps have been used.

Mortar  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, charged with three crowned fleur de lys. Probably of the time of Charles the First.

Mortar 5 inches high by 6 inches in diameter, charged with four crowned roses. Probably of the early sixteenth century. This has been in my family for many generations.

Mortar 4 inches high by 5 inches in diameter, charged with three crowned roses. Much more modern than the foregoing. Probably of the time of Charles the Second.

Mortar 3 inches high by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. A crowned bust with long hair, probably meant for Charles the Second.

Mortar 2 inches high by 2 inches in diameter, inscribed:—

ANNA MVLE.

Purchased at Rotterdam. Probably seventeenth century.

In the inventory of the plate and household stuff at Gilling, the property of Sir William Fairfax, taken in 1594, there occurs "a silver mortar and pestell," valued at 43s. 2d.<sup>2</sup> In 1629 Lord William Howard gave xxs. for "one little silver mortar."<sup>3</sup> A lady tells me that she has seen a little silver mortar about two and a half inches high, which she thinks was intended to be used for pounding scents. In the Inventories of Church Goods destroyed or put to profane use in Lincolnshire in 1566, which were published by me in 1866, there are several instances of sanctus bells being turned into mortars.<sup>4</sup>

Mortars formed the arms or badges of several of the trade guilds of Flanders<sup>5</sup>; they were occasionally used as vessels in which lights were burnt. An instance occurs

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Jour.*, vol xxxviii, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xlviii, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> *Household Books* (Surtees Soc.), p. 266.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 30, 33, 59, 114.

<sup>5</sup> Felix de Vigne, *Recherches Hist. des Gildes et Corporations*, pl. 10, 34. *Ibid.*

*Mœurs et Usages des Corporations des Métiers*, pl. 26, 30.

in the account of the baggage provided in 1513 for Henry Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, preparatory to his joining the English army in France.<sup>1</sup>

Mortar was also a term used to indicate the wide-mouthed vessels in which lights were burnt in churches. Dr. F. G. Lee has published, an engraving of one of these mortars, formerly in St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Rock quotes from the *Testamenta Vetusta* a passage from the will of Richard Earl of Arundel A.D. 1375, in which he desires "that no men at arms, horses, hearse, or other pomp be used at my funeral but only five torches with their mortars," (i. 94.) and explains that a mortar was a "wide bowl of iron or metal; it rested upon a stand or branch, and was filled either with fine oil or wax which was kept burning by means of a broad wick,"<sup>3</sup> and adds that small mortars of this kind holding perfumed wax are placed around the confessional of Saint Peter and Saint Paul on their feast-day.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, xxvi, p. 403.

<sup>2</sup> *Gloss. of Liturgical Terms*, p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> *Church of Our Fathers*, vol. iii. pt. 1. p. 89



## NOTES ON SYMBOLIC ANIMALS IN ENGLISH ART AND LITERATURE.<sup>1</sup>

By J. L. ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

However erroneous it may now be considered, the theory of Creation held during the Middle Ages, was both beautiful and noble, and in a fairly accurate manner may be summarised as follows. On the fall of the tenth legion of the citizens of heaven, God resolved to create man to take the place of the fallen Angels;<sup>2</sup> he evolved this world for the home of his new creation, and all things that he then made, the celestial bodies, the vegetable and animal kingdoms, were formed solely and entirely for man alone,<sup>3</sup> as the centre round which the whole of creation revolved. There was no idea then that the world in which man was placed formed only one of many such inhabited homes, or that our sphere was simply an insignificant fragment of a vast universe. The celestial bodies, it was held, were created not only to give light and heat, to generate metals and precious stones, but to govern the affairs of men and enable them to foretell events. The vegetable kingdom was to furnish food and medicine not only for man's body but likewise for his mind. Lastly the animal creation provided him with servants, with food for his bodily wants, and with moral lessons and examples for those of his soul. This I venture to advance as a tolerably accurate summary of the theory of Creation held during the Middle Ages, and until nearly the close of the seventeenth century, and if correct, it will appear from it that each part of creation was viewed not only in an outward and material manner, but also in an interior and spiritual one.

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, June 4th, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Milton *Paradise Lost*, book vii, lines 146, 159.

<sup>3</sup> See Faber, *The Precious Blood*, p. 11.

The observations now proposed to be made refer only to the ideas formerly entertained of the moral lessons supposed to be derived from the animal creation, as then understood, though many creatures then fully believed in, are now proved to be fabulous. The examples will be taken from all periods of English art, but the literary ones will principally be confined to passages in the works of the sixteenth and seventeenth century writers; and this for two reasons, in the first place to show how tenaciously the old theories were adhered to, and in the second, because I consider that hitherto the writers on animal symbolism have for the most part drawn their illustrations from the Bestiaries of mediæval authors, and similar sources.

Before proceeding to consider each animal separately, a few words may be said on the opinions held of them collectively. In the first place animals were believed to have been all tame before the fall of man. Milton describes their gambols,<sup>1</sup> and Spenser writing of the "antique age," says that—

"The lyon there did with the lambe consort,  
And eke the dove sat by the faulcon's side;  
Ne each of other feared fraud or tort.  
But did in safe security abide,  
Withouten peril of the stronger pride."<sup>2</sup>

After the fall, they began to make war with and devour each other, as we are informed in *Paradise Lost*, and either fled from man, or—

"With count'nance grim,  
Glar'd on him passing."<sup>3</sup>

Many quaint ideas were connected with the beasts in Noah's Ark. Ælfric in his Anglo-Saxon Homilies tells us of this vessel, that "In the lowermost bottom dwelt the fierce beasts, and creeping worms. On the second flooring dwelt birds and clean animals. On the third flooring dwelt

<sup>1</sup> Milton says of Adam and Eve in paradise:—

About them frisking play'd  
All beasts of th' earth, since wild, and  
of all chase  
In wood or wilderness, forest or den;  
Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw  
Dandled the kid; bears, tigers, ounces,  
pards,  
Gambol'd before them; th' unwieldy  
elephant

To make them mirth us'd all his might,  
and wreath'd

His lithe proboscis;

*Paradise Lost*, book iv, 340, 347.

<sup>2</sup> Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, book iv, canto 8.

<sup>3</sup> Milton, *Paradise Lost*, book x, 713, 714. Animals were considered as, to a certain extent, participants in man's guilt. See *Leviticus* xx, v. 16, and *Jonah* III, v. 7, 8.

Noah and his wife and his three sons with their three wives. In the bottom the ark was roomy, where the fierce beasts dwelt, and narrowed above, where the dwelling of men was; for the holy church is in fleshly men very broad, and in spiritual narrow. She spreads her bosom where the rugged dwell in brutal habits, and she is narrowed at the end which the discreet inhabit, living in spiritual practices; for the holier they are in the present church, so the less of them there is."<sup>1</sup>

As three of the evangelistic symbols are formed of animals, it may perhaps be permitted to say a few words upon them here, whilst treating of the animal creation collectively, rather than to notice them in connection with the respective creatures to which they belong. Dating from Saxon times the use of these emblems seems never to have entirely died out, as they may be found in Sturt's *Orthodox Communicant*, an engraved book, published in 1721. They are to be seen on the Norman font at Castle Frome, Herefordshire, and it need hardly be said were great favourites on similar vessels of Perpendicular date. Another frequent use of these symbols was to employ them on the four sides of buildings; the cruciform monastic barn at Glastonbury has them on each gable; they are on four corbels of the nave roof at Felmersham, Beds, and also on the faces of the tower at S. Neots, Hunts.<sup>2</sup> The emblems separately are not often found on painted screens, but there is an example at S. Mary Magdalen's, Wiggenhall, Norfolk. In company with their respective saints they are very frequently met with. Usually each evangelist has his appropriate symbol at his feet, but at Potter Heigham, Norfolk, S. Mark carries his lion in his arms, and has a scroll with the words "*Recumbentibus indicem dis(cipulis)*," a departure from the usual practice of each writer bearing a ribbon with the commencing words of his gospel. At East Ruston, also in Norfolk, the screen has the figures of the evangelists with their usual emblems, except that of S.

<sup>1</sup> Homilies of Ælfric, vol. i, p. 537, ed. Ælfric Ed 1843. The ark with its occupants is sculptured at Norwich and Salisbury Cathedrals, in both, I believe, the arrangement shows the beasts in the lowest stage, the men in the middle division, and the birds in the upper.

Hildebert, according to Dr. Neale, explains the symbolism of the ark in a very similar manner. See *Medieval Hymns*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> At Wiggenhall S. Peter, Norfolk, the evangelistic symbols formed the pinnacles of the tower.

Matthew, who appears as an angel in kingly robes, ermine-tippeted, doubtless in allusion to his tracing, in his gospel, the royal descent of our Lord from David and Solomon.<sup>1</sup> Nettlestead Church, Kent, has some stained glass representing "the emblem of S. John under the unusual type of an angel with the head of an eagle. "Figures of the evangelistic symbols," says Mr. Winston, "with human bodies, the heads being those of animals, by which the evangelists are typified, occur in mediæval art, as in frescoes by Barnaba da Modena."<sup>2</sup> The glass here alluded to he supposes to be about the time of Henry VI.

Having discussed symbolic animals collectively, I will now proceed to the consideration of individual members of the animal creation, taking them alphabetically in the five divisions of beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, and chimerical or fabulous creatures.

I. BEASTS. Among these the Ass is an emblem of patience, and also of stubbornness and stupidity; as an exponent of the latter characteristics, it is represented at Hawton, Notts, where two of the sleeping soldiers at the Easter sepulchre are seen with asses' heads braying, as charges upon their shields, in allusion to the foolishness and obstinacy of the Jews. As an emblem of patience it appears occasionally in heraldic art the families of Askew, Hackwell, Hokenhall, and others having the ass as a charge in their arms, Spenser says that—

"Sluggish idlenesse, the nurse of sin;  
Upon a slouthfull asse he chose to ryde."<sup>3</sup>

At Pengarwick Tower in Sydney Cove, Cornwall, there is, I believe, the following verse painted under the picture of a laden ass—

"Behold this asse which laden ys  
With riches, plentye, and with meate  
And yet thereof no pleasure hathe  
But thystells hard and rough doth eat,  
In lyke case ys the riche niggarde  
Which hath enoughe and lyveth full harde."

A Norman capital in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, from the old hall at Westminster, represents the fable of Esop concerning the ass.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Dominican saint, Vincent Ferrar, is represented with angel's wings.

<sup>3</sup> Spenser, F. Q., book i, canto 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxi, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> *Transactions Soc. Antiquaries*, Catalogue, vol. i, p. 28.

The CAMEL or Dromedary, was also an emblem of patience and likewise of avarice. The figure of one is seen many times repeated on the tomb of a deacon at S. John's, Glastonbury, and in heraldry it occurs in the Arms of the Camel and Wheeler families. Camels form the supporters of the Arms of the "Confraternity of S. John Baptist of Merchant Taylors," of London, as it is still called; doubtless a quaint allusion to the camel's hair clothing of its patron. The camel was said to be ashamed of its ugliness, so that when drinking at a stream it would trouble the water in order to avoid seeing its own image. Swan, a seventeenth century writer, from whom I propose to make numerous quotations, finds in this an emblem of those who "drink deeply of the dirtie puddles of worldly wealth, little regarding the sweet taste of the waters of life, which is a clear river running from the throne of God."<sup>1</sup> He also sees in the hump upon this animal's back, the swelling pride and confidence of rich worldly men. Nevertheless after these two unfavourable inferences he perceives a good symbol in the fact of the camels stooping "down to the very ground with their knees, patiently enduring, to take up their burdens," and calls it a lesson of patience and humility such as shown by those who are "willingly humbled under the crosse and patiently stoop to take it up."<sup>2</sup> Spenser says of Luxury, that—

"Greedy avarice by him did ride,  
Upon a camell loaden all with gold."<sup>3</sup>

Among DEER, the hind is an emblem of solitude, and as such, two of these animals are seen by the side of S. Withburga on the rood-screen at Burlingham S. Andrew, Norfolk. S. Giles often has a deer leaping up to him, as at Great Plumstead, and Sandringham, Norfolk, and Cheddar, Somerset. Swan mentions their custom of "flying to man when the hounds oppresse them" as an emblem of those who betake themselves to God in their affliction. Their careful teaching of their young he considers a symbol of the solicitude which parents show for

<sup>1</sup> *Speculum Mundi* by John Swan, Cambridge, 1643, p. 437. Segneri, an Italian Jesuit, in his *Quaresimale*, pub. in 1679, says of the wicked "They behave like camels, who cannot bear to see themselves reflected in the clear stream, and accordingly trample the water with their

feet and make it turbid; such a hardship does it appear to them to be thus compelled to gaze upon their own deformity." Vol. i, p. 133, Ford's Translation.

<sup>2</sup> Swan, pp. 437, 438.

<sup>3</sup> Spenser, F. Q., book i, canto 4.



their children; in their weeping every year for the loss of their horns he sees a likeness of those who grieve for the loss of their worldly possessions. He tells us that the hart when taken by the hunters "will shed forth tears as well as when he casteth his head. So should a penitent and a watchful sinner not cease to weep when he seeth how he is overtaken."<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare alludes to the stag weeping—

" . . . The big round tears  
Cours'd one another down his innocent nose  
In piteous chase."<sup>2</sup>

Sylvanus Morgan calls the stag the symbol of long life, and as such it was usually considered, though now discredited. It was also believed to be attracted by musical sounds, an idea portrayed on the ceiling at Blickling Hall, Norfolk, where the plaster work has figures of a man and woman playing upon instruments before a listening stag.<sup>3</sup>

The legend of S. Hubert reports him to have seen a miraculous stag bearing a cross between his horns. The device of an antlered stag's head with the cross between the branches occurs on the armorial bearings of the families of Hadd, Quickerell, Serffe and Wryne. The Boughtons have three bucks' heads between as many crosses, perhaps allusive to the stag of S. Hubert, or that of S. Eustace, of whom a similar story is related.

Like many other animals the Dog bears both a good and an evil character, and is symbolical of loyalty and fidelity on the one hand, and of all that is wicked on the other. His bad reputation dates from very early times, and in the Hebrew Scriptures he is, with one or two solitary exceptions, always alluded to in the most uncomplimentary manner. This animal was regarded with aversion by the Jews, but amongst the Greeks he was treated as the companion of man and held in much esteem.<sup>4</sup> The dog has always been an especial favourite in England, though in symbolic art his figure appears but seldom. In monumental sculpture the little dogs which are so often seen beneath the feet of the effigies of ladies, crouching on their dresses, may occasionally have been thus placed as types of affection and faithfulness, but

<sup>1</sup> Swan, pp. 473, 474.

<sup>2</sup> "As You Like It," act ii, sc. i.

<sup>3</sup> See *Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 249.

<sup>4</sup> The description of Ulysses dog Argus, in the *Odyssey*, book xvii, will be remembered by the reader.

were most probably generally so used as natural objects ; especially as they are often decorated with collars hung with bells, and sometimes with the names of the animals themselves written upon them.<sup>1</sup> The dog, as an emblem of affection, is said to be seen supporting the bowl of the font at Staple Church, Kent.

The ornamental andirons supporting the logs of our wood fires are called fire-dogs ; in like manner the French term them "chenets" a contraction of "chien-ets," and I venture to suggest that this appellation, similar in both languages, may have arisen from the Roman Lares, or household gods, whose emblem was the dog, a symbol given these deities on account of this creature's fidelity, and the service it renders to man in watching his house. The Lares were also occasionally represented as clothed in dog's skins. From this, it appears probable that the terms "fire-dog" and "chenet" may have been derived, as moreover, the Romans used ornamental andirons, a pair of which were found in a sepulchre at Shefford, Beds.<sup>2</sup>

There was a notion held by old writers that a dog would run after and bite a stone thrown at him rather than chase the man who threw it. Spenser says of a hag that she "did bark" and backbite—

"Though there were none her hatefull words to heare ;  
Like as a curre doth felly bite and teare  
The stone, which passed straunger at him threw."<sup>3</sup>

The *ERMINE*, a kind of stoat, was an emblem of purity, and died of grief, if its white fur became stained ; for this reason it is still used as the trimming of our judge's robes. It is the distinctive fur of royalty and authority, and is sometimes seen on the dress of the B. Virgin to show her queenly dignity, as at Somerleyton, Suffolk. As a mark of high position the robes of the Lord Mayor of London, and those of kings and emperors at home and abroad, exhibit ermine trimmings.

Probably there is no other animal which has taken so prominent a part in symbolism and fable as the Fox. Of the subtilties, of this beast an old author writes, "they

<sup>1</sup> Instead of the usual pet dog, a squirrel cracking a nut is seen upon the folds of the mantle of Lady Katharine Howard, on her brass, dated 1535, at Lambeth, Surrey.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ass. Arch. Soc. Reports* 1850-1851, p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> Spenser, *F. Q.*, book iv, canto 8.

be infinite ;” and certainly the stories told of his cunning appear to be endless. Philip de Thaun tells us that the fox was accustomed to lay on his back and cover himself with red earth, pretending death, to allow birds to come and eat his flesh ; so says this twelfth century author, and Swan in the seventeenth states the same, as follows :—  
 “ When cold and hunger shall oppresse him, coming near some farm or mansion house, he feigneth a kind of barking like a dogge, that thereby the household beasts may more confidently keep themselves without fear, being often used to the barking of a dogge ; and so having gotten himself near unto his prey, he will lie upon his back, with his belly upwards, mouth open, tongue out, and every way seeming as if he were dead ; then the hens, or geese, or what else is fit for him, are suddenly surprised, and cunningly caught, whilst they little dreamed of such a subtiltie.”<sup>1</sup> The Norman doorway at Alne in Yorkshire represents a fox pursuing the above tactics, with the word, “ vulpis ” over the panel.

Chaucer’s “ Nonnes Preestes Tale ” is a serio-comic one, respecting the cunning fox, Dan Russel, who induces Chaunteclere the rooster to sing before him—

“ This Chaunteclere stood high upon his toes  
 Stretching his neck, and held his eyen cloos,  
 And gan to crowen longe for the nones :  
 And Dan Russel the fox stert up at ones  
 And by the gargat hente Chaunteclere,  
 And on his back toward the wood him bare.”<sup>2</sup>

Foxes and geese are said by Mr. Paley to occur on some Early English capitals.<sup>3</sup> The satirical representation of the fox preaching to geese is met with in many ecclesiastical buildings, as at Bristol Cathedral and Christchurch, Hants, on the misereres ; a secular example was carved on the Half Moon Inn at Ipswich. The same subject was also in stained glass at S. Martin’s, Leicester, where the satire was made more pointed by the text “ Testis est mihi Deus quam cupiam vos omnes in visceribus meis ; ” words addressed by S. Paul to the Philippians, with a change in the last word, “ God is my record, how greatly I long after you all in my bowels ” ; instead of “ the bowels of Jesus Christ.”<sup>4</sup> A coffin slab at Bridlington, Yorks, has a representation of

<sup>1</sup> Swan, p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Chaucer *Cant. Tales*, p. 456, ed. Routledge.

<sup>3</sup> *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> G. A. Poole in *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xv, p. 203.

the fable of the fox and the stork,<sup>1</sup> whilst at Sherburn the geese are seen hanging their old enemy the fox, from a gallows, and at Nantwich the stalls shew us Reynard turned monk, or rather a wandering friar with habit and hood.

Notwithstanding the doubtful character of the fox, it is occasionally met with in heraldry, and forms the crests of the Blennerhasset and Fox-Strangway families.

Of that well-known emblem of the reprobate, the GOAT, Aubrey writes as follows:—"A conceit there is that y<sup>e</sup> devil commonly appeareth w<sup>th</sup> a cloven hoof, wherein, though it seem excessively ridiculous there may be something of truth, and y<sup>e</sup> ground at first might be his frequent appearing in the shape of a goat w<sup>ch</sup> answers that description. This was the opinion of ancient Xtians concerning y<sup>e</sup> apparition of Panites, Fauns, and Satyrs." "The devil," he continues, "most often appears in the shape of a goat nor did he only assume this shape in elder times, but commonly in later times, especially in y<sup>e</sup> place of his worship, if there be any truth in the confession of witches. And therefore a goat is not improperly made an hieroglyphic of y<sup>e</sup> Devil, as Pierius hath expressed it. So might it be an emblem of sin as it were in the sin offering, and so likewise of wicked and sinful men according to y<sup>e</sup> expression of scripture in y<sup>e</sup> method of y<sup>e</sup> last distribution, when our Saviour shall separate the Sheep from the Goats, that is the Sons of the Lamb, from the children of the devil."<sup>2</sup> Spenser places Luxury—

"Upon a bearded gote, whose rugged heare,  
And whally eies (the signe of gelosy),  
Was like the person's self whom he did beare."<sup>3</sup>

Like the Goat, the HORSE was a symbol of wickedness, and there is a boss at Norwich showing the raven sent forth from the ark, feeding upon the dead body of a horse, as an emblem of destroyed sinfulness. The evil character of the equine tribe was doubtless derived from the Scriptures, and probably occasioned the eating of horse-flesh to be considered a deadly sin amongst the early Christians of Scandinavia, one of whom writes that "it is the greatest sacrilege for baptized men, who can in any other

<sup>1</sup> It was also on a Norman capital at S. Margaret's, York. See *Reliquary*, vol. ii, N.S., p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Aubrey. *Remains of Gentilisme and*

*Judaisme*, p. 113, ed. Folk Lore Soc., 1881.

<sup>3</sup> Spenser, F. Q., book i, canto 4.



manner prolong their lives, to eat horse-flesh.”<sup>1</sup> In England at the Council of Cealchythe, it was a subject of complaint that many persons “eat horse-flesh, which is done by none of the Eastern Christians,” and they are bidden to “take heed of this.”<sup>2</sup> Ven. Bede, relating an incident in his “Life of S. Cuthbert, says, respecting an angel who appeared seated upon a horse of incomparable beauty:—“If any one think it incredible that an angel should appear on horseback, let him read the history of the Maccabees, in which angels are said to have come on horseback to the assistance of Judas Maccabeus, and to defend God’s own temple.”<sup>3</sup> Angels upon horses may be noticed upon the Steeple Aston cope.

The HYENA was another symbol of evil passions. Swan says of it “(as the magicians would have us believe) this beast hath the power of incantation; they therefore tell many strange things which they be able to do.”<sup>4</sup> Spenser, describing a hideous beast, informs us that—

“Like never yet did living eie detect;  
But likest it to an hyena was,  
That feeds on womens flesh, as others feede on gras.”<sup>5</sup>

A work called “An English Expositour,” issued in 1680, by John Hayes, Printer to the University of Cambridge, says of the Hyena, that it “will counterfeit the voice of a man to draw the shepherds out of their houses in the night, to the end he may kill them. It is written, that he changeth sex often, being sometime male, and sometime female.”<sup>6</sup>

The LAMB is the most sacred and prominent of symbolic quadrupeds, and employed during all epochs of the Christian faith. The lamb, with cross-headed staff and triple-ended banner, was a great favourite in Norman work, and in numerous cases it appears amid figures of all kinds of animals, real or imaginary. Occasionally the nimbus has three crosses upon it, which I venture to suggest refers to the participation of each person of the Holy Trinity in the Redemption of mankind; such an aureole is seen over the head of this symbol on the

<sup>1</sup> Olaf Tryggvason *Fornmanna Sogur* c. I. quo. Du Chaillu *The Viking Age* vol. i, p. 474.

<sup>2</sup> Townley, *Bib. Literature*, vol. i, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Bede *Vita S. Cuthberti*, ed. Giles. Chap. II.

<sup>4</sup> Swan, p. 438.

<sup>5</sup> Spenser, F. Q., book iii, canto 7

<sup>6</sup> *Eng. Expositour* article Hyena.



Norman doorway at S. Michael, Barton le-Street. In the very early paintings formerly at Westmeston, Sussex, the sacred lamb appeared in the centre of a quatrefoil over the chancel arch ; this enclosure was upheld by two angels with averted countenances as though unable to bear the effulgence of the divine glory. The eastern boss of the groining of S. Leonard's Church, Kirkstead, a work of Early English date, has the lamb and flag, the staff of the latter terminating in a richly floriated Greek cross ; and at Luton, Beds, the curious Third Pointed baptistery has on its roof the vine of the church, attacked by the dragon, and defended by the lamb. <sup>1</sup>

When the lamb is the emblem of St. John Baptist, it is occasionally depicted as a natural representation, reposing upon a closed book in the hands of the saint, as at Belaugh, Norfolk ; at other times the symbol is within one nimbus, whilst a smaller one encircles the head of the Agnus, as on the Southgate House antependium.

In heraldry the Agnus dei is borne by the Lamberton family, and in a remarkable manner by that of Rowe, Sussex, who have three holy lambs for their arms and another for their crest. A holy lamb formed the arms of Sir John Duntze of Tiverton, Devon, and is the crest of the Merchant Taylor's Company of London, being the symbol of the patron S. John.

The LION, king of beasts, and the well-known emblem of courage, nobility and generosity, has, unlike the lamb, also an evil reputation as a type of the devil. Our Lord, as the lion of the tribe of Judah, appears upon a boss at Norwich. As emblems of divine strength a lion is seen on either side of the lamb at Upleaden Church, Gloucestershire, and as symbolical of the vigour given in baptism, these animals appear on many fonts, especially those of the opening and closing periods of Pointed Art ; of the former period there is a fine example at Hereford Cathedral, where four lions cluster round the base of the Norman font. At Swanscombe, Kent, and S. Peter's Ipswich, the bowls are entirely covered with these kingly beasts. In Perpendicular work, especially in the eastern counties, a great number of fonts have lions *sejant* round their stems,

<sup>1</sup> The sacred lamb is met with occasionally in eighteenth century work, it occurs on the tombstone of Will Plyear, 1783, at Brading, I. of Wight.

and this is found so frequently that they must evidently be symbolical, and not merely heraldic figures, especially as they are often combined with woodhouses, or wild men, who are thus placed as emblems of courage and strength; the woodhouse being probably the mediæval antitype of the Satyrs.<sup>1</sup> The number of lions on some examples is remarkable, as for instance at Worlingham, Suffolk, where there are five panels on the bowl filled with these animals whilst four more cluster round the stem, almost rivaling in number the lions placed about the throne of King Solomon. Lions are frequently met with at the bases of lecterns as at S. Margaret's, Lynn, and Holy Rhood, Southampton.

As emblems of strength we often find lions and oak trees combined in English mediæval art. Thus, in an inventory of the vestments at S. Paul's Cathedral in 1552, mention is made of several articles embroidered with "lions and oketres," and on an antependium of the fifteenth century the subjects are divided by oak branches beginning and ending in lions' heads; in like manner the martyrdoms worked upon the Steeple, Aston cope, have lions in the spandrils between them, and the subjects surrounded by oak foliage and acorns. A curious heraldic illustration of this combination is seen in the arms of Atwood, of Norfolk, and Surrey, which exhibit a lion rampant on a field semée of acorns.

It was believed of lions that the colder the place of their abode, the gentler they were, that they spare women rather than men, and prey not at all upon infants except in case of much hunger. Also that they would not devour a sleeping man, a notion we find in Shakespeare, when in "As You Like It," he mentions a bush, under which a lioness—

"Lay crouching on the ground with cat-like watch  
When that the sleeping man should stir; for t'is  
The royal disposition of that beast,  
To prey on nothing that doth seem as dead."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aubrey writes of "The Signe of the Wild Man," as follows:—"This signe is not uncommon in and around London. I confess I wondered heretofore how such an odd signe should happen to be so in vogue, but by Rudbecki Atlantica I find it to be from the

Suedes." He then quotes the above author to the effect that "The Suedes had Hercules for a deity." *Remaines of Gentilisme, &c.*, p. 134, ed. Folk Lore Soc.

<sup>2</sup> Act iv, sc. 6.

The lion had a great antipathy to the game cock for which it was stated, "one reason is that he sees him commonly with his crowne on his heade, while princes commonly are jealous of each other."<sup>1</sup>

The PANTHER was an emblem of Christ, and as Philip de Thaun says, loved of all the animals except the dragon. At Alne, Yorks, one sees the panther and his foe face to face. Swan makes him the emblem of deceit, and as such it appears on the Jacobean ceiling at Blickling, Norfolk, with the word "Dolos" or cunning. Dryden in his Hind and Panther makes the latter the symbol of the Church of England.<sup>2</sup>

SWINE are emblems of all kinds of depravity and of its author; figures of swine alternated with those of dragons are placed under the knights who are seen guarding the shrine of S. Thomas Cantelupe at Hereford Cathedral. The devil and his fellows were very naturally supposed to occasionally take the form of swine. Shylock tells Bassanio, in the Merchant of Venice, that he refuses "to eat of the habitation, which your prophet the Nazarite, conjured the devil into." Spenser places gluttony by the side of idleness and riding upon a "filthie swine."<sup>3</sup>

The TIGER is considered an emblem of cruelty, and it was said of this beast that when the hunters take her whelps away, "sometimes they make round spheres of glasse which they cast before her when she cometh, and thinking (by reason of her own shadow) that she seeth her young ones there, she rolleth it to her denne, where she breaketh it with her claws, and finding herself deluded runneth after the hunters again."<sup>4</sup> The arms of the Lightwood family have three tigers beholding themselves backward in a glass, and a similar device occurs on the armorial bearings of the Tatersals;<sup>5</sup> both coats probably being in reference to the above legend.

Among symbolical BIRDS, the Cock, as an emblem of watchfulness, is sculptured on the Saxon Church at Bar-

<sup>1</sup> *Strange Metamorphosis*, &c., 1634; quo Brand Pop. Ant., vol. ii p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> The Scripture prophecy that the lion should lie down with the lamb, forms the subject of a Sussex eighteenth century fireback.

<sup>3</sup> Spenser, F. Q., book i, canto 4.

<sup>4</sup> Swan, p. 435. See *Arch. Journal*, cl. xxxi, p. 377.

See also *Arch. Journal*, v. xxxij, p. 400, on a carved box-wood casket, of which one compartment represents a countryman carrying away the young of a beast, having distracted her attention by fixing a disc in a tree.

<sup>5</sup> See Berry, *Enc. of Heraldry*, vol. i, p. 62, and *Fabyan's Chronicles*, p. 587.

nack; and cocks are placed over the Norman doorway at Little Bytham, Lincolnshire.<sup>1</sup> As a vane this bird has surmounted our church spires for more than a thousand years, and was fixed there, not only as a symbol of vigilance, but to incite the clergy to watch over their flocks as the rooster does over his hens.<sup>2</sup> The cock, as one of the emblems of the Passion, is conspicuous on the head of the Perpendicular church-yard cross at Sherbourne, Yorkshire, where on either side of the Saviour are scutcheons, one of which bears the lantern, the other a cock's head, both symbols being allusive to the betrayal and denial of our Lord. The kingly lion was supposed to be kept in awe by the shrill voice of the game cock.

The DOVE, the emblem of the Holy Ghost and of innocence, Ælfric tells us, "is a very peaceful and innocent bird, and without gall, and not fierce with its claws; nor lives it on worms, but on earthly fruits."<sup>3</sup> Swan remarks that if man was like this bird, without gall, "the serpent's wisdom would not hurt him, nor lean-faced envie sojourn with him."<sup>4</sup> This symbol of the Holy Spirit is sometimes seen whispering into the ear of our Lord, in representations of the Trinity, as at Cheriton, Kent. Doves of the Holy Ghost were on tunicles at S. Paul's Cathedral in 1552, according to the inventory then made.

The dove is sometimes placed over the head of King David, as well as above those of saints of the new dispensation.<sup>5</sup>

In Norman work the symbol of two doves drinking from one vessel, a frequent device in early Christian times, is occasionally met with, as on a monumental slab at Bishopstone, Sussex, and the fonts at Winchester and East Meon, Hants; it occurs also on later encaustic tiles. Dr. Lee in his Glossary says, "Figures of doves as appropriate ecclesiastical symbols were—suspended over English

<sup>1</sup> Paley's Manual, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> "Gallus regit plurimam turbam gallinarum,

Et sollicitudines magnas habet harum :  
Sic Sacerdos, concipiens curam animarum,  
Doeat et faciat quod deo sit carum.

Gallus gramen reperit, convocat uxores,  
Et illud distribuit inter cariores :  
Tales discant clerici pietatis mores,  
Dando suis subditis scripturarum flores."

From a fifteenth century MS., quo  
*Ecclesiologist*, vol. xi, pp. 161, 162.

<sup>3</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric*, vol. ii, p. 45,  
ed. Ælfric Soc., 1845.

<sup>4</sup> Swan, p. 401.

<sup>5</sup> A symbolical representation of S. Mary at South Leigh, has the dove descending upon her. *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxx, p. 58. A dove whispers into the ear of S. Gregory in a painting at Tunstead, Norfolk.



baptisteries, and are sometimes found carved on the canopies of fonts. As symbolic representations of the Holy Spirit they are likewise carved over altars, and sometimes, as on the brass corona at Thame Church, Oxfordshire, they symbolize the Light and Glory of God."<sup>1</sup>

The dove also represents the innocent soul, and as such is the emblem of S. Medardus, at whose funeral "two white doves from heaven floated over his coffin and a third came out of the coffin and flew with the others to the skies."<sup>2</sup> The collect for the feast of S. Scholastica, in the Sarum Missal, states that God caused her soul "to enter heaven in the form of a dove," an assertion founded on a vision of S. Benedict, her brother. The cope of Pius II., an English Work, shows the souls of the five philosophers converted by S. Catharine and afterwards martyred, as five white doves flying upwards. At Breedon, Worcester-shire, on the remarkable Second Pointed monumental stone in the churchyard, there are represented two doves between the figures of the persons commemorated, probably as emblems of their souls.

The king of birds, the EAGLE, is an emblem of the Holy Ghost, and one of the symbols of S. John the Evangelist. It took up its offspring in its claws and bore it as near the sun as it could soar; if the eaglet bore the sun's rays without flinching, it was legitimate, if not and it shunned the glare, the parent dropped the bird which was dashed to pieces on the ground. Shakespeare touches on this belief when Richard of Gloucester says—

"Nay, if thou be that princely Eagle's bird,  
Shew thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun."<sup>3</sup>

and Dryden exclaims in his *Britannia Rediviva* —

"Truth, which is light itself, doth darkness shun,  
And the true eaglet safely dares the sun."<sup>4</sup>

The eagle appears as a representative bird in the seven days of Creation, sculptured on the bosses of the nave roof at Norwich Cathedral, and an eagle and a lion are placed by the side of our Lord and His mother at Fownhope. This bird so often seen upon our lecterns, is sometimes said to be there as an emblem of S. John;<sup>5</sup> but to me it

<sup>1</sup> Lee's *Glossary of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Terms*, pp. 89, 90.

<sup>2</sup> Barr's *Anglican Calendar*, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Henry VI., act ii, sc. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*, vol. v, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Boutell's *Heraldry*, p. 140. A writer in the *Ecclesiologist*, vol. i, p. 173, suggests that the eagle desk may symbolize "the angel flying through the midst of heaven having the everlasting gospel to preach."



appears to be intended as a symbol of the Holy Ghost, especially as it sometimes stands upon a serpent, as at Holy Rhood Church, Southampton, and very frequently it is upon a globe, representing the world, as at S. Margaret's, Lynn.

The double headed eagle, the emblem of Elisha, is seen on his shoulder in stained glass at Lincoln College Chapel, Oxford; this figure was sometimes embroidered upon vestments, an instance of which may be noticed in a cope formerly at Weston Underwood, Northants. In heraldry it was a frequent charge and appears on a shield attached to the effigy of one of the Salaman family, at Horley, Surrey, a fourteenth century example of much beauty.

The PEACOCK was an emblem of the resurrection and immortality in early Christian art, but in the heraldry of later times became that of pride and conceit. Swan calls it "a perfecte embleme of deep envie." He states that "his black feet make him ashamed of his fair tail, and therefore when he seeth them—he hangeth down his starrie plumes and walketh slowly in a discontented fit of solitarie sadnesse."<sup>1</sup> "Lions and Pecokkys" are mentioned as being on a vestment at S. Margaret Patten's, London, in 1470.

From very early Christian times the PELICAN has been a favourite symbol of our Lord, and appears never to have been entirely disused. But the ancient and modern ideas concerning this bird differ; the present notion is that it feeds its young with its blood, the ancient that it revived them with it, as Swan rightly puts it, "by piercing his breast he reviveth his young ones with his own blood when they are bitten and killed of serpents; or having killed them with his bill he reviveth them again by his blood after three dayes."<sup>2</sup> He also states that they swallow shell fish, and when they have been "so warmed that their shells gape, they do cast them up and so pick out their meat in an easie manner"; from this action he considers pelicans teach that policy is better than strength. The bird often forms an appropriate finial to a font cover, instances of which occur at North Walsham and Watlington, Norfolk, and Ufford, Suffolk. It is used instead of the more frequent eagle on a lectern at Norwich, and was

<sup>1</sup> Swan, p. 403.

<sup>2</sup> John de Wakering, Bishop of Nor-

wich, bore arms *azure a pelican vulning herself or.*

formerly so employed at Durham, where it formed the desk of the finest brazen lectern in England. A pelican in her piety is seen on one of the stalls at Lincoln Cathedral, and a beautiful example of the same device forms the finial of the noble brass at Warbleton, Sussex, dated 1436. A scroll surrounding it bears the significant inscription, "Sic Christus dilexit nos." A very vigorous representation of this symbol is on a boss from the destroyed nave roof at S. Saviour's, Southwark, also of fifteenth century date. An example of eighteenth century design is found in Sturt's Orthodox Communicant.

The Bambell family have a pelican for their arms and crest, and several other coats have this device which was a great favourite with Fox, Bishop of Winchester, being placed under his statue in the cathedral of that city.

Shakespeare alludes more than once to the pelican. Laertes says in "Hamlet"—

"To his good friends thus wide, I'll ope my arms;  
And like the kind life-rend'ring pelican,  
Repast them with my blood."<sup>1</sup>

and Drayton in his Noah's Flood versifies the older belief thus—

"The loving pelican  
Whose young ones poison'd by the serpent's sting  
With her own blood to life again doth bring."

An evil reputation belongs to the RAVEN, who was sometimes called the devil's bird. Perhaps part of its bad character may have arisen from the fact of its being so much employed by the heathen soothsayers. Tradition says that its colour was originally white but was changed into black, owing to the bird's disobedience in not returning when sent forth from the ark, but stopping to feed on drowned bodies. In the chapter house at Salisbury and on the roof of Norwich Cathedral the raven is thus seen devouring corpses. It was said that it "picketh out the eye of a dead corps first of all because (as some suppose) he seeth his own image in the clearness of the eye."<sup>2</sup> A fourteenth century M.S., the "Cursor Mundi," says of the raven's exit from the ark—

<sup>1</sup> Act iv, sc. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Swan, p. 388.

"Than opin Noe his windowe,  
late vte a rauen and forth he flow,  
dune and vp soght here and thare  
A stede to sett apon somquar ;  
Upon the water sone he fand,  
A drinkled best ther flotand,  
Of that fless was he so fain  
To schip cam he neuer again."<sup>1</sup>

The ancients had another tradition as to the change in the raven's coat and this was that the bird having betrayed two lovers by his indiscreet tale-bearing was thus punished. Gower, who gives the tale at length, says, so

"That there he was snow-white to-fore,  
Ever afterward cole black therefore,  
He was transformed!"<sup>2</sup>

The same poet tells us that the cry of the raven betokens some misfortune. Swan, that this bird expels its young from its nest before they are "able to shift" for themselves; "wherefore," says he, "it is said *that the young ravens crie unto God.*" Perhaps the motto of the Corbet family, whose arms are a crow, alludes to this, being "*Deus pascit corvus,*" God feeds the raven.

Sincerity and solitude are symbolized by the SWAN, and a figure of this bird occurs on the roof at Norwich, as an intermediate animal between the fish and the bird. It formed the well-known badge of the De Bohun family, and is beautifully figured several times on the elegant brass of Alianor De Bohun, 1399, in Westminster Abbey. Boutell says, one of the earliest indications of the use of heraldic supporters is on the seal of Humphrey de Bohun 1322, where the belt is carried by a swan over the shield. Planché mentions the collar of SS, with this badge of the De Bohuns, as appendant round the neck of the poet Gower in S. Saviour's, Southwark, and in a note, says, "It is singular that among all the ingenious speculations respecting the origin and meaning of the collar of SS. this pendant of the swan in one of the earliest examples (1402), should never have been taken into consideration." In the "*Speculum Mundi,*" Swan tells us that this bird is a perfect pattern of chaste, mutual, and matrimonial love, and that the dying song of the swan is "a perfect embleme

<sup>1</sup> M.S. Gottingen, fol. 26a, quo  
*Adrian and Rithens*, ed. Ælfrie Soc.,  
p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, book iii,  
p. 150, ed. Routledge.

<sup>3</sup> Planché, *Pursuivant of Arms*, p. 183.

and pattern to us, that our death ought to be cheerful, and life not dear unto us as it is."<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare discourses of this in the "Merchant of Venice" when Portia says—

"Then if he lose he makes a swan-like end,  
Fading in Music."<sup>2</sup>

The symbolism of FISHES forms the next division of the present remarks, and is a highly interesting one, though perhaps not so extensive as the preceding.

As the fish is the well-known emblem of our Lord, in a similiar manner the Holy Trinity is symbolized by three fishes, conjoined, so as to form a triangle. This device is much older than Christianity, and may be seen in Egyptian art.<sup>3</sup> It occurred on the arms of Yarmouth, and was on a boss at S. Saviour's, Southwark. The figure of our Lord under the form of a fish suggested by his name, naturally created the idea that faithful Christians should likewise appear under the likeness of fishes, especially as Christ commissioned his apostles to be fishers of men. The symbol was the more readily accepted, as the Jews entertained a high opinion of the happiness of fish existence, so much so, that one of their Rabbins, describing the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, inculcated that "the souls of the righteous whose conversation is with the law and, and who only need a purification, go into fish."<sup>4</sup> In the Saxon church at Barholm, near Stow, Lincolnshire, on the south doorway there is "a curious pattern resembling a row of fish conventionally treated,"<sup>5</sup> and on the Norman doorway at Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, is seen "the contest between the faithful under the shape of fishes, and their ghostly enemies under that of serpents and dragons,"<sup>6</sup> and at Ely, on a Norman entrance to the Cathedral, our Saviour is seen within the vesica or fish outline, his left hand holding a fish. The square bowl of the font, at Slaugham, Sussex, has the figure of a fish forming the sole ornamentation of one side of the vessel. Of later date, formed in the iron work of the south door, at Staplehurst, Kent, are seen several fishes swimming round the ship of the Church, whilst at West Walton, Norfolk, the clerestory walls have the Church's net

<sup>1</sup> Swan, p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> Act iii, sc. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See engraving in *Art Journal*, 1864, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> Sharon Turner, *Sacred History of the World*, vol. i, p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Journal*, vol. xlvii, p. 151n.

<sup>6</sup> *Hand Book of Eng. Ecclesiology*, p. 163.

painted upon them, each mesh of which contains a fish. Mermaids, emblems of sinful pleasures, hold fishes on the font at Braybooke, Northants, and on the stalls at Exeter. On the pall at S. Gregory's, Norwich, may be seen fishes symbolizing the faithful departed, swallowed by dolphins emblematical of love to man.

Swan calls the DOLPHIN the "king of fishes than whom there is not any which is swifter, none more charitable to his fellows, and (which is above all the rest) none more loving to man."<sup>1</sup> The porpoise and the dolphin are generally taken to be the same fish, but although Buffon admits their great resemblance, he says that the snout of the latter is longer and more pointed. The idea of its being a friend to man is of great antiquity, and in early Christian art the monster which swallowed Jonah is often more like a dolphin than a whale. Pliny relates a story of a boy carried to school on its back, which Swan gives at full length, and the so-called "acts of S. Julian" contain a legend to the effect that the saint's body was brought to shore on the back of a dolphin.<sup>2</sup>

In heraldry the dolphin, Mr. Boutell says, "was most probably originally used to convey the idea of sovereignty."<sup>3</sup> I also think that it was so employed as emblematical of brotherly love. Be this as it may, this fish is conspicuous in numerous heraldic coats, especially in those of families connected with sea-port towns. The very appropriate arms of the London Company of Fishmongers, have three dolphins naiant in pale between two pair of lucies saltire-wise, over which in chief are three couple of S. Peter's keys, also in saltire, finally the supporters are a merman and mermaid; no more fitting design could have been devised than this.

In the account of the Creation in Genesis the formation of the WHALE is especially mentioned, a fact which old writers prominently dwell upon. Swan remarks that Moses in his description of the creation of the fishes places the greater ones "in the forefront and then he proceedeth to adde something concerning the other species of smaller creatures living and moving in the water."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Swan, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> See *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxix, p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> Boutell's *Heraldry*, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> Swan, p. 359. "Luther commenting on these words 'And God created great whales rendereth this reason why the



The whale was sometimes symbolical of hell mouth, at others of the devil himself; the Norman sculpture at Lincoln Cathedral shows an example of the former idea, which I need not say is found in numerous later examples, a Decorated one being at Bloxham in Oxfordshire. Notwithstanding the proverbially evil character of the whale, Swan sees a favourable symbol in the care that this creature shows for her young, which he says, "when they are little being faint and weak, she takes them into her mouth to secure them from tempestuous surges—a fit embleme this to teach all sorts of parents in Church Commonwealth, or private families to provide for and not destroy those under them": he also tells us of the little fish *Musculus*, a great friend to the whale, and concludes from its example that "great ones and superiors—ought not to contemne their inferiours."<sup>2</sup>

It was a mediæval idea that so large was the whale that sailors mistaking one asleep for an island, would land upon it and light a fire when the fish feeling uncomfortably warm would sink beneath the sea's surface and drown the unsuspecting mariners. Milton relates something very similar, for he reports of Leviathan as follows, that he

" . . . Haply slumb'ring on the Norway foam,  
The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff,  
Deeming some island oft, as sea-men tell  
With fixed anchor in his skaly rind,  
Moors by his side under the lee, while night  
Invests the sea, and wished morn delays."<sup>3</sup>

A few REPTILES are conspicuous among symbolic animals. In their company may be noticed the CAMELEON of which Buffon says that if "the iguaua satisfies the appetites of epicure, this is rather the feast of the philo-

creation of whales is specified by name, ne territi magnitudine crederimus ea spectra esse." Lest affrighted with their greatness we should believe them to be only visions or fancies." Fuller's *Worthies quo Suss. Arch. Soc. Collections*, vol. xxii, p. 41.

<sup>1</sup> Some lines under a drawing in a copy of the "Bestiary of Philippe de Thaun," have "Cetus hic pingitur—et quomodo pisces entrant os ejus. . . . Cetus diabolum significat—et pisces aminas."—*Arch. Journal*, i, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Swan, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> *Par. Lost*, book i, 203, 208. Besides

the fishes mentioned in this article there was another which deserves some mention; this was the Remora, which Swan says "is a small fish which cleaveth to the bottom of a ship, and doth as strangely stay it, called, therefore, by some the "Stop-ship." Of which there can be no more reason given, then (*sic*) of the load-stones drawing iron; neither is it possible to shew the cause of all secrets in nature," pp. 375, 376. The *English Expositiour* repeats the above in substance, and adds "Hence *Remora* taken generally for any stop or hinderance."

sopher." He describes at length the curious changes which take place in the colour of this reptile under certain circumstances, but says nothing of the old idea of its being able to live on air. Alexander Ross, a seventeenth century writer against Sir Thomas Browne's "Religio Medici," defends the ancient opinion and asks:—"To what end should it gape more than other animals, but that it stands more in need of air than they for nutrition,"<sup>1</sup> Speed in "The two Gentlemen of Verona," says—"Tho' the camelion Love, can live on the air, I'am one that am nourish'd by my victuals."<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare also alludes in another passage to the change in this reptile's colour. Gloster in Hen. VI., boasting that he could "add colours to the Camelion." Gower says that vainglory is

" . . . Lich unto the camelion,  
Whiche upon every sondry hewe  
That he beholt he mote newe—  
His colour."<sup>3</sup>

Swan is inclined to the opinion that the changes in colour "affordeth a fit embleme, or lively representation of flatterers and time-servers, who fit themselves for all companies times, and occasions."<sup>4</sup> The "English Expositour," is of like mind and says that this "little beast" changeth himself quickly into any colour that he sitteth upon, except white and red; wherefore men that are inconstant and fickle, are sometimes called *Chameleons*."

Of the CROCODILE, or Cockodrill, as Mandeville terms it, it was said that when asleep a serpent creeping into its mouth, and then penetrating its stomach, tore it asunder; in like manner our Lord, clothed with his humanity, burst the bonds of hell and overcame death.<sup>5</sup> It was formerly believed that if it killed a man, it grieved ever afterwards, so it was reported in the fourteenth century, and Swan in the seventeenth says, "When he hath devoured a man and eaten up all but the head, he will sit and weep over it, as if he expressed a great portion of sorrow for his cruell fact; but is nothing so, it is because his hungrie paunche wants such another prey." "The English Expositour" confirms the above. Shakespeare in Henry VI. says—

<sup>1</sup> Quoted Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, vol. ii, p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Act ii, sc. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Gower *Con. Aman*, book i, p. 85, ed. Routledge.

<sup>4</sup> Swan, p. 487.

<sup>5</sup> See *Reliquary*, vol. i, N.S. p. 28.

" . . . Gloster's show  
 Beguiles him as the mournful crocodile  
 With sorrow snares relenting passengers."<sup>1</sup>

Of the SALAMANDER it was reported that its constitution was "so cold that (like ice) if he do but touch the fire he puts it out," and the ancients held that it lived in the flames and fed on fire as its proper nutriment. Buffon says that when thrown into the fire, the animal is seen to burst with the heat of its situation, and to eject its fluids. "We are gravely told," he continues "in the Philosophical Transactions, that this is a method the animal takes to extinguish the flames."<sup>2</sup>

A writer in the "Saturday Magazine," pub. in 1835, writes thus:—"In our own times a strange belief exists among the ignorant that if any fire remains unquenched for seven years, a salamander will be produced." This beast is an emblem of baptism and is sculptured on the Norman fonts at Winchester Cathedral and Bridekirk Church, Cumberland; it is also seen twining round the stem of one at Salehurst, Sussex. It forms an appropriate device upon some old south of England fire-backs, and there is a spirited representation of one on an example in the Lewes Museum, dated 1550. Asbestos was formerly called salamander's wool and believed to be formed of the hair of this animal.

The SCORPION bore a bad character. Chaucer in his Merchant's Tale, exclaims—

"O soden hap, O thou fortune unstable,  
 Like to the Scorpion so deceivable,  
 That flatrest with thy hed, whan thou wolt sting;  
 Thy tayl is deth, thurgh thin envenyming."<sup>3</sup>

Swan gravely relates a story of an Italian, who from smelling the herb basil too often, had "a scorpion bred in his brain."<sup>4</sup> The arms of the Coley family exhibit three scorpions.

As a symbolic animal, the SERPENT is the chief of the reptiles, and like many others of the animal creation has been used both as a good, and, an evil symbol, as the emblem of wisdom, and of evil and sin. In old representations of the temptation of Adam and Eve, the devil is frequently seen with the head of a woman termina-

<sup>1</sup> 2 Henry VI., act iii, sc. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Buffon, *Nat. History*, vol. ii, p. 262, ed. Kearsley, 1792.

<sup>3</sup> *Cant. Tales*, 9,900, 9,903, ed. Routledge.

<sup>4</sup> Swan, p. 238.

ting the serpent in which he is hidden. Ven. Bede tells us that the author of evil when tempting Eve, "chose a certain kind of serpent, having a face resembling a virgin's, because like things delight in their like, and moved its tongue to speak, the serpent at that time knowing nothing of it, in the same way as he speaks by the mouth of fanatics and those who are possessed without their knowledge."<sup>1</sup> An example of the woman-headed serpent may be noticed in the curious bas-relief of Third Pointed date at Bridge, Kent, and another occurs on a boss of the same date at Norwich. Satan appeared in the Cornish miracle plays temp. James I. with a female face and yellow hair. Pope in his "Epistle in Dr. Arbuthnot," writes—

"Eve's tempter thus the Rabbins have exprest  
A Cherub's face, a reptile all the rest."

Milton says nothing of the cherub face but makes his serpent, one

" . . . that towered  
Fold above fold a surging maze."

Dr. Lee in his "Glossary," says of the pastoral staff, "Its use is of great antiquity, being probably borrowed in the first Christian age from the rod of Moses, the staff of office of the ancient judges, or the sceptre of the king."<sup>2</sup> What is here said as the rod of Moses, suggests that the serpent figure with which the heads of many mediæval pastoral staves are embellished, may be symbolical of the miraculous rod of the prophet. Some very early Celtic examples end in two dragon's heads (synonymous with serpent's), and in the Eastern Church, I believe I am correct in saying, the pastoral staff is often surmounted by two serpents. An early specimen of Norman date in the Museum at Newcastle, has a lamb, with a large Greek cross over it, in the head, surrounded by a serpent forming the crook. In a similar manner the beautiful staff found at Wells, Somerset, has S. Michael and the dragon encircled by the serpent. Again, in the Meyrick collection were two staves, one of which had this reptile round the temptation of Adam and Eve, whilst the other showed the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, surrounded by the coil of a serpent which ended in foliage, a clever illustration of the Scrip-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted Townley, *Bib. Lit.*, vol. i, p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> See *Glossary*, &c., p. 272.



ture promise to Eve that her seed should bruise the head of the serpent. In the last case the reptile is evidently symbolical of the devil, in the others it would appear to figure the wisdom of the serpent.

At Holy Rhood Church, Southampton, the lectern has an eagle for the book-rest, treading upon a serpent. Serpents were supposed to torment the bodies of the lost in hell, as the Anglo-Saxon poem *Elene* says, the condemned

"...Now in flames  
Suffer deadly pains,  
In the embrace of serpents,  
Overwhelmed in darkness."

And in the vigorous representation of Hell in the Norman sculptures at Lincoln may be seen many serpent entwined mortals.

The carbuncle was considered to be the noblest of all the precious stones, and to possess the most virtue, it was found in the head of the asp, which, when man would win that jewel by incantation

"Anone as he perceiveth that,  
He lith doun his one ere al plat  
Unto the grounde, and halt it faste,  
And eke that other ere als faste  
He stoppeth with his tail so sore  
That he the wordes lasse or more  
Of his enchauntement ne hereth  
And in this wise him selfe he skiereth,  
So that he hath the wordes weived  
And thus his ere is nought deceived."<sup>1</sup>

The tradition of the jewel in the TOAD's head and Shakespeare's allusion to it are too well-known to call for more than a passing mention of them. The opinion that this poor creature is venomous is now quite exploded. Dryden notices the fancy in his "Satyrs of Juvenal," these lines occurring in the first of them,—

"The lady next requires a lashing line  
Who squeez'd a toad into her husband's wine."

Spenser makes Envy ride upon a wolf and chew

"Between his cankred teeth a venomous tode."<sup>2</sup>

The Botreaux family bear three toads as their arms.

One of the most conspicuous of the CHIMERICAL or fabulous animals was the BASILISK, Basilcock, or Cockatrice. Swan calls it the "king of serpents, not for its magnitude

<sup>1</sup> Gower, *Con. Aman.*, book pp. 55, 56, ed. Routledge. The Python as a symbol of rebellion crushed was repre-

sented on a medal struck by Charles I. See *Strickland*, vol. iv, p. 227n.

<sup>2</sup> Spenser, *F. Q.*, book i, canto 4.



or greatnesse, but for his stately pace and magnanimous mind—among all living creatures,” he says “there is none perisheth sooner by the poyson of a Cockatrice than man ; for with his sight he killeth him, which is because the beams of the Cockatrice’s eyes do corrupt the visible spirit of a man, as is affirmed ; which being corrupted, all the other spirits of life coming from the heart and brain, are thereby corrupted also, and so the man dieth. His hissing likewise is said to be as bad, in regard that it blasteth trees, killeth birds, &c., by poysoning the aire. If anything is slain by it, the same also proveth venomous to such as touch it, only a weasel kills it. Yet though this be a noxious creature, it much magnifieth the power of God, in being able to make such a one by the power of his word.”<sup>1</sup> The “English Expositour” gives an equally terrifying account of this serpent and adds that if only a man touch him with a stick it will kill him.

A basilisk with the head and feet of a cock, and the tail of a dragon, occurs on the Norman doorway at S. Margaret’s, Walmgate, York. It formed an heraldic charge, and is seen in the arms of the Booth and Buggine families.

Shakespeare has many allusions to the basilisk. In Henry V., Queen Isabel says —

“Your eyes, which hitherto have borne in them  
Against the French, that met them in their bent,  
The fatal balls of murdering basilisks,”<sup>2</sup>

and in Henry VI., the King exclaims—

“...Come basilisk,  
And kill the innocent gazer with thy sight.”<sup>3</sup>

In the same play Suffolk, when cursing his enemies, wishes they may have

“Their chiefest prospect murd’ring basilisks,”<sup>4</sup>

and Gloster boasts that he will “slay more gazers than the basilisk.”

Spenser mentions one who

“Secretly his enemiss did slay ;  
Like as the basilisk, of serpent’s seede,  
From powerful eyes close venom did convey  
Into the looker’s hart, and killeth farre away.

<sup>1</sup> Swan, p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> Act v, sc. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Henry VI., act iii, sc. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, act iii, sc. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Spenser, F. Q., book iv, canto 5.

The CALADRIUS was a bird supposed to hover about sick persons, if it looked towards them they recovered, if it turned away its head they died, hence it became an emblem of Christ. This imaginary creature is sculptured on the Norman doorway at Alne, Yorks, with the name CALADRI inscribed over it.

In Norman work the CENTAUR or Sagittary is frequently met with. The hippopotamus appears to have been the animal which suggested the centaur, although its only resemblance to a horse seems to be in its voice. Mande-ville says of the land called Bucharía, that "In that country are many ipotaynes that dwell sometimes in the water, and sometimes on the land; and they are half men and half horse, as I have said before, and they eat men when they may take them."<sup>1</sup> A good example of Sagittarius—of Norman date—is on the font at Darent, and there are two centaurs on the Second Pointed misereres of the stalls at Exeter Cathedral. Planché says, "The Sagittary is said to have been a coat assumed by King Stephen, in consequence of his having commenced his reign under the sign, Sagittarius," but adds, that there is no authority for the charge attributed to Stephen.<sup>2</sup>

The great emblem of the devil—the DRAGON—is probably the most frequently met with of all fabulous creatures, and especially in early northern art. A great number of Cornish fonts of that date have the dragon in some form or other upon them, and it appears upon others at Studham, Beds; Topsham, Devon; and Thorpe Arnold, Leicestershire. In later work at York Minster the head of this monster was carved on the great beam formerly supporting the font cover,<sup>3</sup> and on the stalls at Lincoln is seen the Christian Knight fighting against seven dragons, typical of the contest of the soul against the seven deadly sins. The death of the dragon is sculptured on the

<sup>1</sup> *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 261. Bohn.

<sup>2</sup> *Pur. Arms.*, p. 99. The origin of the Centaur of antiquity is said to have arisen from the mistake of savages, who seeing men mounted on horses for the first time, supposed them one animal; in later times the same misconception took place in South America. Robertson says of the Spanish sixteenth century adventurers, that their horses "were objects of the greatest astonishment to all the

people of New Spain. At first they imagined the horse and his rider, like the Centaurs of the Ancients, to be some monstrous animal of a terrible form. Even after they had discovered the mistake they believed the horses devoured men in battle, and when they neighed, thought that they were demanding their prey."—*History of America*, vol. ii, p. 525.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Mackenzie Walcott in *Builder*, 1864, p. 330.

rood-screen and parclose at Cleeve, Somerset, and at Sherringham, Norfolk, a hideous monster of this kind is in one spandril of the chancel screen and a cockatrice in the other. The brass of Margaret Wylloughby, 1483, at Raveningham, Norfolk, shews her standing on the dragon emblem of her namesake, S. Margaret, an unusual feature in monumental art.<sup>1</sup>

The seven-headed dragon, the Hydra of antiquity, and the beast of the Apocalypse, is occasionally met with in English symbolism. As the hydra, it forms the crest of the Barret family, and was a device on a fire-back cast at Ashburnham, Sussex; as the seven headed beast of the Revelations, it was depicted on the walls of Lindfield Church, Sussex, where it was exhibited slain by the Blessed Virgin and S. Michael.

The wivern or two-legged dragon enters largely into heraldic art. A standard with this monster is seen on the Bayeux tapestry. It was the crest of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, and of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and it forms the sole charge and crest of the Drake family, a pun on the Latin *Draco*, or dragon.

One of the most renowned fabulous animals was the GRIFFIN, the emblem of watchfulness and forethought, in ancient and mediæval times. At Athens the statue of Athene Parthenos bore a figure of this monster on each side of her helmet,<sup>2</sup> and the Romans mounted Apollo on a winged griffin. On the Norman font at Darenth is a griffon segreant, and one appears on the horn of Ulphus. The very curious leathern chalice box at Cawston, Norfolk, bears a griffin on the lid. Mandeville writes thus of these animals:—"Some men say that they have the body upward of an eagle and beneath of a lion; and that is true. But one griffin has a greater body, and is stronger than eight lions, and greater and stronger than a hundred eagles."<sup>3</sup> Chaucer says of Licurgus—

"Blake was his berd, and manly was his face,  
The cercles of his eyen in his hed;  
They gloweden betwixen yelwe and red,  
And like a griffon loked he about."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Rev. E. Farrer, *List of Norfolk Brasses*, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 183. The Griffin is seen in Assyrian art.

<sup>3</sup> *Early Tra. in Pal.*, p. 261.

<sup>4</sup> Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, 2 133, 2 136.

The griffin was the especial guardian of gold and treasures, a fact noticed by Milton, who describing Satan's flight, tells us it was like—

'As when a gryphon through the wilderness,  
With winged course, o'er hill and moory dale,  
Pursues the Arimaspon, who by stealth,  
Had from his watchful custody parloin'd  
The guarded gold: . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Swan is cautious about the existence of this animal, and says:—"The griffon is a creature (if there be any such creature for many doubt it) which whether, I may reckon amongst the birds or beasts, I cannot tell." He states that it is "hard to be taken except he be young," and ends his description with a renewal of his scepticism. "But as I said some doubt whether there be any such creature or no which for my part shall be left to every man's libertie."<sup>2</sup>

The griffin enters largely into English heraldry, and some families appear to have had an especial fondness for this chimera, the arms and crests of the Evelyns and Finchs, being composed of this fabulous creature.

The MERMAID, in mediæval symbolism, takes the place of the ancient syren of classic lore, and is so well known that little need be said respecting it. The figure is seen in all periods of English art, and was a great favourite, in spite of its being the emblem of the false joys of this world, and of the ruin they bring upon man. The mermaid or merman is used as an heraldic crest, and Berry mentions it as being that of the Chippenhams of Hertfordshire, who have a merman or triton holding a pennon with the word "Jesus" upon it—a singular example.<sup>3</sup>

That extremely rare bird, the PHOENIX, was the emblem of Christ and immortality in early Christian art, and of

<sup>1</sup> Milton, *Par. Lost*, book ii, 943, 947. Marbodius says of the Emerald, "It is found only in a dry uninhabitable country. Through the bitterness of its cold nothing can dwell there but griffins and the one-eyed arimasps that fight with them. By the Emerald we understand those who excel others in the vigour of their faith, and dwell among infidels, who be frigid and arid in love. The griffins that keep watch over them be devils who envy them that have this

precious gem of faith, and do their diligence to deprive them thereof, against these fight the one-eyed arimasps, that is those who go not two ways nor have a double heart: nor serve two lords."—Quo Neale, *Mediæval Hymns*, p. 44. See also *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxxviii, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Swan, p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> A paper on the "Mermaid" will be found in *The Reliquary* for October, 1890.



the Resurrection of our Lord. It was a belief dating from the earliest ages that there was but one phoenix living at a time in the whole world. Shakspeare alludes to this rareness when Rosalind says—

“She calls me proud ; and that she could not love me,  
Where man as rare as phoenix.”<sup>1</sup>

But in the latter part of the sixteenth century the reality of such a bird as the phoenix was much doubted. Sebastian in “The Tempest,” says—

“ . . . Now I will believe  
That there are unicorns ; that in Arabia  
There is one tree, the phoenix throne ; one phoenix  
At this time reigning there.”<sup>2</sup>

Sir Thomas Browne says, “That there is but one phoenix in all the world, which after many hundred years burns herself ; and from the ashes thereof riseth up another, is a conceit not new, nor altogether popular, but of great antiquity, not only delivered by humane authors, but frequently expressed by holy writers, by Ciril, Epiphanius, and others, by Ambrose in his Hexameron, and Tertullian in his excellent tract, ‘De Resurrectionis Carnis.’ All which, notwithstanding we cannot presume the existence of this animal, nor dare we affirm there is any phoenix in nature.”<sup>3</sup> Swan doubts of the existence of this bird “that whereas the Lord said to all his creatures, *Increase and multiplie*, this benediction should take no place in the phoenix which multiplieth not. And again seeing all creatures which came into the Ark came by two and two, the male and female it must needs follow that the phoenix by this means perished.”<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding the doubtfulness of the reality of this creature in some seventeenth century writers, two feathers from the tail of this bird were in Tradescant’s Museum.

The phoenix appears on one of the misereres in the Lady, or Henry VII. Chapel, Westminster, and at Canterbury Cathedral, round the walls of Becket’s crown, were “numerous paintings of a phoenix rising from the flames,” which Mr. Keyser conjectures were “probably intended to illustrate the many occasions on which the cathedral had been destroyed by fire.”<sup>5</sup> The phoenix forms an

<sup>1</sup> *As you like it*, act iv, sc. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Tempest*, act iii, sc. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Quo Brand, *Pop. Antiquities*, vol. iii, p. 366.

<sup>4</sup> Swan, p. 385. The Phoenix was an emblem of celibacy and for this reason became the badge of Queen Elizabeth.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxxv. p. 279.



appropriate device on some Sussex firebacks, one of which, dated 1664, is in the Museum of the Sussex Archaeological Society at Lewes.

The UNICORN, or licorne, as it was termed in former times as in modern French, was the emblem of our Saviour, and of purity. It is sculptured with other animals on the horn of Ulphus; as the emblem of our Lord it appears on a boss at Norwich, and it nestles in the lap of the Virgin on one of the stalls at Lincoln Cathedral. In heraldry the unicorn was the symbol of extreme courage, as according to the legend it would rather cast itself off a rock, and die than be taken by the hunters. Planché says that it was "one of the most favourite fabulous animals of the middle ages, but is rarely met with as a coat of arms. As a crest or supporter it is of more frequent occurrence."<sup>1</sup> Yet Berry gives a list of thirty-five coats, in which the unicorn holds a prominent place. As a crest it appears on the monument of one of the Dalyngruge family at Fletching, Sussex, about 1395 in date. An exhaustive and interesting paper on the symbolism of this animal, by the Rev. Joseph Hirst, will be found in vol. xli. of the *Archæological Journal*.<sup>2</sup>

The above are only a few notes on one branch of a most interesting subject. The symbolical animals of the nations of antiquity, as well as those of our own country in past times, together with those of the various peoples of the East at the present day, offer a subject worthy of deep and careful investigation, and if the remarks, here made, induce any of my hearers to enter more fully into it, the object of this paper will be duly attained.

P.S.—The symbolic figure painted on the wall near the kitchen of Winchester College, has beneath it the following inscription:

A Trusty Servants Portrait would you see,  
This Emblematic Figure well Survey:  
The Porkers Snout—not Nice in diet shows,  
The Padlock Shut—no secrets He'll disclose.  
Patient the Ass—his Masters wrath will bear  
Swiftuess in Errand—the Staggs Feet declare.  
Loaded his Left Hand apt to Labour Saith,  
The Vest his Neatness Open hand his Faith.  
Girt with his Sword, his Shield upon his Arm,  
Himself & Master He'll protect from harm.

<sup>1</sup> *Pur. of Arms.*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Swan is especially indignant with those who refuse to believe in the unicorn. "But," he says, "that there is such a

peculiar beast the Scripture, both in Deuteronomie, Isaiah, Job, and the Book of Psalmes doth bear us witnesse," p. 429.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF SIR HERBERT E. MAXWELL,  
BART., M.P., TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
INSTITUTE, HELD AT EDINBURGH.<sup>1</sup>

The closing years of a century naturally suggest the process of stock-taking, and as we have arrived at the last decade of a century which claims to have witnessed material progress accelerated beyond all precedent, and the accumulation of scientific knowledge without parallel, it is not unnatural that we should direct inquiry into the standing attained by that particular branch of science—archæology—in which we are all concerned.

In comparing the position which archæology occupies at the present time with that which it did, say, a century ago, the comparison is made somewhat more easy by a landmark placed very nearly half-way between the two periods—viz., the last meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute in this city in the year 1856. And I submit, in making the comparison, we have no reason to blush. It was in the year 1816 that the third of the Waverley novels was published—"The Antiquary"—and in that romance Sir Walter Scott delineated with a subtle and sympathetic hand the foibles of the antiquary of that day—not unkindly, you may be sure, because the Great Unknown ever dipped his pen in ink in which gall was very sparingly infused. No one ever shared more keenly the ardour of collection and investigation than Sir Walter Scott did. He shed the light of his genius upon what was then a darkling pursuit with no just claim to be ranked as science; and you have only to dip into that most delightful of all biographies, Lockhart's "Life of Scott"—the difficulty is to be content with a dip—to

<sup>1</sup> Delivered August 11th 1891.

share the glee with which he added each object to the great store at Abbotsford.

It is not uninteresting to compare the motives of two men who, though vastly dis-similar in many points of their character, yet coincided in others. Horace Walpole left the scene just as Walter Scott was entering upon it. Each has left the fullest details of his life—each was an author and each was an ardent collector. Each undertook and carried forward with increasing eagerness the construction of a Gothic palace at a time when the public were indifferent to Gothic architecture, and architects themselves were almost wholly uninstructed in it. This is neither the time nor the place to dwell upon the contrast between these two men ; but the point to which I will draw your attention is the difference in the motive which each had in collecting. Walpole collected antiques because of their beauty. Whole pages of his letters are taken up with rhapsody over the modelling of a torso or the chasing of a vase. In his eyes, art gave the primary, and association only the secondary merit. Scott, on the other hand, prized each object chiefly on account of its origin and the associations connected with it. A battered morion from a Border moss was dearer in his eyes than a goblet chased by Benvenuto Cellini. The wasted tracery of Dryburgh or Melrose touched him more nearly than Giotto's Campanile, or the towers of Abbeville. It was perhaps the Santa Maria Novella, or the Palazzo Vecchio, that fired Walpole's imitative ambition in Strawberry Hill, but Scott reared Abbotsford because he had such a deep love for those feudal ages in which he loved to instruct us. Each was pre-eminent in his day—Walpole as a dilettante, and Scott as an antiquary ; and it is our privilege in this day, without discarding Walpole's love of beauty or disdaining Scott's spirit of romance, to follow a higher aim than either—namely, the attainment of truth. Without that object the whole science and scheme of archæology is an aimless fabric.

The Scottish Antiquaries have collected within this building a whole host of silent witnesses to the past, each bearing testimony to the origin of our race, and the development of our civilisation. It is neither for the

gratification of taste, nor of romantic sentiment, that this great collection has been brought together, and for which we value it. It is our desire to know and to understand the past history of our race, without which, I submit, it is impossible either to understand or to control the present, or to forecast and direct the future.

Now, far be it from me in anything I have said to depreciate the work done by the Great Columbus of Scotland, Sir Walter Scott. I yield to no one in love for the man and admiration for his work. It would be impossible to calculate how many minds he has drawn into the field of archæology after him. I myself gratefully admit that it was he who first directed my thoughts to that subject, and I have no doubt there are many here present who will make the same confession. But the impetus which he gave to archæology would have been but transient had it not been submitted to the method and system which is found indispensable to all science. I read a sentence lately in a newspaper which seemed to me to contain the essence of the truth of the matter—"In the present day it is necessary that every subject should be considered, not only in itself, but in relation to every other subject"—and the indispensable method—the method which I have alluded to as indispensable—of all science is the comparative method, that which distinguishes modern science from mediæval study, and secures their reward to the labours of research.

Men have ever shown themselves ardent in research. There is implanted in the human breast that craving for knowledge which, showing itself in the savage by a restless curiosity, swells under civilisation and culture into divine hunger for the truth and divine hatred of error. We have only in recent times learned how best to direct research, by comparing observation, and so we have been enabled to unravel much mystery and dispel much illusion which obscures the early history of our race. I very well recollect how a friend of mine, a distinguished scholar, and one thoroughly in sympathy with all intellectual movement, attempted to discourage me from devoting any time to the study of archæology. "It will disappoint you," he said, "you may go on collecting arrow-heads, and flint implements, and all sorts of old curiosities,



till you have no room to contain them : but archæology, believe me," he said, " is a finite science ; you will come up to a dead wall, beyond which you will not be able to pass, and you will then regret the time that you might have devoted to physical science, which is infinite."

Well, I was not discouraged. I ventured to assert then, as I hold now, that archæology is the handmaid of history, and not only that, but that it is an important branch of not the least important section of physical science—namely, anthropology, the study of mankind. More than anything else, I think, it convinces us of the unity of the human race. Primitive implements, primitive dwellings, burial-places, utensils in all parts of the world bear a striking similarity to one another. We find among the Australasian tribes implements of a type almost identical with those exhumed from the mounds of Denmark, and from our own hillsides. Everywhere there is evidence that man in primitive condition, subject to similar circumstances, and having to contend with similar difficulties, has adopted similar means of overcoming them. We can afford to despise Voltaire's jibe, "*Il ne faut point d'esprit pour s'occuper des vieux événements.*" It is not only to tickle our vanity that we compare the war canoe found, perhaps, in a Highland lake, hollowed out of a single oak trunk, with the modern ironclad, electric-lighted, steam-propelled, armed with 100-ton guns loaded and aimed by hydraulic machinery. It tends rather to our humility when we reflect that between these two master-pieces of naval engineering there is perhaps interposed a space of less than twenty centuries. If mankind be a fitting object for our study, surely herein is something which adds to our knowledge of its history—leads us so far on the road to a knowledge of its destiny.

Now, I suppose that every individual attracted to the study of archæology passes through the phase of being a collector. Collectors are of many sorts. There are good collectors and bad collectors. The bad collectors, for convenience of reference, may be classified as "bottlers." They are those people who, from excellent motives, and with a laudable aim, get hold of objects of antiquity and keep them to themselves. But the bottler, under favourable circumstances and auspices, develops into



the true collector, whose object is the advancement of science.

Although I speak in the presence of those who are much better qualified to discuss these subjects than myself, perhaps I may allude here to one little circumstance which I observe is too often neglected, and brings with it lamentable consequences, apparently out of proportion to the amount of neglect involved at the outset. I mean the duty of every person into whose hands the object of antiquity comes, be he a bottler or a genuine collector, of labelling at once every object with the name of the place where it is found. Every one must be aware of how seldom that little duty is observed. In almost every country house there may be seen lying about two or three objects of antiquity recovered from the ground in the neighbourhood. It is the rarest possible thing to find any record upon them of how, when, or where they were found. I have already referred to the similarity of type between implements from distant parts of the earth. It is often impossible, if the object is not marked, to say whether it came from the South Sea Islands or from the British Isles, and if that be the case, the value of the object to science is absolutely *nil*. Therefore I think too much importance can hardly be placed upon the simple duty of making a record of how, when, and where such thing was found.

In most cases the ardour of mere collection passes away. The collection becomes too bulky, and outgrows the cases which it was originally intended to fill, and the result is something like what it is described by Sir Walter Scott in Mr. Oldbuck's parlour. It is not every one who has the gift of order in such a degree as my friend Mr. John Evans. No one who has had the privilege of inspecting the vast collection which he has brought together at Nash Mills but must have been divided between admiration for the indefatigable zeal of the collector and for the admirable method of the arranging of the collection. Unhappily, the labours of private collectors do not often contribute so efficiently to the advancement of science as his have done.

I have alluded to the importance of comparison in the study of archæology, and perhaps I may introduce an

instance of the importance of such comparison, which, early in life, came under my own observation. A certain sheet of water, which has since become famed in archaeological annals—Dowalton Loch, in Wigtownshire—which covered about 400 acres of ground, was drained in 1862. My late father took down a party of friends to inspect the operations; and on one occasion when the waters were running off the loch it so happened that the noble Duke, the father of Lord Percy, the president of this Institute, then Lord Lovaine, was one of the party. He had lately returned from examining the Swiss lake dwellings. You will recollect that in the previous summer the waters of the Swiss lakes, owing to drought, had receded so far as to permit the inspection of certain lacustrine dwellings, which were then new, or almost new, to science. Well, at the time of Lord Lovaine's visit, certain islets were appearing above the surface of the receding waters. A boat was obtained, and the party rowed out to one of these islands. As the boat touched the shore, Lord Lovaine exclaimed, "Why, here is one of the very things that I have been examining in the Swiss lakes!" Had it not been for his Lordship's presence on that occasion I think it is very likely that the important discoveries then made might have passed, if not unnoticed, at least uncared for, and a large number of objects which were recovered and are at present housed in this museum might have been scattered unlabelled through various country houses in the neighbourhood.

I need hardly remind you of the great advance made in our acquaintance with Scottish lake dwellings since that day. The study has been carried on very steadily ever since, and we are able to enjoy the fruits of it in those noble volumes with which we are familiar, the work of my friend Dr. Robert Munro who has won for himself the position of the leading authority in this country upon crannogs or lake dwellings.

One other incident connected with the same discovery may perhaps be not unworthy of notice. It is well known that local tradition is a most unsafe and treacherous guide. Reliance upon it has to be surrounded by every imaginable precaution, or one is sure to go astray. Still tradition is but history in its primitive form, and there

was a tradition connected with Dowalton Loch—namely, that there was a village buried below the waters, which seemed to receive striking confirmation when the loch was dry, and this group of islets, with their traces of busy life, and the causeways connecting them with the shore, were laid bare.

But I propose giving a still more striking instance of the confirmation of tradition, showing how a tale may survive, as it were, as a landmark, through the constant social and religious change of the past centuries. Within a very few miles of the said Dowalton Loch, on the shore of Luce Bay, near Whithorn, the *Candida Casa* of St. Ninian, there is a cave differing in no respect from scores of others on the same rocky coast. Local tradition had assigned to this particular cleft in the rocks the name of St. Ninian—St. Ninian's cave. There was no evidence other than traditional of religious occupation, but some local antiquaries of 1883 determined to clear out this cave, and verify or confute the tradition if possible; and after much labour, and removal of several hundred tons of earth and fallen rock, they did find ample confirmation of the legends. No fewer than eighteen crosses, some of Romanesque, others of an early Celtic type, carved either upon the walls of the cave or on detached rocks, a pavement, apparently that of a religious cell, and various other objects of great interest were found, showing that the tradition had had sufficient vitality to survive the fourteen and half centuries which had intervened since its occupation by St. Ninian. I mention this to show that although we should not put too much reliance upon tradition, it is part of the office of the antiquary to inquire into tradition, to confirm it or to confute it. It would go far to free antiquaries as a class from the suspicion of ridicule and good-natured contempt which business people sometimes exhibit towards them if they inquired fearlessly into those legends and traditions, discrediting what was false and establishing what was true. There is an Indian tradition that the strength of every enemy slain by a warrior passes into the body of his conqueror, and remains there. So it is with science. Every error exposed, every falsehood put to death, every unsound method put an end to, raises the standard of science, and increases its power to bring us nearer the truth.

May I say a few words relative to one of the problems which is pressing upon antiquaries in several parts of the country at the present time, and to which I think we may invite the collaboration of the Royal Archæological Institute—I mean those mysterious rock sculptures which from time to time are found in increasing numbers all over Scotland? I may say, in passing, that this is not without its melancholy association to me, because that kindly gentleman and diligent antiquary, Mr. Hamilton, of Ardendee, whose recent death we have to deplore, had devoted himself for some years to the study of these objects, and I know of no one ready to take up the work which he was carrying on. That they are of high antiquity there can be no doubt. I myself have seen the hard dry turf, to the depth of six inches, removed from the glaciated rock surface, which was cut into by these concentric circles and cup-marks. They bear a striking resemblance to similar rock sculptures found not only in Scandinavia and Central Europe, but in such remote parts of the earth as Asia, North, Central, and South America. We can hazard no guess, even at the race by whom they were made, still less at the object for which they were made. All that we can do, and we should do it, is to record the discovery of them, with careful drawings, and descriptive notes, and wait till perhaps light will flash upon them from the habits of some uncivilised tribe, or from a passage in some hitherto unnoticed writer.

I am afraid I have prolonged my remarks to the very verge of your patience, but I do not like to conclude them without some reference to the building in which we are able to receive the Royal Archæological Institute. The Scottish Antiquaries, as you are aware, are possessors of a collection, national in the fullest sense of the word, but for many years they have been absolutely without the means of exhibiting that collection, or even of storing it. No one, I think, who has practical experience in the work of arranging and managing such a collection can do justice to the skill and patience with which our secretary, Dr. Joseph Anderson, has discharged his part. But even he could not put a quart of ale into a pint pot. Visitors to the old building upon the Mound could not, so to speak,



see the wood on account of the trees. There is some mystery about what took place, as an outcome of which we are enabled to receive our friends so worthily as we do in this building. I feel some hesitation in lending credence to the report that Dr. Anderson in his difficulty had recourse to the black arts, but I believe that the circumstances have been explained with, at all events, an approximate degree of truth. The following circumstantial account of what took place has reached me :—Dr. Anderson was sitting one night in that Mound library with which we are as much accustomed to connect his individuality as we are to connect the Pope with the Vatican, or the spider with its web. He was in a state of great despondency, for the cases were bulging and groaning under the weight of the collection, and even his ingenuity could find no means of storing the objects which were pouring in upon him. His fingers were thrust through his hair, and his eyes gleamed with the light of despair. In his perplexity he muttered certain sentences which I am not at liberty to repeat. But as he spoke the door of the library opened, and a dark-cloaked figure, with a slouch hat, advanced towards him. “Heaven protect me,” cried Dr. Anderson, “here is a man with more things! Take them away, sir, I have not room for another article.” Still the stranger advanced towards the table, deposited upon it a small parcel and withdrew. Dr. Anderson opened the parcel, and was at once arrested by the appearance of the contents. There was in it, I am informed, a black crystal. He took it up, handled it carefully, and took out his pocket-handkerchief to remove certain specks of dust upon it. Then, as he gently rubbed the crystal, the door again opened, and another figure appeared, advanced to the table, and said—“What does the master want with the slave of the amulet?” We all know what Dr. Anderson wanted. It was what every Fellow of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries wanted—viz, a new museum. And nobly, I think you will agree with me, has the slave of the amulet performed his task. The people of Edinburgh have watched this building rise, and they knew not to whom to attribute the power which gave it birth, because one condition was attached by the



Genie to the performance of his task—that his name should not be revealed. I am happy to say that that condition has now been removed, and I am only sorry to say that the genie of the amulet—Mr. John R. Findlay—is not present to allow me, speaking in the name of the Scottish Antiquaries—may I not say in the name of the Scottish nation—to offer him our grateful thanks.

There only remains for me to commend to you the work that lies before you. We have with us collaborators from many parts of Europe, and from, I think, every part of the United Kingdom. We have many interesting objects to visit—many interesting matters to discuss. I think the names of the presidents of the various sections are a sufficient guarantee that the task before us will be adequately performed; and I trust that we, who are natives, will exert ourselves so that the Royal Archaeological Institute will have no reason to regret that they have again selected the Scottish capital for their annual meeting.

THE PROGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGY. OPENING ADDRESS  
OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SECTION AT THE EDINBURGH  
MEETING.<sup>1</sup>

By JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., LL.D., P.S.A.

More than a generation has elapsed since this Institute held its last Meeting in Edinburgh, in the year 1856, under the patronage of the late Prince Consort, and under the immediate presidency of the late Lord Talbot de Malahide. At that time the Institute had the great advantage of the energetic services of Mr. Albert Way, who organised the important temporary Museum and superintended the printing of its Catalogue, which still forms a standard handbook for archæological students, while the names of Mr. Cosmo Innes, Mr. Robert Chambers, Mr. John Stuart, Mr. David Laing, Sir James Y. Simpson, Dr. Edwin Guest, Mr. Hodgson Hinde, Dr. Whewell, Mr. John Hill Burton, Mr. John Mitchell Kemble, and Mr. Henry Rhind, occur in the account of the proceedings of the Meeting. Of all these well-known antiquaries not one survives, though their memorial is not perished with them. On the other hand, we may congratulate ourselves that several of the distinguished members of the Institute who so much contributed to the success of the Meeting of 1856 are still alive to take an interest in our proceedings to-day, even though they may not be bodily present among us. Professor, now Sir Daniel Wilson, is, I rejoice to say, now revisiting his native country, but he had even at that time taken up his residence on the other side of the Atlantic, and had already added the word "Prehistoric" to our archæological vocabulary—and he, together with Dr. Bruce, the veteran historian of the Roman Wall,—the ever active Sir Henry Dryden—Mr. George Scharf, at that time "Junior," but now the Director of the National Portrait Gallery in London, and

<sup>1</sup> Read at Edinburgh, August 11th, 1891.

Mr. Freeman, who is now crowning his fame as a historian by his erudite and eloquent history of Sicily—will, I trust, take it in good part if I recall their names on the present occasion.

Mr. Cosmo Innes, in welcoming the Institute in 1856 on behalf of the University of Edinburgh, called attention to the progress that had been made in archæological science during the previous thirty years, of which he well said that antiquaries would find no reason to be ashamed. It seems to me that a few words on the progress made in the same direction within the United Kingdom during the last thirty-five years would not be out of place on the present occasion, especially when it is borne in mind that no inconsiderable part of that progress is due to the labours of Scottish antiquaries. At the same time some reference must of course be made to the progress of archæological science in other countries.

One vast and interesting archæological period affording a new domain for the researches of both geologists and antiquaries, who there meet upon a common ground, has within that time been, I may say, discovered; and the Palæolithic, or River-drift Period, now demands from the archæologist as much attention as the Neolithic, or Surface Stone Period. It is true that the researches of French geologists in some of the caverns of the South of France, and of Mr. McEnery in Kents Cavern near Torquay, as well as the investigations of that distinguished Scotsman, the late Dr. Hugh Falconer, in the Grotto di Maccagnone in Sicily, had already before 1856 raised a presumption in favour of the view that man had coëxisted with the Quaternary, or Postpliocene fauna, of which many members are now either locally or absolutely extinct. It is also the fact that that prescient antiquary of the last century, Mr. John Frere, who in 1797 described to the Society of Antiquaries of London some flint implements discovered with bones of enormous animals at a great depth in brick-earth at Hoxne in Suffolk, was tempted to “refer them to a very remote period indeed, even beyond that of the present world.”<sup>1</sup> It was not, however, until on the suggestion of Dr. Falconer, the river-gravels of the Somme at Abbeville and Amiens were

<sup>1</sup> *Archæol.*, Vol. XIII. 204,

examined by Professor Prestwich, myself and others, in the spring of 1859, that the discoveries of M. Boucher de Perthes, which had for some years been before an incredulous world, were confirmed, and the existence of flints wrought into shape by the hand of man and lying in juxtaposition with the remains of extinct animals in undisturbed beds of gravel, was established beyond all controversy. It is needless for me here to enter into any account of the enormously wide extension that the discoveries in this field of archæological research have already assumed. Not only has the existence of palæolithic man been proved in England, France, Spain, Italy, and other European countries, but strong presumptions have been raised as to his having left remains of his handicraft both in Northern and Southern Africa and on the Eastern coasts of Hindostan. The antiquity of these relics can only be determined from the geological evidence of the beds in which they are deposited. When in England we find flint implements, the work of man's hands, in gravels which formed the bed of the Thames at a time when, where London and Reading now stand, the erosion of the wide valley of that river had not extended to its present depth by from 80 to 120 feet, and when we hear of worked flints forming an integral part of the rock in which the tombs of the ancient Kings of Egypt have been excavated, however much we may try mentally to increase the forces of nature that have brought about the vast alterations in the depth of the valleys and the configuration of the surface of the earth since these beds were deposited, we cannot but be lost in wonder at the enormous antiquity of the human race which is unfolded before us. Nor is this wonder lessened when we consider that the absence in the north of England and of Scotland of such relics as those that I have been mentioning is most readily accounted for by the hypothesis that at the time that these instruments were in use by man in Southern England, the northern part of Britain was still enshrouded in ice, the remains of that Glacial Period, the chronology and history of which have been so carefully investigated by the late Mr. Croll and Professor James Geikie. Closely allied to this River-drift Period, but in many cases representing a somewhat later stage in the Palæolithic Age, is what has been termed the

Cave Period, when the now northern reindeer formed one of the principal means of subsistence for the early hunters of the South of France. In this department again vast accessions to our knowledge have been made during the past five-and-thirty years. As standard examples of what has been done, I may cite the researches made by M. Lartet and our countryman, Mr Henry Christy, in the bone caves of the Dordogne, which resulted in the publication of the *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*, and the patient investigation of Kents Cavern near Torquay by Mr. William Pengelly, an account of whose work during sixteen successive years has been published in the Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Of foreign works relating to Cavern-researches a long catalogue might be adduced, but while on the subject of Cave-hunting, I can hardly pass over the name of our own countryman, Professor Boyd Dawkins, in silence. Magnificent collections of the relics of these early cave-men have been added to the British Museum, mainly through the liberality of the late Henry Christy; and the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, rich in pre-historic antiquities, has sprung into existence since last we met here.

Between the latest phases of the Palæolithic, or River-drift Period, and the earliest of the Neolithic, or Surface Stone Period, there exists a gulf which notwithstanding all efforts that have hitherto been made has not as yet been satisfactorily bridged over. Our knowledge, however, of all that relates to the Neolithic Period has materially increased since 1856. Although a fair number of antiquities formed of stone were exhibited in the temporary museum of the Institute at Edinburgh in that year, and some papers on the classification of celts had appeared in the *Archæologia* and in the *Archæological Journal*, Sir William Wilde's well-known catalogue of the weapons, tools, and implements formed of stone, and preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, was not published until 1857. This catalogue may be regarded as almost the first attempt in the English language at a complete classification of such objects. It has of course been followed by others, of which Stevens' "Flint Chips," published in 1870, and my own "Stone Implements,"



which appeared in 1872, may be mentioned. In the interval between 1857 and 1872 the discoveries of palæolithic implements at Abbeville, Amiens, and elsewhere led also to a far greater interest being taken in the more recent stone relics of the Neolithic Age, to which the researches of Dr. Thurnam among the barrows of Wiltshire, and Canon Greenwell among those of Yorkshire, and the publication of Sir John Lubbock's popular work on Prehistoric Times helped largely to contribute. The Proceedings of the Societies of Antiquaries, both of London and Scotland, as well as of this Institute and the British Archæological Association, all testify to this increased interest and the consequent advance of knowledge. Among local societies that have specially aided in illustrating the Neolithic Period, I may venture to cite that of Ayrshire and Galloway.

The foundation in America of Museums illustrative of the Stone Age of that vast Continent, and the numerous Ethnological Museums and Societies that have been instituted in Europe have done much to illustrate the habits of primeval man by a comparison with those of existing races in the lowest stage of culture. Among such Museums our own Christy Collection stands in the first rank.

On the Continent, more especially in France and Germany, an immense extension in the way of research and in the number of publications relating to the Stone period has taken place; and in Denmark and Scandinavia the original home of the now generally accepted classification of prehistoric times into the three ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron, further studies have been prosecuted in the most energetic manner. The developement of our knowledge of the Bronze age has kept pace with the advances in other departments, and while we have become better acquainted with the numerous weapons and instruments for the manufacture of which bronze was applied at a time when iron was comparatively unknown, we are now to some extent able to adopt a chronological arrangement for different forms. Here again I may claim to have done somewhat to advance our knowledge, but for chronological details we are in the main indebted to Continental archæologists, and the names of Hildebrand, Montelius, Sophus Müller, and Ernest Chantre will readily occur to your minds.

Last among these Prehistoric Periods comes the early Iron Age, or that to which in this country Mr. Franks has given the designation of late-Celtic. In connection with this period, and indeed with the two preceding periods I may mention the two volumes by Dr. Joseph Anderson, on "Scotland in Pagan Times." Much has been done by Mr. Franks in his edition of Kemble's "*Horae Ferales*," but there is still room for a work especially devoted to this period, of which our knowledge, though greater than it was some thirty years ago, is still far from complete. Quite recently my son, Mr. Arthur John Evans, in his account of an Urn-Field at Aylesford in Kent, has called attention to a distinctive class of late-Celtic pottery which has hitherto been regarded as Roman, but which by its affinities he has shown to be connected with a series of vessels of peculiar fabric extending across the Continent of Europe, from the head of the Adriatic to the British Isles, and quite anterior to Roman influence and independent of it.

I have deliberately omitted from this short review a field of enquiry which has perhaps supplied more information than any other, and which has furnished more than one key to the proper chronological arrangements of prehistoric relics—I mean the Lake-dwellings of Switzerland,—though to these may now be added some remains of the same class discovered in other countries. It is true that Dr. Ferdinand Keller's first report upon them was published in 1854, or rather before the date of the last meeting of this Institute in Edinburgh, but the extensive literature on this subject has grown up almost entirely since that epoch, and Dr. Robert Munro, in his admirable and comprehensive work, just published, on the Lake-dwellings of Europe, enumerates upwards of 450 separate works and papers relating to the discoveries of which he treats, all published since 1856. His previous volume on the Lake-dwellings of Scotland, and that of Colonel Wood Martin on those of Ireland, testify to the existence of a considerable number of remains of this class within the British Isles. It is, however, in the lakes of Switzerland that the most complete series of these important aids to history have been discovered. Not only can different settlements or various stages at the same settlement be ascribed with certainty to one or other of the three periods

of Stone, Bronze, and Iron, but for each of those periods the habits of life, the weapons, tools, and implements that were in use, the domesticated animals, the cultivated plants and fruits, and all the details that assist in reconstructing the civilisation characteristic of each of these stages in human progress are clearly laid before us. It is indeed hard to over-estimate the ultimate effects that the dry winters of 1853 and 1854, which laid bare the margins of some of the Swiss lakes and brought to light the treasures that they contained, have produced on the science of archæology.

Turning our attention for a moment in another direction, we may briefly consider the immense advances that have within the last quarter of a century been made in our knowledge both of the pre-classical antiquities of Greece and Rome, and of the early history, languages, and archæology of Assyria, Egypt, and the Holy Land. The singularly felicitous inspirations of Dr. Henry Schliemann, whose loss the whole world has reason to deplore, have resulted in bringing to light numerous and important remains on the site of ancient Troy, Mycenæ, and Tiryns, and have extended our knowledge of what has been happily termed "Greece before the Greeks" to a degree such as to our fathers it would have appeared impossible ever to attain. In Italy also extensive excavations upon early sites, to say nothing of the continued explorations of that wonderful mine of antiquities, Pompeii, the foundation of new societies and museums, and the zeal of numerous antiquaries have largely added to our knowledge not only of Roman antiquities, but of far earlier remains of the Etruscan and other primitive occupants of Italy. The establishment of Archæological Schools by different European nations at Rome and Athens shows the deep interest now felt in antiquarian research, and also aids materially in carrying it out. It is much to be regretted that the British Government should be so far behind those of other countries in fostering such schools.

Our own Hellenic Society has done much excellent work, as have also the explorers of Cyprus, while the enterprise of other nations has brought to light at Olympia, the Acropolis of Athens and elsewhere, monuments not only of archaic art, but of the palmy days of

Pheidias and his successors. These discoveries have reacted on our own Museums of Classical Archæology, to promote the study of which subject chairs have been founded at most of our principal Universities.

The extension of our knowledge of Assyrian history, mythology, and even literature can hardly be better illustrated than by a reference to "The Records of the Past" and the publications of the Society of Biblical Archæology. The discoveries of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Henry Layard, and Professor Lassen, which had already begun to be made before 1850, have indeed taken root downward and borne fruit upward. The travels and researches of Prof. W. M. Ramsay in Asia Minor have led to the identification of numerous early sites and to the discovery of a large number of monuments and inscriptions, many of them originating with that ancient race which by Professor Sayce has been identified with that of the Hittites. By the side of our knowledge of the ancient Assyrian tongue that of other long-forgotten languages has sprung up, and the early connection of Egyptian civilisation with that of Western Asia is daily receiving additional illustration. Although much had been done by Sir Gardner Wilkinson and others for Egyptian history, the number of material objects found, the establishment in Egypt of a museum to contain them, and the zealous labours, principally of English, French, and German scholars have made what was but a short time ago the intellectual possession of a select few the object of interest and study of a constantly increasing public.

The excavations and surveys carried on under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and by Mr. Flinders Petrie, have resulted in many discoveries, both interesting in themselves and of the highest importance in determining the chronology of pottery, beads, and other remains found on the shores of the Mediterranean, as well as in Egypt itself. The recent discovery of a papyrus containing a long-lost work of Aristotle, and of fragments of the writings of Homer, Euripides, and Plato, dating many years prior to the Christian era, seems to prove that the burning of the great Alexandrian library may yet to some extent be compensated by the preservative powers of the soil of Egypt and the riches that it still contains. From



this soil, as at Panopolis, textile and embroidered fabrics, dating from the first century of our era and downwards, have been exhumed in almost as complete a state of freshness as when they were deposited. Of these fabrics our own South Kensington Museum possesses a fine collection, while Mr. Forrer, of Strassburg, has published a volume of photographic and other illustrations of those in his possession, and is now bringing out another, which will principally relate to embroideries on silk.

To return to our own country. It would be endless to recite all that has, within the last thirty-five years, been done and written with regard to the remains of the Roman occupation of these islands. Numerous villas have been unearthed, the sites of Richborough, Reculver, Lymne, and Pevensey have been explored by that diligent antiquary the late Mr. C. Roach Smith; the site of Wroxeter has been examined, and excavations at Silchester are now being systematically carried on under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries. Nor must I omit to mention the excavations in Cranborne Chase, so liberally carried on and so exhaustively described by General Pitt Rivers, that have laid bare more than one Romano-British village, and determined the age of several ancient earthworks. Further north, the late Mr. John Clayton and Dr. Collingwood Bruce have not been idle, and "The Roman Wall," and the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* attest the diligence of our northern antiquaries. So far as Roman epigraphy in general is concerned, the great "Corpus Inscriptionum" one volume of which, by Hübner, is specially devoted to the inscriptions found in Britain, has concentrated our knowledge and relegated many of the forgeries admitted by Gruter to their proper position. Mommsen is still labouring in the same department, and so far as Britain is concerned is fortunate in having secured the aid of Mr. Haverfield, who is now investigating the walls of Chester.

Some little of the darkness with which the age succeeding the Roman occupation had hitherto been veiled has now been removed, and while the Sculptured Stones of Scotland have been investigated, and to a great extent arranged, by the late accomplished John Stuart, not a few important explorations of Saxon burial grounds have



been made and works on Saxon antiquities have been published. The names of Akerman, Wylie, Neville or Braybrooke, Roach Smith, Rolleston, and John Brent will occur to the minds of all who are interested in this period. Merovingian and Scandinavian antiquities have also received fully as much attention from foreign investigators.

So far as mediæval antiquities are concerned, the progress that has been made has been mainly in the direction of architecture, and it is not a little singular that this progress has been to a fearful extent accompanied by a destruction of mediæval architectural remains under the pretext of "restoration." Either from a desire of producing a uniformity which in reality never existed, or of showing their own taste, architects have sentenced many of the most interesting features of our ancient ecclesiastical buildings to destruction, while much of the architectural history of the past three centuries has been ruthlessly destroyed. The singular hankering of so many of the clergy of the reformed Church of England for all that savours of pre-reformation tastes and practises has not a little conduced to the obliteration of many an interesting feature in our churches, the destruction of monuments subsequent to the sixteenth century, and the melting down of Elizabethan and seventeenth century plate. Perhaps at the present time some feeling of remorse is creeping over those who have wrought so much mischief in the past, and in some degree the plague of restoration is stayed. I must, however, leave this distasteful subject and turn to other branches of archæology in which advance in knowledge has not led to retrogression in practice.

One of the most important handmaids of history is the science of numismatics; and though our Jubilee coinage does not testify to any advance in the art of coining, our knowledge of the former coinages of this and other countries has of late years materially increased. Since the days of Eckhel no such important work upon Greek numismatics as the "*Historia Numorum*" of Dr. Barclay V. Head has, I think, appeared, and the catalogues of the Greek coins in the British Museum will bear a favourable comparison with those of any other country. In Roman numismatics we must cede to France, and the works of Cohen and Babelon on the family and imperial series

which have all been produced within the last thirty years or so will long remain the standard books of reference. For myself I may venture to claim to have placed the coinage of the Ancient Britons upon a satisfactory footing, and to have done something towards extending our knowledge of the chronology of the uninscribed coins, and of the names, territories, and dates of the numerous kings and princes who struck coins in various parts of Britain before its final subjugation to the Roman power.

For the Saxon coinage not much has been done, but the British Museum Catalogue now in progress promises to be a valuable handbook. Some questions relating to the English series have now been disposed of, such as the attribution of the Short-cross coinage; and the absence of coins bearing the names of Richard I. and John is now satisfactorily accounted for by their having continued to strike in the name of their father Henry II., so that there was no change of name until after the time of Henry III., when the Long-cross coinage had come in. For many other advances in our knowledge of the English series I may refer to the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, now in its fifty-first volume, and for recent standard works I may mention the names of Kenyon and Montagu, while for Scottish coins those of Wingate and the late Mr. Burns must not be passed over. The work on English Medals begun by the late Mr. Hawkins has been completed by Mr. Franks and Mr. Grueber, and Scottish Medals have been amply illustrated by Mr. Cochran-Patrick.

In heraldry, an interesting collection in illustration of which is now on view in this city, no special advances have been made, though the works of Boutell and others have helped to popularize the subject. It is moreover satisfactory to find that heraldry is now not unfrequently studied more as a branch of Palæography and as an important aid in the determination of chronology than from the point of view of the old heralds, who sought for mysterious meaning in the various charges, and who devised a totally new natural history illustrative both of the moral characters of heraldic animals and of their emblematic meaning.

It would involve a too lengthy disquisition were I to

attempt to enumerate all the details of the work that has been done in this country towards the illustration and elucidation of the minor monuments of the last nine centuries. Gold and silver plate, both civil and ecclesiastical, the hall marks of different centres of its manufacture, armour, seals, rings, bells, pottery, glass, furniture, embroidery, engravings, book-plates, book-binding, and a host of other subjects have all attracted attention from antiquaries, while the number of periodical publications relating to archæology has largely increased. On the Continent an equal degree of activity has been exhibited, and it must be confessed that in some instances the work of foreign, and especially French authors, has fully equalled, if not surpassed, that produced on this side of the channel.

This general advance in antiquarian knowledge, this enlightened awakening to the interest that attaches to the past is in the highest degree satisfactory, and not the less so that so much of scientific methods has of late years been introduced into the study of Archæology. We are met together here for the purpose of still further prosecuting such researches, and of promoting that friendship among those engaged in a common pursuit which leads to mutual assistance and encouragement; and I trust that when this meeting is over many among us may look back upon it with pleasant reminiscences of friendships formed or improved, and of facts for the first time brought under our notice, and ever retain a vivid remembrance of the kindly reception of the Institute accorded to us by our Northern brethren.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION AT  
THE MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE AT EDINBURGH.<sup>1</sup>

By T. HODGKIN, D.C.L., F.S.A

It has been a custom, frequently though not universally observed, for the President of the Historical Section, at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, to choose for the subject of his opening address the history of the city or town in which the meeting is held. To this custom we owe, besides many other excellent papers, some of the best chapters in Mr. Freeman's admirable book on "English Towns and Districts." I need hardly say that I do not propose to follow to-night the example set me by my illustrious predecessor. We, visitors from the southern side of the Border, come hither not to teach but to learn all that we may in the short space of this meeting concerning the history of the northern kingdom and especially concerning the history of its capital. It would be intolerable presumption for a visitor like myself, who has not made Scottish history a special subject of study, to retail a little second-hand information concerning this wonderful city, in the presence of men who have lived in it, and loved it from boyhood, who know every line of its history, and every verse of its ballad literature. The self-confident rhetorician who lectured on the Art of War in the presence of the mighty Hannibal, would be my fitting prototype if I addressed myself to any such presumptuous task.

Besides, I am sure that our Scottish neighbours will see that there would be something almost amounting to unkindness in asking a Northumbrian to recount the history of this fair jewel in the crown of Northumbria which

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, held at Edinburgh, August 12th, 1891.



she so foolishly and so strangely lost. Can we Northumbrians forget that this city which is now for ever associated with your greatness and your glory was once ours; that it bears the name of our own national hero, Edwin, on its fore-front, that had it not been for the ravages of the Danes and the supineness of the kings of Wessex, we might have been at home in this city whose streets we now tread as strangers and foreigners? True, that you have made Edwin's Castle—what I fear we should never have done—one of the most beautiful capitals in Europe. True, that the happy mingling of Anglian and Celt has caused you to throw around it a glamour of poetry and romance to which, as a Northumbrian outpost, it would never have attained. Still the fact remains. This great possession once was ours and we foolishly or weakly threw it away. In the course of time we shall doubtless become reconciled to our loss, but the wound is still too recent (for a thousand years ago Edinburgh was still Northumbrian) to allow of our tracing without a sigh the fortunes of this Calais of the North.

I will now, therefore, turn from this forbidden field and make a few remarks on a subject of general interest to us all, the relation of History to Archæology. (And here let me say once for all that I shall use Archæology in its widest sense, that sense in which this Institute uses it and which its etymology fully justifies, all that concerns the enquiry into things of ancient date). History and Archæology then have at once this element in common that they are solely occupied with the past, and in that past with the concern of the human race. While the Astronomer is investigating by instruments of wonderful and ever increasing delicacy the nature and the movements of bodies, some of which are at such an inconceivable distance that we should still be looking upon them though they had perished before the foundation of Rome: while the Social Philosopher is enquiring into the laws which govern the present relations of civilized man to his fellows and striving to deduce from those laws the character, whether individualist or socialistic, of the world of men that is to be; while the Geologist, who like us looks into the past, is studying for the most part a past during which the world was manless, a past so



distant as to be utterly beyond the range of all the instruments which we use, the attention of the Historian and Archæologist is concentrated on the past of the human race, and is directed to those among the vanished generations of mankind who can speak with some articulate voice to our own. For I think the mere discovery of a fossil man, to whatever geological period he might belong, would hardly be felt to be a fact coming within the proper domain of Archæology; while on the other hand every work of the human intellect, from the rude drawings of neolithic man in the caverns of Perigord to the death-warrant of Charles I., or the rough draft of the American Declaration of Independence, is of interest to the Archæologist.

This being so, how do we differentiate the two studies of History and Archæology? The difference between them is one not of subject but of method; it is a division of labour between the workers in the same field, not a division of territory between the owners of adjoining properties. Speaking generally (for the subject is not one which admits of an accurate scientific definition), I think we may say that the method of History is *extensive*, and that of Archæology *intensive* cultivation. We naturally expect the Historian to travel over a wide extent of time, and probably of space likewise, while we feel that we must allow the Archæologist to confine himself if he will to the events of a single month, the fortunes of a single family, or the registers of a single parish. Thus we may not improperly compare the instruments used by the Historian to the telescope, and those handled by the Archæologist to the microscope.

But there is another difference which we find generally existing between them, and which has to do with the nature of the materials used by each workman, and the degree to which he is dependent on others men's labours. The Historian—I am thinking of such men as Gibbon and Hume, Macaulay and Grote, Thierry and Sismondi—generally finds all his material in *books*, and can accomplish all his work without stirring beyond the pale of a well-stored library. The Archæologist on the other hand, has to gather his materials for himself out of a widely-varied and sometimes rough and difficult field.

Now, it may be, he is opening the grave of a brachycephalic Celt or spelling out the lines of a grass-grown hut-circle. Then, he is cautiously questioning a peasant as to some half-forgotten piece of folk-lore or trying to recover a verse of an ancient ballad. Then, he is struggling with the contractions of a mouldy charter or trying to decipher the entries in a worm-eaten parish register. All this work calls for the exercise of boundless patience, and sometimes it may be, he is tempted to grumble over the difficulties of his task and to think of his literary brother, with some of that envying discontent with which the discoverer, Stanley, in the earlier years of his African explorations, used to speak of the "easy-chair geographers," who, in the cushioned ease of Burlington Gardens, discussed the course of the rivers whose banks his weary feet had trodden and the extent of the forest from which he had hardly emerged with life.

Yet the Historian also if he works conscientiously, does not find that his path lies always through pleasant places. True his materials generally exist within the two covers of a book, but what books some of them are. Ponderous folios, often written in detestable Latin and sometimes without an Index, page after page of which he must turn over on the mere chance of finding a fact or an allusion which may help or hinder a theory. German monographs full of learning but void of arrangement in which he must plough through half a page to find the predicate of a sentence, and then through half a chapter to find the author's thought, remaining perhaps uncertain even at the end what is the proposition which the writer upholds and what is that which he combats. Memoirs written years after the events recorded, by men or women of inaccurate minds, papers too precious to be cast aside as rubbish and yet continually tormenting him by statements obviously inconsistent with fact. Worst of all perhaps, the works of other compilers who have evidently bestowed time and labour on his subject, yet who indicate so casually the sources from which they derive their materials, that he is never sure whether he is safe or not in repeating the story as they have told it. Such are many of the materials with which the Historian has to deal and which make his work,

even if he be in the centre of a superb library of reference, like the Bodleian or the British Museum, not always a pleasant pastime. And if he be not close to such a library; if he be working in some remote district of the country with no other library but his own and the circulating library within fifty miles of him, he will surely find that he does not possess the very book which contains the one quotation that is indispensable to clear up the difficulty which faces him.

Of course the two kinds of labour which I have been describing, shade off into one another by imperceptible degrees. As a rule the Historian does not himself collate manuscripts nor study registers. He generally expects, and with reason, that this work will be done for him by others. But especially when he is dealing with comparatively modern times, a historian like Gardiner or Ranke will have so much to do in consulting State papers which have not been printed or, letters which have not yet been calendared, that practically he has to do the work of an Archæologist as well as his own. And almost every Archæologist who has chosen a really worthy subject of study, will find himself some time or other, taking up the pen of a historian in order to shew by a few broad and simple touches how his subject is connected with the main course of a nation's history.

But in the main the distinction which I have here drawn will be admitted to be true. The Archæologist *collects* facts relating to the past, and the Historian *arranges* them. The Archæologist hopes at least that he shall discover some fact previously unknown or forgotten. The Historian hardly hopes to do more than combine facts previously known in such a manner as to present them forcibly to the minds of his readers. The Archæologist's work partakes most of the nature of a Science, the Historian's of an Art.

And here I will allow myself a short digression in order to remark that for one great portion of history which is of fascinating interest to some of us, the Historian has practically to thank the Archæologist for almost the whole of his materials. I allude to that long and mysterious interval in the story of our country which is covered by the words *BRITANNIA ROMANA*. For almost 400 years

—for a time all but as long as that which separates us from the discovery of America, the Roman Legionary was amongst us. Yet how little the mere book-historians tell us of his doings. A few, a very few pages in the *Histories* and the *Agricola* of Tacitus; some random notices in the *Historia Augusta*; and some precious sentences in Ammianus Marcellinus: there is, I think, all that the Historians properly so called have told concerning a dependency the conquest of which one would have thought might have fascinated their imaginations and occupied their pens almost as much as the deeds of Clive and Hastings in India have attracted and employed British Historians. But so it was not, and it is really to the patient labours of our antiquaries, of the Camdens, Stukeleys and Horsleys of past generations, of the Roach-Smiths and Stuarts and Bruces of our own day, that we owe nearly all the knowledge which we do possess of those four centuries which must have exercised so vast an influence on the British land, and through that land on the Anglian people.

Will that knowledge hereafter be greatly increased? It is my earnest hope and expectation that it will. As yet we are in a state of tantalising ignorance on many points. We really know hardly anything of the relations—assuredly not always warlike relations—of the Roman invaders to the people of the land. The mere fact of the existence of say, 4000 or 5000 soldiers with their camp followers between the Firths of Clyde and Forth, of a similar but much larger body of men between Tyne and Solway, must have enormously quickened trade in those regions and yet how little we know of the course of trade between the Briton and the Roman? Again we know from the *Notitia* that one camp was inhabited by Asturians from Spain, another by Tungrians from Belgium, another by Batavians, another by Frisians and so forth. But what we do not know is how the nationality of these auxiliary garrisons was maintained. Were there fresh drafts of Asturians, Tungrians, Batavians every five or ten years to replace the waste of time and war? Or did the “sons of the legion,” the offspring of intermarriage with the Brigantian or Caledonian women around them step into the places of their



fathers? And if so, with this ever-increasing tide of British blood and ever dwindling element of foreign nationality, how were the *Alae* and *Cohortes* guarded from the dangerous tendency to fraternise with the natives around them, once their enemies, now their brothers-in-law and their cousins?

These are only two specimens of the questions concerning the Roman occupation of Britain which still await their answer from Archæology.

But let me return to my main subject.

The two classes of literary labourers whom I have endeavoured to describe, generally work harmoniously together and excellent is the result of such co-ordinated toil. Sometimes however, as I have already hinted, there is a certain amount of heart-burning and strife between them, to which the temptation is all the stronger, because their fields of labour lie so close together. For still, as in classical Greece, and in the days of English and Scottish Borderers, it is neighbours who are apt to quarrel. The mathematician's or physiologist's criticisms on our pursuits leave us quite unwounded, but we are sensitive to the rebuke of those who, like ourselves, are striving to recover the form and fashion of buried centuries.

The Historian growing weary of the endless pigeon-holes of small facts, collected with labour, but apparently leading to no result and illustrating no great principle, which the Archæologist exhibits to him with pride, perhaps loses his temper and calls him "a man of parochial mind, a drudge, a collector of useless trifles." It was in some such mood as this that Carlyle stormed at the Prussian book-makers who had been at work before him on the history of his hero, Friedrich II.

"Alas, the books are not cosmic, they are chaotic; and turn out unexpectedly void of instruction to us. Small use in a talent of writing, if there be not first of all the talent of discerning, of loyally recognising: of discriminating what is to be written! Books born mostly of Chaos—which want all things even an *Index*—are a painful object. In sorrow and disgust you wander over those multitudinous books; you dwell in endless regions of the superficial, of the nugatory; to your bewildered



sense it is as if no insight into the real heart of Friedrich and his affairs were anywhere to be had. Truth is, the Prussian Dryasdust, otherwise an honest fellow and not afraid of labour, excels all other Dryasdusts yet known. I have often sorrowfully felt as if there were not in Nature, for darkness, cleariness, immethodic platitude, anything comparable to him. He writes big books wanting in almost every quality, and does not even give an *Index* to them. He has made of Friedrich's History a wide-spread inorganic trackless matter, dismal to your mind and barren as a continent of Brandenburg sand! Enough, he could do no other; I have striven to forgive him. Let the reader now forgive me and think sometimes what probably my raw material was."

So much for the Historian out of temper, railing at the Archæologist. I cannot quote any similar tirade of an Archæologist against the Historian, but I know, I can see clearly, what is the word which is often trembling on his lips and which only politeness restrains him from uttering—"superficial." And truly it must be hard for a man who has devoted the best years of his life to the illustration of some minute point in English history, say the custom of Gavelkind or the boundaries of Wessex and Mercia, to come across another man who has achieved some reputation as a writer of English history, and who has little more than an Oxford Passman's knowledge on either subject.

Well, as is so often the case in this kind of controversy, there is reason in both complaints, but in both also "*potior est conditio defendentis*." The Archæologist does sometimes need to be reminded, in the midst of his laborious collection of facts, that it is not every kind of fact in relation to the past, which is worth collecting. Can any one imagine that the Archæologist of 2391 will care to know, except in the broadest and most general way, what were the times of arrival and departure of the trains at the Waverley station in 1891? Or will it serve any useful purpose even fifty years hence to ascertain the authors and describe the plots of one-tenth part of the novels which to-day live their little life on the shelves of our circulating libraries, and then "perish for ever and no man regardeth them." No; the facts which the Archæo-

logist gathers with such praiseworthy patience and industry must be facts which are worth collecting, facts which have some bearing, however remote, on the great historic interests of our country or our race. And I think it is not inconsistent with the spirit of the Inductive Philosophy to say that the most *fructus* will be obtained from these facts which are gathered in consequence of the existence of some theory in the collector's mind which the facts will either prove or disprove. Only he must hold his theory, especially in the earlier stages of his enquiry, with sufficient lightness, ready to abandon or to modify it as soon as ever he sees that the facts fairly interpreted are making against it, and never daring to say even in the faintest underbreath, "*Si les faits ne sont pas pour moi, tant pis pour les faits.*"

I may perhaps without presumption venture to name two men who seem to me to be admirable examples of scientific collectors of Archæological facts. One is Sir Arthur Mitchell, the well-known author of "The Past in the Present," who from the rude implements and ruder dwellings still existing among the inhabitants of the Hebrides, developed a whole theory of the co-existence of different strata of civilisation, a theory which has at least modified the sharp lines of demarcation which previous enquirers had drawn between the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron ages. The other is Mr. F. Seebohm, whom the University of Edinburgh has recently honoured with her degree. In the case of the last gentleman, who is a personal friend of my own, I have watched with peculiar interest and admiration, the gradual collection of facts relating to the land-system of our Teutonic ancestors, beginning with the observation of the shape of the fields, and the distribution of the allotments in a rural parish in Hertfordshire, and working back from these through the centuries, till the enquirer finds himself face to face with the Germania of Tacitus, or watching the *Coloni* tilling the lands round a Roman villa.

But the Historian also has something to say for himself when charged by his Archæological brother with writing on subjects with which he has only a superficial acquaintance. His chief plea is drawn from the shortness of human life. After all there are but twenty-four hours in

the day, and for most of us not more than threescore years at most of effectual literary labour. "I have a long journey before me," the Historian may fairly argue, "and if I stop to pick up and to polish every stone on my road that may possibly prove to be an agate, I shall never reach my journey's end."

This often recurring controversy between the minute and the broad style of treatment of historical facts has been sometimes recalled to my mind, when I have been travelling in Cornwall or Devonshire and have gazed upon the hedges which there border the road on either side. Such magnificent earthworks they are, often ten or twelve feet high, and when seen in spring so rich in all kinds of organic life, wild flowers in splendid profusion, ivy, ferns, and moss in endless variety, swarms of insects, and here and there the nest of some bird which the ordinary Englishman has never seen out of a museum. The thought occurs to one—and it is a true reflection—"a lifetime would not be too long for him who would really study a hundred yards of this hedge-row." And yet when the artist comes this way, even though the hedge-row should come in the foreground of his picture a few hours work will enable him to depict it with sufficient exactness to make every beholder exclaim "that is a Cornish hedge-row," and if it come into the middle distance a few hasty washes of colour will be all that he dare bestow upon it.

The close attention and life-long study represent the conscientious labour which the Archæologist bestows on the records, or the dialect, or the antiquities of a single parish. In the interests of science I think we must class him above his brother the literary artist who gathers the history of many counties, perhaps of many centuries into a single picture. But yet there is room also for the Historian, though it may be that with the increasing definiteness of our knowledge and the higher standard of accuracy which is required he may have to take a somewhat lower position than of old in the presence of his brethren. His broad washes of colour have their use as well as the microscopic studies of the Archæologist. Without the wide panoramic picture which the historian presents to us, our knowledge of the past would consist of a multitude of detached fragments which we could

not co-ordinate one with the other. Especially perhaps is he needed in this day when our science, in common with most other sciences, is in danger of suffering from over-specialisation. If some care be not taken against this danger we may find ourselves before long divided into an upper and lower intellectual class, the upper class consisting of some thousand or more groups of scientific enquirers each of which is intelligible to itself but to no one in the world beside, while the lower class finding that all the conversation of men of science is hopelessly over its head, renounces in despair the attempt to assimilate any of their thoughts and contents itself with the "Shilling Shocker," and "the Illustrated Police News."

From such isolation of thought, it is the business of the Historian to preserve the great mass of his countrymen, and therefore I venture to think there will still, in the future, be room for him as well as for his more aspiring brother, the original Archæologist.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE ARCHITECTURAL SECTION AT  
THE EDINBURGH MEETING.<sup>1</sup>

By THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

It is not unusual to commence a sumptuous dinner with three or four oysters and a small portion of brown bread and butter. This introduction to the repast, though highly esteemed (as I am given to understand) by connoisseurs in such matters, differs from the repast itself in at least two important particulars. In the first place, it is distinctly preparative to that which follows; a means rather than an end; an overture, which you may, if you please, wholly neglect without prejudice to your subsequent conduct and possible enjoyment. And in the second place it does not need the sublime culinary skill necessary to produce the dishes which are to follow: all that is required of the person who provides this part of the entertainment is the power of opening a few oysters, and of spreading a little fresh butter upon certain slices of brown bread for that purpose provided.

I venture to claim for the few introductory observations, which I have the honour of addressing to this distinguished body of Archæologists this morning, the same kind of relation to the intellectual banquet which is to follow, as that assigned to the morsels which I have described as prefacing a scientific dinner. I have none of the skill which will be displayed by those who follow me. I can but hope, even by dullness and heaviness, if by no brighter and better qualities, to excite an appetite for the archæological repast which will commence when I have sat down.

It has occurred to me, in considering upon what string I could most conveniently hang together some introductory remarks, that I might with advantage direct your minds

<sup>1</sup> Delivered August 13th, 1891.



for a few moments to the subject of the treatment of ancient buildings. It will be remembered that although *Architecture* is the subject which is to be dealt with in this section, it is not Architecture pure and simple, but Architecture in its relation to archæology. The most recent form of architecture is that adopted in the construction of the Forth Bridge; but I fear that I should have to rule a paper upon the architecture of the Forth Bridge out of order, as not being connected with archæology. Ancient buildings alone are admissible into the discussions of this room, and a few words upon the manner in which they should be treated may perhaps be not without their use.

Now the first method of dealing with ancient buildings, and one which will probably be recognised as an important one in such a company as the present, is to leave them alone. Perhaps in some cases this recipe requires to be applied in conjunction with another, namely, to take care that other people leave them alone also. There are cases in which these two methods of treatment ought to be applied in the most rigorous and literal manner, and in which nothing more ought by any means to be done. Take as a primary example some of the buildings of Egypt, buildings which combine in the most marvellous manner the reality of almost immeasurable antiquity with some of the appearances of the freshness of recent work, buildings which are the archæological heritage of the whole civilized world, but in which according to the eccentric course of human affairs our own country has just now a special interest, combined with a special responsibility. I presume that no one is likely to attempt to "restore" any of the Egyptian Temples; to let them alone would probably be the universal notion of what is best for buildings such as these; though it may be well to add that the other consideration must not be omitted, namely, that care should be taken that others leave them alone too. It is not pleasant to find that there is some fear lest national jealousies should prevent that absolute care for the safety of Egyptian monuments which all right-minded men would desire; archæology knows or ought to know no distinction of race; it matters not whether the chief post be allotted to a Frenchman or an Englishman, provided only that

there be some one, who is endowed with real power and who is competent for the work. It is painful to think of the amount of mischief which may be going on, unless constant and vigilant care be taken. A little circumstance in my own experience may illustrate this. Being in one of the Nile Temples, I forget which, some years ago, with a large party of visitors, I noticed a man who was proposing to different members of the party, myself amongst them, to procure for them in consideration of a *Baksheesh*, any small portion of stone which we might wish to carry away; the man was furnished with a neat hatchet, which appeared to be in excellent condition, and which he was evidently in the habit of using for the gratification of intelligent travellers. I mentioned my discovery to the dragoman in charge of our party, who seemed not much interested and disposed to adopt a *laissez faire* policy; however I insisted upon the offender being brought to account, and had the satisfaction at length of witnessing a hand-to-hand tussle between the dragoman and the hatchet-man, which terminated in favour of the former and in the loss of the weapon by the latter. Whether they agreed to bury it, or whether it is still in use, I do not know.

I ought to qualify what I have said concerning the propriety of leaving such monuments as those of Egypt alone, but adding that of course care should be taken to guard against those causes of decay which exist even in Egypt. I have just been perusing the second Annual Report of the Society for the preservation of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt; and in that Report I read that the energies of the Society during the past year have been directed principally to two points, the necessity for an Official Inspector whose duty shall be the care of the Ancient Monuments, and an endeavour to do something towards arresting the gradual destruction of the Great Temple at Karnak. In the subsequent part of the Report we read of the effects of the salts in the soil of Karnak, which are gradually undermining the columns, and the necessity of propping up such columns as are now in danger of falling and dragging with them the rest of the construction. The problem of preserving this wonderful monument is a rather complicated one; I shall not discuss

it; I merely notice it in passing, as a proof that mere leaving alone is not always a sufficient means for preserving ancient monuments.

The remarks made concerning Egyptian architecture manifestly apply to countless other works in all quarters of the globe, not by any means excepting our own land. In fact, wherever there is an ancient piece of architecture, which has become by the lapse of time, and the changes which time brings with it, a monument of the past pure and simple, there can be no question as to the method of treatment. Either leave it alone,—or if that be impossible, take such steps as will avoid its destruction,—is the precept to be given. Stonehenge, and all similar relics, the Roman Wall in my own part of the world, together with many other examples, may be quoted as illustrative of the kind of structure which should be, with the exception already made, respectfully but severely left alone. One difference, it may be remembered, between our own country and Egypt is this, that in Egypt danger arises from want of a master, or owner with plenary powers; whereas in England the opposite peril arises, and a monument is sometimes placed in jeopardy by the fact, that some one can prove to the satisfaction of the Law Courts that the said monument is his in fee simple. Of course I bear in mind recent wise legislation on this subject; but, this notwithstanding, I read in the “Times,” about a month ago, a letter containing a complaint that since 1806 a stone hedge has been carried through a circle in Cornwall, known as the “Stripple Stones;” and the writer adds, “Within sight of this giant circle is another, the Wippet Stones. Here, since they were planned and measured (that is, since 1806), a monolith has been erected in the centre to bear the initials of the proprietor, C. G.” I do not know that this erection can be described as any actual injury to the monument; but it is not quite in accordance with the manner in which one likes proprietary rights to be used.

Thus much for edifices which may be regarded as monuments pure and simple. It is far more difficult to define the proper method of treating buildings which are partly monumental, but partly also in ordinary use for the practical purposes of living men. Obvious examples are

to be found in this city,—Edinburgh Castle, Holyrood House, the Church of St. Giles. I mention these local examples with the more pleasure, because I read an article in the "Times" of February 21 last, which described the restoration of the Parliament Hall in Edinburgh Castle as a model for restoration work; the writer speaks of the hall as having been "restored by the liberality of the late Mr. W. Nelson, and by the skill and knowledge of Mr. Hippolyte Blanc." I imagine also that in Holyrood House the *juste milieu* between leaving all alone and leaving nothing alone has been wisely kept; and though the change in St. Giles' Church from what it was in my own recollection has been great, perhaps one may say even radical, still I think that Jenny Geddes herself, if her spirit still haunts the scene of her great ecclesiastical achievement, will be disposed to grant that the change is "no so very bad."

The fact is that the problem of dealing with ancient buildings, which are still serving contemporary living purposes, must of necessity be very puzzling, and in some cases perhaps actually impossible. Of one thing an architect may rest quite sure, namely, that whatever course he adopts he will be severely taken to task, partly perhaps by men of his own profession, but still more and still more confidently by that remarkably dangerous and inevitable person, the infallible amateur. When the late Mr. Street was engaged in altering, or (if you please so to call the process) restoring, the ancient Refectory or Fraternity of the Abbey of Carlisle, he was favoured with advice from many quarters; he did not implicitly follow it, but he made his apology to his advisers by producing a sketch showing what the work would have been had all the advice been taken. There is perhaps nothing easier or cheaper than giving advice, especially on a subject which you only imperfectly understand.

A curious incident occurred only lately in connection with an ancient building, which illustrates the difficulty of which I speak. It will be remembered that a Royal Commission was issued for the purpose of inquiring as to the best method of dealing with the problem now forced upon the country by the filling up of Westminster Abbey with monuments and statues. Several solutions were



suggested, one dealing structurally with the Abbey Church itself, another with the Chapter House: only two suggestions, however, met with any favour at the hands of the Commissioners, and the merits of these two appear to be so evenly balanced, that out of six Commissioners, three voted for one, and three for the other; the result of this drawn game I do not venture to anticipate; but the dead-lock which has been reached after full discussion and deliberation by six persons, presumably amongst the most fitted to discuss and deliberate in the whole kingdom, sufficiently illustrates the difficulty of solving problems connected with ancient buildings, which are at the same time old and new; national monuments, but not monuments only.

The most familiar and ordinary example in England of a building, which is monumental and something more, is to be found in the Parish Church. If I were speaking in England, I should be tempted to dwell more at length on this subject than would perhaps be suitable on the North of the Tweed. But, even in Scotland, the example of St. Giles', Edinburgh, to which I have already referred, of the Cathedral at Glasgow, and other interesting and beautiful old churches here and there, still used for divine worship will show that a Scotch architect may sometimes be called upon to rack his brains in order to discover what is the treatment of any given building, which shall at once recognise its character as a monument to be conserved, and a contemporary building to be used. What, however, I desire chiefly to press is this, that these two sides of the question must both be considered with reference to churches whether in Scotland or in England. I remember hearing my friend, the late Professor Willis, one of the keenest and most profound ecclesiastical archæologists of his day, say that he delighted to see a church stripped of every fitting, because he could then thoroughly examine it, and make out its architectural history; his only grief was that the fittings would have at some time and in some form to be replaced,—which is a very pleasant view for an archæologist, but not entirely acceptable to those who wish to use the building for the purpose to which it was devoted by those who built it. I must, however, content myself with asserting the living character



of churches for the present era, without endeavouring to indicate the manner in which this character is to be reconciled with that other, no less true and certainly not unimportant, which presents them to us as precious monuments—sometimes over a large area the only surviving monuments—of a past which we do not wish to forget.

I have thus dealt with ancient buildings as divided into classes; those which are purely monumental, the class most dear to the true archæologists heart; and those which, while partly monumental, have nevertheless living uses which the archæologist is at least compelled to tolerate. But this second class admits of a sub-division which ought not to be neglected, because it does in fact point to one of the most difficult questions presented to those who have in any way to deal practically with ancient buildings. I refer to the fact that many, perhaps the majority of ancient buildings, are the archæological records, not of one, but of several historical epochs. I was myself for more than ten of the best years of my life, the custodian of such a building. Ely Cathedral, like most of our great churches, was not built by one architect, or even by one generation. It is a monumental record of all periods since the Conquest, and it contains beautiful specimens of all schools of architecture; Norman, Early English, Decorated, with just a flavour of Sir Christopher Wren. When a building of this kind has to be meddled with,—and meddled with it sometimes must be, let the advocates of leaving old buildings alone say what they will,—the most perplexing questions will necessarily arise. If you are dealing with a building which has one date, one style of architecture, one design, it is comparatively easy to put yourself in the position of the original architect, and to try to do what you think that he would have done; but this method obviously fails in the case of a building, the history of which spreads over centuries, and which is the result of the plans of architects who followed the admitted rules and methods of the days in which they lived, and who (it may be added) sometimes cut into each other's work with no fear before their eyes of a Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, and with no Lord Grimthorpe to tell them what was right and what was wrong. What is the

modern architect to do? There has been no unbroken continuity of ecclesiastical architecture: there is a great gulf between the modern architect and the builders of our great Cathedrals. *Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.* Rickman striking out bravely at the head of them: Pugin, Butterfield, Scott, and others, doing their best to follow: but there has been a shipwreck, after all; and the methods of Church restorers for some time after the modern renaissance had marks of salvage from the wreck,—if indeed such marks have altogether disappeared even now. It would not be suitable for me to attempt a solution of the difficulties, the existence of which I have thought it right to indicate; in the interest of archæology however I would venture to insist upon two principles—(1) that the rule of leaving alone whatever exists in ancient buildings should be followed as closely as the condition of things, in any given case, will allow; and (2) that care should be taken not to introduce new work so carefully and even slavishly copied from the old, as to lay a snare for the feet of future inquirers. For my own part I believe—and I think I may fairly quote Ely Cathedral in support of my opinion—that it is possible to introduce new work into juxtaposition with old, without on the one hand any sense of incongruity, or on the other any indication of weak and foolish copying. Perhaps in archæological architecture, as in politics, a brave originality is not only consistent with, but is the wisest and safest outcome of a true and wise Conservatism.

But it is time for me to draw these preliminary observations to a close. Let me do so by saying, that from the archæological point of view we may rightly divide ancient buildings into two great classes, the dead and the living. The former is perhaps the more dear to the heart of the archæologist, just as the dead subject is in a certain sense more precious to the anatomical student than the body of a living man. You can examine the dead building entirely at your leisure; you can see it sometimes almost in the course of building; the craft of the old builders makes itself known by many a curious indication to the skilful eye; and the imagination can picture to itself scenes, whether of worship, or war, or social festivity, which have taken place within those ancient

walls, in the days of hoary antiquity; the poet finds a genial companion in the archæologist, and they may enjoy themselves side by side, though the craft of one is different from that of the other; both however would agree in their sentence as to what should be done with those lovely monuments of past time. *Do* with them? Leave them alone, says the poet; leave them alone, says the archæologist; and the sentence is taken up by a chorus of—what shall I say? all men and women of sense? well—I might say that—but on this present occasion I will use an equivalent expression and say—all members of the Archæological Institute!

And so much for my first class. They should be left alone; or only so far meddled with as to prevent mischief, and to hand them down uninjured and unaltered to posterity. But what of my second class? They too must be conserved, but it cannot always be upon the plan of letting them alone. Architects are called in, just because the buildings are not to be let alone. What manner of men ought these architects to be? Politics apart, they ought to be profoundly conservative. Then they ought to be learned and skilful, in order that they may see their way as to the best thing to be done. And further, they ought to be patient, good tempered, long suffering, because they are sure to be pelted and overwhelmed with abuse, whatever course they take. However, it is to be hoped, that the backs of architects are suited to their burdens, and that men will always be found having the natural and acquired qualifications necessary to deal with ancient buildings wisely, cautiously, kindly.

And now my little preliminary dish may be cleared away, and the real banquet begin.

# SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS IN 1890.

*From Members in aid of General Expenses of the Institute,  
commenced at the Annual Meeting at Gloucester.*

	£	s.	d.
The Right Hon. Earl Percy, F.S.A., President	...	40	0 0
George T. Clark, F.S.A.	...	25	0 0
J. Hilton, F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer	...	10	0 0
R. Wright Taylor, F.S.A., Hon. Auditor	...	5	5 0
Emanuel Green, F.S.A.	...	3	3 0
R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A.	...	2	2 0
Professor E. C. Clark, F.S.A.	...	2	2 0
J. Mottram	..	1	1 0
G. Troyte Bullock, F.S.A.	...	5	5 0
H. Longden	...	5	0 0
T. S. Gleadowe	...	1	1 0
J. E. Nightingale	...	1	1 0
Rev. Sir Talbot H. B. Baker	..	10	0 0
J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A.	...	1	1 0
Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A.	..	1	1 0
His Hon. Justice R. H. Pinhey	..	5	0 0
Hellier Gosselin, Secretary	...	1	1 0
Walter Rowley, F.S.A.	...	3	3 0
F. Haverfield, F.S.A.	...	1	1 0
Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A.	...	1	1 0
Richard H. Wood, F.S.A.	...	10	10 0
E. T. Tyson	...	5	5 0
Rev. F. Spurrell	...	1	1 0
Michael W. Taylor, M.D. F.S.A.,	...	1	1 0
Arthur Cates	...	5	5 0
C. T. Gostenhofer	...	1	0 0
Philip Back	...	2	2 0
Peter D. Prankerl	...	1	1 0
T. Henry Baylis, Q.C.	...	1	1 0
Charles J. Ferguson, F.S.A.	..	1	1 0
Thomas Ryley	...	1	1 0
Rev. Alfred S. Porter, F.S.A.	...	1	1 0
Mrs. Solwith	...	1	1 0
Rev. Dr. Creswell	...	1	1 0
J. H. Swallow	...	1	1 0
Miss Henrietta Lambert	..	5	0 0
Herbert Jones	...	3	3 0
E. C. Hulme, Hon. Librarian	...	1	1 0
Somers Clarke, F.S.A.	..	5	0 0
Rev. Canon W. Cooke	...	2	2 0
George Lambert, F.S.A.	...	5	5 0
Stuart Knill	...	2	2 0
Rev. Dr. J. J. Raven, F.S.A.	...	1	1 0
D. Mackinlay	...	5	0 0
Carried forward	...	188	14 0
		2	0

		£	s.	d.
	Brought forward	...	188	14 0
H. Hutchings	..	...	5	0 0
J. Anthony, M.D.	...	...	1	1 0
Joseph Brown, Q.C.	...	...	5	0 0
F. J. Mitchell, F.S.A.	...	...	10	0
Thomas Brooke, F.S.A.	...	...	3	3 0
Rev. J. Browne	...	...	2	2 0
Rev. Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce, F.S.A.	...	...	1	1 0
Charles A. Buckler ( <i>Surrey Herald</i> )	...	...	1	1 0
A. G. Corbet	..	...	1	0 0
George E. Fox, F.S.A.	..	...	1	1 0
Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A.	...	...	3	3 0
J. H. Plowes	...	...	2	2 0
Rev. W. R. W. Stephens	...	...	2	2 0
W. Gonne	...	...	2	2 0
J. H. Wurtzburg	...	..	1	1 0
Augustus W. Franks, F.S.A., &c.	...	...	5	0 0
Henry Vaughan, F.S.A.	...	..	5	0 0
His Grace the Duke of Westminster, K.G.	...	...	10	0 0
F. L. Lloyd Philipps	...	...	2	0 0
Clement Waldron	..	...	2	0 0
Edward Fisher	..	...	3	0 0
Winslow Jones	...	...	1	1 0
Rev. H. J. Bigge, F.S.A.	...	..	2	2 0
Right Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton, Bishop of Ely	...	...	2	0 0
Francis James, F.S.A.	...	...	1	1 0
E. H. Fison	...	...	2	0 0
P. M. Martineau	...	...	1	1 0
H. Richards	...	...	2	2 0
G. L. Watson	...	...	5	0 0
		<hr/>		
		£263 10 0		
		<hr/>		



# The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1890.

Dr.

Cr.

		INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
Balances at Bankers	...	...	4 7 6	By Publishing Account—	...
" in hand	...	...	6 3 4	Engraving, &c., for Journal	40 1 6
Subscriptions—	...	...	...	Tollard, W. & Co., Printing Journal to November,	258 8 5
265 Annual Subscriptions of £1 ts. each	...	...	278 5 0	1890 (No. 187 of Volume xlvii)	50 0 0
4 Do. Associate do. at 10s. 6d.	...	...	2 2 0	Hartshorne, A., for Editing Journal to 31st Dec., 1890	343 9
Together received during the year	...	...	280 7 0	House Expenses—	...
7 Subscriptions paid in advance in 1889	...	...	...	" Westminster Press," printing Library Catalogue	59 8 6
31 Do. in arrear at 31st December, 1890	...	...	...	Rent of Offices to 31st December, 1890	113 8 0
307 Total annual subscribers at 31st December	...	...	...	Salary of Secretary	83 0 0
Arrears as under paid in 1890	...	...	...	Stationery, Books, Cases, &c.	23 19 3
for the year 1887, 1 subscription	...	1 1 0	...	Accountant's Fee	3 3 0
do. 1888, 4 do.	...	4 4 0	...	Sundries	2 7 0
do. 1889, 35 do.	...	36 15 0	...	" Petty Cash—	...
42 0 0	...	...	...	Office Expenses, Attendant, Incidentals, &c.	44 12 7
13 Subscriptions	...	13 13 0	55 13 0	Postage Stamps and Delivery of Journal	47 4 8
Entrance Fees	...	...	336 0 0	Stationery, &c.	11 19 0
" Life Compositions	...	...	30 9 0	Carriage of Parcels	16 8 8
" Sale of Publications, &c.	...	...	31 10 0	Cab and Omnibus Hire	5 12 6
" Balance of Gloucester Meeting	...	...	67 0 2	Library purchases	2 15 0
" Special subscriptions in aid of General Expenses	...	...	70 18 0	Insurance	5 13 6
" Special Donations—	...	...	263 10 0	Sundries	101 12 0
Lewis, Professor Bunnell, towards Illustration of Journal	...	6 3 9	...	" Cash Balances—	...
Clark, G. T.	...	7 18 4	...	At Bankers	100 4 1
Rowley, Walter, for Map of Roman Yorks	...	2 2 0	16 4 1	In hand	1 7 11
Rent—	...	...	...		
Egypt Exploration Fund	...	30 0 0	...		
Society for Preserving Memorials of the Dead	...	1 1 0	31 1 0		
	...	...	£857 3 1		

We hereby certify that we have prepared the above Account for the year ended 31st December, 1890, and that the same agrees with the Cash and Bankers Pass Books of the Institute. Further we have also examined the payments made during the period with the vouchers and find the same in order.

KIRBY & BRANFORD,

Chartered Accountants.

4 Broad Street, Buildings, E.C. 24th April, 1891.

Examined and found correct,

R. MILBURN BLAKISTON, M.A. F.S.A. { Honorary Auditors.  
MILL STEPHENSON, F.S.A. }

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archæological Institute.

April 9th, 1891.

E. GREEN Esq., F.S.A., in the chair.

Chancellor Ferguson communicated a paper "On the Heraldry of the Cumberland Statesmen," a class of small landed proprietors in the north of that county. The favourite place for the display of their armorial achievements was on the back of their tombstones. The Chancellor described at length the arms assumed by Fergusons of Arthuret, the Grahams of Esk, the Hewarts, Forsters, Routledges, Armstrongs, Teasdales of Mumps Hall, &c. The system of combining in one shield the charges of *baron* and *feme* was referred to, and the learned author suggested that a local ordinary of arms should be compiled before these armorial bearings had fallen into oblivion. Mr. Ferguson's paper is printed at page 77.

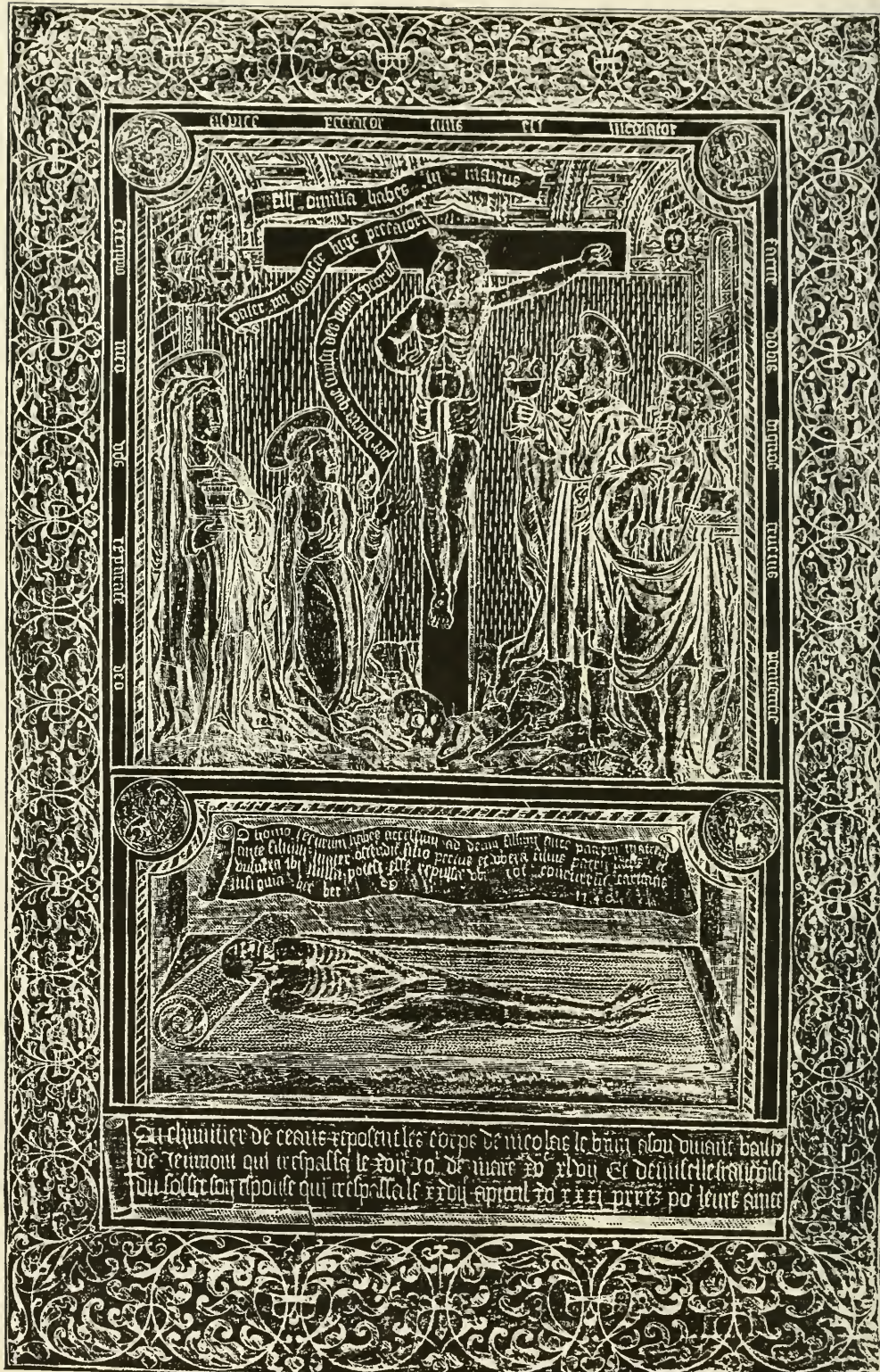
Mr. Andrew Oliver read the following Notes on "Brasses in the London Museums."

BRITISH MUSEUM.—A portion of a Flemish brass. This consists of the head of a Bishop or an Abbot wearing the mitre on a cushion; the background is quite plain. Over the left shoulder there is seen the head of the pastoral staff, with the *Agnus Dei* in the crook. A small figure of an angel supports the leafed spray which is under the head of it. The small portion shown of the crocketed canopy over the head has geometrical tracery in the spandrels, and the inner arches are cusped. The detail on the soffit of the arch is a flowing pattern. The super canopy contains the representation of the soul, held up in a cloth by the Divine Personage, on either side are placed angels holding candles. To the right and left of these are two niched compartments containing the figures of Saints with their emblem. On the left St. —? and St. Paul, and on the right St. Peter and a Saint holding a palm branch, possibly St. Pancras.

The Brass to Nicholas Lebrun 1547 is an extremely curious and quite unique example. It is in two divisions, the upper one containing a representation of the Crucifixion. The figure of our Saviour on the cross is shown as having one hand fastened to the cross and with the other He is pointing to His side. On the side next to the hand which is fastened are the figures of St. John the Evangelist holding a Chalice with the Serpent in one hand, and St. John the Baptist holding







NICHOLAS LEBRUN, 1547.—BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Size 2ft. by 1ft. 3ins.)

From a Rubbing by ANDREW OLIVER, A.R.I.B.A.

PHOTO LITHO SPRACUE & CO LONDON



a Book on which is placed a lamb. A flag, the staff of which passes under the leg of the lamb, displays a cross and with the other hand the Baptist points to the Lamb. On the other side of the Saviour are the figures of the Blessed Virgin who is pointing to her breast and St. Mary Magdalene who is holding her usual attribute a Pot of ointment. From each of these two figures proceed scrolls. Just under the symbol of St. John is a small figure of the First Person of the Holy Trinity crowned and holding in the left hand an orb which is surmounted by a cross. The other hand is raised in the act of benediction.

Under the symbol of St. Matthew on the other side is a scene in glory. At the top and sides of this portion and next to the ornamental border which surrounds the composition are sentences in Latin.

Between the upper portion and the lower is an inscription underneath which is placed an emaciated figure of the deceased lying on a mattress, and below is an inscription in French, stating that Nicholas Lebrun, Bailly of Teumont died on the 17th day of March 1547 and that his wife Francoise (or Frances) du Fossett died on the 27th of April 1531. From the brass having only one figure it is probable it was put up at his death as the same character may be seen throughout in the inscription.

As regards the other brasses they are not of any very great importance. Two are figures, the one of a Knight, and the other of a Civilian in a long gown with a scarf on the left shoulder. A purse and a rosary are suspended from the belt, which passes round the waist. The feet are lost.

A small circular plate with the figure of a Priest in vestments, surrounded by an inscription to Thomas Qythe. On the reverse a pair of compasses.

A similar plate to the foregoing, consisting of the head of a Priest placed between four others. A mutilated inscription round the edge. On the reverse a triangle with figures at the base.

Two shields of arms, the one with the bearings of the Mercers company, and the other quarterly 1 and 4, in chief three martlet; 2 and 3, two lions passant.

A corner plate bearing three men's heads horned coupé at the shoulder.<sup>1</sup>

There are four Evangelistic Symbols, the reverse of one showing a portion of a shield, a Merchant's mark with the initials B.S.W.

Three plates of daughters, two of which are Palimpsests. One with seven, with the butterfly head-dress, shows on the back the hands and part of the dress of an earlier figure. Another with three, shows on the reverse that it has been part of a plate originally containing figures of sons.

Four Inscription plates and a few Lombardic letters and one or two other fragments.

SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM,—There are two brasses in the South Kensington Museum the one a Flemish plate and the other a Knight's brass showing the collar of SS. The Flemish brass is said by the Rev. W. F. Creeny to have come from Nippes near Cologne. It represents Henricus Oskens (1535) kneeling between St. Peter and the Emperor St. Henry, his Patron Saint. St. Peter holds in his hand one key, that of Heaven. Saint Henry is shown crowned and wearing a

<sup>1</sup> This may be meant for 3 Bacchus heads coupé at the shoulder, clothed Gules. *Bromall. Papworth's Dictionary.*



cloak over a suit of armour. In the right hand is held an orb surmounted by a cross and in the left is a sword. Both saints are nimbed. Between Oskens and St. Peter is a shield of arms suspended from a vase bearing party per fess in chief paly an ox statant, probably a rebus on the name. The figure of Oskens, who is kneeling, is in a long loose gown, the hands upwards. On the head may be seen the tonsure. At the foot of the brass is this inscription:—

“*Me fieri fecit henricus Oskens Cantor et Canonicus hujus Ecclesie dum viveret orate pro eo Obiit autem anno domini Millesimo Quingentesimo<sup>1</sup> Tresemo quinto die ven ultimo novembris.*”

“Henry Oskens Cantor and Canon of this church had me made whilst he lived, pray for him, he died in the year of our Lord a thousand five hundred and thirty-five the very last day of November.”

In the background is placed the Blessed Virgin and Child surrounded by an aureole. The Holy Child grasps a small Tau cross. The Virgin stands on an inverted crescent. On either side are placed columns which support a small entablature, on the upper mouldings of the bases of the columns are placed small thin shafts which run up the whole height and carry a very flat arch, in front of which is seen a canopy of a debased outline, the details similar to the branches of trees which are twisted in an eccentric manner, the bosses terminating in bunches of flowers. Carried on branches which project from either side, is the Annunciation. In the centre is placed a heavy looking column, the base terminating in foliage. Over the branches is the outline of an arch with crockets of a very luxuriant character.

MUSEUM OF GEOLOGY, JERMYN ST.—Louis de Corteville, 1496. This is a Flemish example. It consists of the figure of Corteville and his wife lying on cushions; behind is placed a diapered background. The feet of the figures rest on dogs. Over the heads are shields of arms; that of the Knight is surrounded by mantling and surmounted by the crest. The wife's shield which also quarters the husband's arms is held by an angel. The husband, who is bareheaded, is in armour, beneath which is worn a coat of mail, which is seen at the throat and between the tuelles or thigh pieces; at the shoulders and elbows small tags are seen. The sword which is suspended from a very narrow belt appears behind the figure. The lance rest is shown in front of the cuirass. The wife is dressed in a long furred gown with very deep full sleeves, a hood is worn over the head, a wide collar of an elaborate pattern round the throat. At the four corners, in place of the usual symbols, are shields of arms similar to those seen over the head of the knight. The inscription to the wife commences in the middle of the top strip, it is continued along the side nearest to her effigy and ends in the middle of the foot strip when it is succeeded by the husband's inscription which is carried along in a similar manner ending in the middle of the top strip where the wife's inscription begins. It is divided by small shields placed at the four corners.

Hier licht begraue (shield) Jonevr' Colyne van Cæstre F<sup>a</sup> Elyas twijf was uā Lodewijc Cortewille die overleet Jnt Jaer xiiij xvi den xij<sup>co</sup> dach (shield) van Lauwe. Hier licht begraven Lodewijc (shield) Cortewille Sciltenape heere uāder Cortewille F<sup>a</sup> Mergillis ruddere heere uā Reinghelst die overleet Jnt Jaer xv<sup>c</sup> en (shield) iiij den xx dach uā lauwe.

<sup>1</sup> This last line was evidently added after his death.

Here lies buried the young lady Colyne Van Cæstre daughter of Elyas, who was wife of Lodewiic Cortewille and died in the year 1496 the 12th day of (January ?)

Here lies buried Lodewiic Cortewille Esquire Lord of Cortewille son of Mergillis Knight Lord of Reinghelst who died in the year 1504, the 20th day of (January ?)

Mr. J. HILTON read a paper, "Further remarks on Jade," chiefly with the object of making known that this mineral had been found *in situ* in Eastern Germany. He pointed out the bearing the discovery would have on the vexed question where the man of the non-historic period procured his jade for the fabrication of the weapons found in Europe. He thought a great step had been gained, but it did not recommend itself as a solution of the problem. Mr. Hilton urged the necessity of a careful discrimination between jade and jadeite—two minerals much resembling each other at first view, but when analysed showing very marked differences. Mr. Hilton's paper is printed at p. 162. Votes of thanks were returned for these communications.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. OLIVER—Rubblings of brasses alluded to in his notes.

By Mr. HILTON.—Examples of carvings in jade in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. M. J. WALLHOUSE—An Indian hilted dagger with an Andrea Ferara blade.

By Mr. C SEIDLER—Examples of small stone implements from India.

By Major Gen. Sir. M. SMITH, through Mr. Gosselin—A photograph of a German plaque in brass, representing "Our Lady of Pity," with St. John and St. Mary on either side. In the background were the Cross and emblems of the Passion. This object is preserved in the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art.

MAY 7TH, 1891.

G. E. Fox, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. E. GREEN read a paper on "Bath as a Roman City." The argument went to show that the Roman plan of the city was not as hitherto accepted, with Stall Street for the main central thoroughfare, but that Stall Street was an Early English street made when the priory grounds were enclosed, and so laid down over the Roman ruins. The many finds in this street, including a hypocaust, found in 1727 and still remaining *in situ*, were noticed in proof. The Fosse Road, which was the Roman Road through the city, but eastward of Stall Street, entering by the North Gate, passed on in a straight line through the site of the Priory Church and grounds, forming the eastward boundary of the baths, and continuing southward to the river. A street still traceable existed westward of Stall Street, passing the western front of the baths, a frontage always supposed to have been formed by Stall Street. Mr. Green also touched upon the question how strangers, coming for cure, or otherwise, were lodged in Roman times.

The Chairman, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Green, remarked that in Roman bathing-places traces of arrangements for the accommodation of visitors had been discovered, especially at Stabie on the southern shores of the Bay of Naples. Mr. Green's paper is printed at page 174.

Mr. W. Lovell read a paper on "Queen Eleanor's Crosses," which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Lovell.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. E. GREEN—Drawings and plans in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. LOVELL—Illustrations of Eleanor Crosses.

By Mr. J. Park HARRISON—Profiles of Roman capitals and bases found at Bath (some with two hollow chamfers resembled very closely mouldings at Deerhurst, Tewkesbury, and the Confessor's church at Westminster); also an example of the "Attic base," copied in early work at the east end of Bath Abbey Church. It occurs in the south aisle of the choir of Bernay Abbey in Normandy, *c.* 1015. Mr. Harrison pointed out that Viollet-le-Duc states that the classical or Roman base remained in use far longer in the South of France and Aquitaine, than in the north, where it became altered about the end of the tenth century.

## Archæological Intelligence.

THE GRAMMAR OF THE LOTUS.—Mr. Wm. H. Goodyear announces the publication of this important work which will, in fact, be a new History of Classic Ornament as a development of Sun Worship. The general title of "GRAMMAR OF THE LOTUS" indicates the argument of the work, which proves the plant to have been the basis of most of the ornamental patterns of Greek and later times, after demonstrating the solar symbolism of the lotus flower in Egypt and its importance as a fetich of immemorial antiquity, by appeal to many known and also hitherto unknown facts.

"The conclusions of Mr. Goodyear's book as to pattern ornament, though in the main absolutely novel, have to some extent been independently reached by other workers in the same field, and especially by Mr. Percy E. Newberry, whose standing as a botanist and whose position on the staff of the Egypt Exploration Fund give his opinion much weight. This concurrence includes Mr. Goodyear's view of the Ionic form as derived from curling lotus sepals, of the Rosette as derived from the ovary stigma, of the Egg-and-Dart moulding as a lotus border, of the 'Honeysuckle' or 'Palmette' as a lotus derivative, and of the Mycenæ spirals as derived from lotus scrolls.

"Due credit will also be given to the important announcements regarding the lotus in Greek patterns which have been made by Messrs. John Pennethorne, W. M. Flinders Petrie, Colonna-Ceccaldi, and Marcel Dieulafoy.

"The original portions of Mr. Goodyear's book, including his demonstration that the papyrus does not occur in Egyptian ornament, and that the so-called papyrus forms of Egyptian ornament are all conventional lotuses, will speak for themselves. It may be said briefly that the work compels a revision of many existing views in archæology of many departments—Egyptian, Assyrian, Phœnician, Greek, Italian, Prehistoric North-European, Hindu, and Ancient American—and that it also substantially augments the fund of science in all these various departments of knowledge."

We have extracted thus much from Mr. Goodyear's prospectus of his *magnum opus* in order to indicate how large a field his patient researches will cover. We need hardly add that it is to an American savant that we shall be indebted, since the author's name is conspicuous among the gifted men who come to us from across the Atlantic and share so learnedly and so genially in our pursuits.

Names of subscribers to the Grammar of the Lotus should be sent to Messrs. Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, London, price of subscription, £3 3s.

THE BLAZON OF ENGLISH, SCOTTISH, AND IRISH EPISCOPACY, by the

Rev. W. K. Riland Bedford. This work, first published in 1858, has been of the greatest assistance not only to Heralds and persons interested in genealogy, but to authors of all sorts. It has long been scarce and we are very glad to hear that Mr. Bedford proposes to re-issue it in an amended and more complete form, to bring it down to the present day, and to add to it the blazon of the Scottish and Irish episcopacy. The addition of an Ordinary of the Arms of the Bishops is an almost indispensable adjunct to a list of such items and the author will certainly have the gratitude of all students for taking upon himself this extra labour.

This is, perhaps, hardly the occasion,—we may not have another opportunity—to suggest a new work to Mr. Bedford before he has quite got the old one off his hands, but a *BLAZON OF DEANS* is really wanted; no doubt in the researches for the Blazon of Episcopacy, the Deans have not been passed unheeded by, and possibly Mr. Bedford may already have a work of this kind in contemplation. Let us hope this is the case. Names of subscribers to the Blazon of English, Scottish, and Irish Episcopacy, price £1 4s., should be sent at once to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., Paternoster House, Charing Cross Road, London.

*SIX MONTHS IN THE APENNINES, or a Pilgrimage in search of Vestiges of the Irish Saints in Italy.* By Margaret Stokes. The name of the accomplished authoress is sufficient guarantee that this work, which is intended to illustrate an important chapter in the history of the British Islands, that of the early Missions of the Scotie or Irish Church in the Dark Ages, will be ably treated.

The fact that the native schools of Ireland sent forth teachers who enriched even distant kingdoms on the Continent with the fruits of their learning and zeal has long been known to historians, and it has also been established that the monasteries founded by these missionaries continued to be fed from their native sources for many centuries. But it has not hitherto been recognized that, in the remote recesses of the Apennines and the Alps, in the Tyrol and along the Danube, there still exist material remains and personal relics of these devoted men.

The journey was undertaken by the authoress in search of such vestiges as might still be found in Italy, and especially in those parts which were the scenes of the labours of Columbanus and his followers, at Bobio, A.D. 540 to 615; of Finnian (A.D. 565) and Sillan, at Lucca; of Dungal, at Pavia; of Donatus, Andrew and Brigid, at Fiesole; of Cathaldus, at Taranto; and of others of lesser fame. Cathedrals and monasteries were visited where the memories of their Irish founders are still preserved, libraries in which their ancient books may still be seen, sacristies and crypts where their tombs are still revered.

The book will contain numerous illustrations from photographs and drawings made by the author from the objects and scenes themselves, including works in fresco, painting, sculpture and architecture, connected with the history of these early travellers, as well as representations of their personal relics, where such may be found.

The price of the volume will be 15s., but it will be sent post free to subscribers for 10s. Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, London.

*THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND.*—Mr. J. Charles Wall announces the forthcoming publication of which should be a very



picturesque and attractive volume. From the prospectus that has fallen into our hands, we gather that the woodcuts will be of a high order of merit, and altogether unlike the tricky spotty pictures that have lately come into fashion. The book will be brought out by Messrs. Sampson, Low, Marston and Co., St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, London, price £1 1s.

THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE NORTH CITY WALL AT CHESTER.—In the course of last year an effort was made to continue the excavations made in 1887 in the North City Wall of Chester. An appeal was put forth, signed by Dr. Evans, Professor H. F. Pelham, Mr. F. Haverfield, Professor Middleton, Bishop Wordsworth and others, and backed by Bishop Stubbs and Professor Mommsen, and early in December, with the consent of the Mayor and Corporation and the co-operation of the Chester Archæological and Historic Society, work was commenced at a point suggested by the City Surveyor, a little to the west of the Northgate. The proceeding was stopped by the great frost in January, but was otherwise carried on continuously till the middle of June, when a second pause was made. In September the work was resumed, with the additional assistance of Mr. E. F. Benson, Scholar of King's College, Cambridge, to whom the Craven Trustees had made a grant of £40 for this purpose. The results up to the date of writing have been most satisfactory. Some forty inscribed stones (including fragments) have been taken out of the wall, and the inscriptions, which will in due course be published by Mr. Haverfield in this *Journal*, are by no means unimportant. All but one appear to be gravestones of soldiers quartered at Chester, or of their "belongings;" the one exception being a centurial stone. The two most important finds are (1) an inscription recording the drowning of an *optio*, which, besides its obvious interest, contains an important technical phrase; and (2) a series of stones recording the soldiers of the *Legio II adiutrix*, which is believed to have been in Britain about the time of Agricola, that is about 80 A.D. This discovery completely overthrows several current theories, including that advanced by Professor Hübner as to the quarters of the legion in question. It is to be hoped that subscriptions will be forthcoming to enable the work to be continued. The Society of Antiquaries has furnished £10, the University of Oxford £25, the University of Cambridge, through the Craven Trustees, £40, and Gen. Pitt Rivers and other archæologists have subscribed liberally. But the work is as expensive as it is important, and it is highly desirable that all who care for the early history of our island should send contributions to carry on the explorations. It must be remembered that the reconstruction of Roman Britain has to be based very largely on inscriptions, and that, as a fact, one inscription is worth tons of pseudo Arretine (or Samian) ware. At Chester, the North City wall is demonstrably full of inscriptions, and, as Canon Raine has said, it is mere vandalism to leave them there. It may be added that the discoveries are not limited to inscriptions. There has issued from the wall a large quantity of carved and sepulchral stone, some of it of great interest and likely to supply us with material for forming some notions about the buildings of Deva. And, lastly, an opening has been made in the East Wall, which promises, not inscriptions, but important evidence as to the construction of the whole Roman wall.

THE O NEIL BADGE.—Mr. Robert Day has communicated the

following note to "The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland," No. 4, Vol. 1, Fifth Series. Last Quarter, 1890., which will not be without interest to the members of the Institute.

"In the volume of the Society's *Journal* for 1876-8, and at p. 498, I described and illustrated an inverted shield-shaped armorial badge of bronze, overlaid with silver, bearing upon it the arms and supporters of the O'Neill family. This, as I explained, came to me with a hauberk of chain-mail that was found in the Phoenix Park by workmen when making the extensive line of railway that connects Kingsbridge with the North Wall. The hauberk was purchased from the navy who found it, and the badge, as I understood at the time, was got with it. The age of both were in harmony, and the seven laps upon the badge strengthened the belief that they were used for securing it to the chain-rings of which the hauberk was made. Both were exhibited in the loan collection of helmets and armour which was held under the auspices of 'The Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,' and were fully described by more able hands than mine in the valuable catalogue published by the Institute ("Ancient Helmets and Examples of Mail"—London, 1881). Both have remained together until now, and would have so continued but for the following circumstances. A short time since in a letter from the learned Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, he informed me that on comparing my illustration of the badge with an old drawing of the historical harp in the library of the College, he had discovered a remarkable resemblance both in outline, size, and detail between it and an ornament which had been upon the harp when the drawing was made, but had for some years been lost; and the only other evidence of its former existence was the empty space in which it had at one time fitted. Upon the return of my son to College after the Easter Recess, he took the badge with him, and in company with the librarian, compared it with the drawing, and found that it exactly resembled it, and fitted into its niche upon the harp, so that it was unquestionably the original ornament that had helped to give the instrument its family history. Upon hearing this I presented the badge to the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College. The regret I have in impoverishing my hauberk by parting with this interesting historical relic is more than compensated by the pleasure it affords me of having it in my power to enrich the harp by restoring the badge to its original position, where I trust it may long be preserved. I feel it my duty to give the same publicity to this as I did when, in the first instance, I believed that the badge was associated with the coat of chain-mail—the one reminding us of war, and strife, and tumult, and the other with what is at once the standard and the armorial ensign of our country, and the symbol of poetry, harmony, tranquility, and peace."

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\* \* \* As a note to his paper on "Our Lady of Pity," printed at page 111, Mr. Peacock informs us that there is a much mutilated figure of this subject over the outer doorway of the south porch of the church of Welwick in Holderness. It is rudely figured in Poulson's *Holderness*, vol. ii, p. 509, and appears to have been identical in character with the Glenthams example.



# The Archaeological Journal.

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DECEMBER, 1891.

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## THE UNION JACK.<sup>1</sup>

By EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.

Banners have been used and borne from the earliest times but any account or history of these does not come within the scope of the present purpose. Even our own Royal Standard is designedly omitted: The subject must be confined to the title heading, the Union Jack, the "meteor flag" of Great Britain and Ireland. The point which may first invite attention is the probable origin of the name Jack as thus specially applied, and for clearing this the history or use of the Cross of St. George, one of its component parts, may be briefly traced.

Joseph of Arimathea, it is told, about A.D. 72 after his arrival at Glastonbury, having converted a certain British king, gave "hym a shelde of ye armes wee call saint George his armes,"

A shield of silver white  
A cross endlong and overthwart full perfect

"whiche armes he bare ever after, and thus that armes bee ye armes of this lande long afore saint George was gotten or borne."<sup>2</sup> Coming more within bounds the use of the various crosses heraldically may date from the time of the Crusades, when in connexion with some tutelary saint they were especially assumed as a bearing or emblem by nearly every city and by every country. St. George, the especial patron of England, at the conquest of Jerusalem descended, it is said, on Mount Olivet and waved his shield; and it may be assumed that when King Richard "took the Cross," as it was called, his ships

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Historical Section at Edinburgh, August 14th, 1891.  
the annual meeting of the Institute at

<sup>2</sup> Hardyng's *Chronicle*, p. 84.

making the eastern voyage wore the colours of their patron saint. A little later, documents begin to aid somewhat. In the Wardrobe Accounts of A.D. 1345—1349, temp. Edward III, there is a charge for eighty six penoncells of the arms of St. George for the King's ships and eight hundred others for the men at arms;<sup>1</sup> and among divers things delivered in 1374, 48 Edward III, are thirty one standards of St. George.<sup>2</sup> An early illustrated manuscript known as Rous's Roll, in the British Museum, setting forth the "Life of the famous Knyght Richard Beauchamp Erle of Warwick," born in 1381, shows in plate V, "howe, good provision made of English clothe and other thynges necessary, and license hadde of the Kynge, Erle Richard sailed towards the holy lande and especially to the holy cite of Jhrlm." At the mast head the ship carries a streamer bearing the Cross of St. George at the hoist, *i.e.* next the mast, the other part showing the well known bear and ragged staff of the house of Warwick. Plate VIII. tells how the Earl arrived at Venice, and was "Inned" at St. George's, his ship here wearing the same streamer; and so in plate XVIII. which shows his return to England.<sup>3</sup> In some accounts of the Earl, of 1347, there is a charge for a great streamer for the ship, and for "a great crosse of St. George."<sup>4</sup> A fine illustrated Froissart, also in the British Museum, shows English vessels wearing the St. George's Cross. In one drawing are three ships, each full of mailed men; in two of the ships a man holds a banner of St. George at the bow; in the other a man holds a pennon of St. George at the stern. The other flags displayed are the Royal Arms, France and England quarterly.<sup>5</sup> An engraved seal of John Holland, Eart of Huntingdon, made General at Sea in 1414,<sup>6</sup> shows a ship of one mast bearing a pennon of St. George on the fore castle, the sail being charged with the arms of the Earl.<sup>7</sup> In a list of the effects of Henry V. was one pennon of St. George, valued at six shillings and eightpence.<sup>8</sup>

The Navy Royal, as we know it, has grown to its position

<sup>1</sup> Archaeologia, Vol. xxxi, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas, History of the Navy, vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Cotton, MSS. Julius E iv, Art. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Antiquities of Warwickshire.

<sup>5</sup> Royal MSS, 18 E.; Vol. ii, Chap. 52, fol. 103, 165, 175.

<sup>6</sup> Patent Rolls, 5 Hen. V., m. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Gent's Magazine, Vol. lxvii, p. 549

<sup>8</sup> Rolls of Parliament, vol. iv, pp. 238, 239.



out of circumstances and necessities. The earlier ships being more important as transports than for fighting purposes, the military commander for the time became chief of the ship. As the work was done as a feudal duty and not for professional pay, every commander flew a different streamer bearing his own armorials in the fly or free part of the flag, every streamer however being alike in having attached to it next the mast the national cross on a white square.

The next example shows the use of the national cross in another way. In 1386 when Richard II invaded Scotland, it was ordered in certain "Statutes, ordinances, and customs to be holden in the hoste," that everi man of what estate condicion or nation thei be of, so that he be one of oure partie, bere a signe of the armes of Saint George, large, both before and behynde, upon parell that yff he be slayne or wounded to deth, he that hath so doon to hym shall not be putte to deth for defaulte of the crosse he lacketh. And that non enemy do bere the same token or crosse of Saint George upon payne of dethe.<sup>1</sup> Again in the time of Henry VI. all soldiers were ordered to wear the same cross, with the same conditions that any man not wearing it if slain by a comrade, the slayer should not be punished<sup>2</sup> The earliest example of the word Jack is found in some accounts of arms and streamers delivered to certain ships in 1375, 49 Edward III., wherein are mentioned twenty-six Jacks, and with them certain streamers of St. George. These Jacks, although found here in association with streamers, must not be mistaken for flags; they were the surcoats or tunics, as just noted worn by the soldiers bearing on them the Cross of St. George. They were usually wadded or quilted. Sometimes they were made of leather and stuffed with wool, and often they had small plates of iron attached. They were used as being lighter and less expensive than ordinary armour. In a Life of Richard II., published in 1547, the author writes of these tunics as commonly called Jacks, *quas vulgo Jackes vocant*, and in another place he again writes of them—*quale Jacke vocamus*.<sup>3</sup> Chaucer in the Canterbury Tales, written about 1389, when satirising the

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MSS., No. 1309., f. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Walsingham, Thos., p. 248, line 2

<sup>2</sup> Historical MSS., vol. i, Part 2, p. 39. p. 260, line 33.



fashion of wearing short clothing, mentions the shortness of what he calls *cuttet sloppes* or *hanslines*.<sup>1</sup> He must have used the word *hansline* playfully, or with a double meaning. It is the German diminutive or familiar for the Christian name *Haus*, and so equivalent to our *Jack*; and from Froissart we learn that the short garment so satirised was of German origin and called a *Jack*, as he tells us that Henry, Duke of Lancaster, when leaving the Tower for his coronation at Westminster, wore “*ung court jacque dung drap dor à la facon dalemaigne*.”<sup>2</sup> Passing on from these times, a painting in Windsor Castle engraved and published by the Society of Antiquaries, representing the embarkation of Henry VIII. for France, 31 May, 1520, shows a four-masted ship, having at each mast head a pennon of St. George, and on each quarter deck along her sides are seen what appear to be shields, bearing also the Cross of St. George. Other ships with her all have the same arrangement. An original drawing of the *Grace Dieu* of 1556, in the Pepysian Library, again shows these crosses.<sup>3</sup> They were not shields as supposed, but were really *Jacks*. What they were may be judged more readily from a State document of the year 1575, which gives an account of the charges “for making 1500 *Jacks* plated before, for the furniture of the Queene’s maties shippes.” For these there were used :—

3,700 ells of cloth for the inner lyninge after the rate of two ells and a half to a piece, at 4<sup>d</sup>. the ell.

Sockeram for the outside and weltinge the same, 3,000 ells at the rate of two ells to a *Jacke*, at 12<sup>d</sup>. the ell.

Cross bowe threade to fasten the plates, 750 lbs. after half a lb. to a *Jacke*, at 8<sup>d</sup>. the lb.

Tow, 9,000 lbs. weight at 6 lbs. to a *Jack*.

Cutting 960 pieces of old armour into plates and 700 other plates. And lastly,

Pack thread, wax, pitch, tallow and rosin to temper the thread, cutting the cloth ready, with thread, needles, nails, webb, and iron pins for the frames.<sup>4</sup> The total cost being £779 6s. 8d.

The argument is thus brought down to the end of the

<sup>1</sup> *Persones Tale, De Superbia.*

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv, fol. 104, col. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. vi., pp. 183, 208.

<sup>4</sup> *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*

reign of Elizabeth, but unfortunately and regretfully, notwithstanding many searches, resultless searches, no actual use of the name Jack as applied to a flag has been met with. Any conclusion therefore must be guided entirely by inference.

After the death of the "glorious and invincible Queen Elizabeth" King James VI. of Scotland succeeded, late in March 1603, as James I. of England, thus bringing the two kingdoms under one King. A first necessary act was the making a new Great Seal, and this was accordingly ordered, by warrant of 4th April, to be made in such sorte as yt is fitt ye saide Seales should now be made with the union of the armes of both Realms England and Scotland.<sup>2</sup> A pattern was delivered to the engraver with a new circumscription:—*Jacobus DG Ang: Sco: franc: et Hib: Rex. fid: def: Scotland* thus appearing on the legend for the first time. But apparently from his first coming to England James had planned to bring about a close union of the two Kingdoms under one name and one flag, partly for the political and general advantages, and partly as pleasing to himself and tending to increase his prerogative. England, or those then to the fore, did not like the idea and saw only the disadvantages, so the King was "crossed" and could not carry his full plan of—one King, one People, one Law. A partial union, however, was obtained, sufficient to satisfy him, and perhaps sufficient for the time, in the form of a united crown and the exhibition of a united flag.

The question of a union had often been mooted. In 1291, 3rd July, Edward I. being victorious in the north declared the two countries united and that his writ should run in both.<sup>3</sup> This position did not last long. In 1363 in the time of Edward III., negotiations were opened for a union of the crowns if King David of Scotland should die without heirs.<sup>4</sup> Again, in 1549, 16 January, there is a document endorsed "matters to be consulted on for the union of the two realms of England and Scotland;"<sup>5</sup> and also in the time of Elizabeth the subject was discussed.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.P. Dom. 1603. Vol. i, No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> S.P. Dom. James I. Warrant Book No. 1, fol. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer Syllabus, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Rymer, p. 430.

<sup>5</sup> S.P. Dom. Edward VI. Vol. iii, p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> Hist. MSS., vol. i, part 2, p. 44.

By Proclamation, Oct. 20th, 1604, in most joyful recognition of the blessings bestowed upon him, James declared the union, or as he called it the re-uniting, of these two mighty, famous, and ancient kingdoms under one Imperial Crown. As the isle within, says the proclamation, had almost none but imaginative bounds of separation, one common limit of the sea making the whole a world of itself, with a community of language and a unity of religion the chiefest bond of lasting peace, it was unreasonable that a thing which by nature was so much in effect one, should not be a unity in name, a memorial of the unity which ought to be amongst them indeed. The two crowns being thus merged into one, a new style and title was adopted, and the "one isle" was declared Great Britain.

With this union a new National Flag became necessary, one which should unite the flags of the two countries, the Red Cross of St. George on a white ground for England, (Fig. 1), and the White Saltire or Diagonal Cross of St. Andrew on a blue ground for Scotland (Fig. 2). After consideration the design was determined and distributed. The plan adopted was not simply to unite or join the two flags, but was an attempt to more than unite; the intention was to amalgamate and interlace<sup>1</sup> or combine the two so as to produce an appearance of complete union. The result was heraldically:—

*Azure* a saltire *argent* surmounted by a cross *gules* fimbriated of the *second* (i.e. *argent*). (Fig. 3.) In other words, blue with a white diagonal cross (St. Andrew), and over this a red rectangular cross with a white border (St. George). By Proclamation 12th April, 1605, it was ordered that all ships of North and South Britain should carry this flag in the main top, the Red Cross of St. George and the White Cross of St. Andrew united according to the pattern sent out.<sup>2</sup>

Differences however soon arose as the new combination did not please in the north, causing some little concession to be made. Just a year after the Proclamation another was issued, 12th April, 1606, which sets forth, that whereas some differences had arisen between our subjects of

<sup>1</sup> Balfour Historical Works, Annals of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer's Syllabus.



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3

THE UNION JACK.





South and North Britain traunayling by seas, about the bearing of their flags, we have with the advise of our Council ordered that from henceforth all our subjects of Great Britain should bear in the maintop the Red Cross of St. George and the White Cross of St. Andrew joined together according to a form made by the Heralds, *i.e.*, Fig. 3. And in their foretop the ships of South Britain should wear the Red Cross only "as they were wont," and those of North Britain in their foretop, the White Cross only "as they were accustomed," wherefore we will and command all our subjects to be comformable and obedient to this order. But our subjects in the north were not to be thus appeased, as may be seen from the following letter from the Scottish Privy Council, dated Edinburgh, 7th August, 1606:—

Most sacred Soverayne. A greate number of the maisteris and awnaris of the schippis of this your Majesties kingdome hes verie havelie complenit to your Majesties Counsell, that the form and patrone of the flaggis of schippis send down heir and commandit to be ressavit and used be the subjectis of boith kingdomes, is verie prejudiciall to the fredome and dignitie of this Estate and will gif occasioun of reprotche to this natioun quhairevir the said flage sal happin to be worne beyond sea, becaus, as your sacred Majestie may persave, the Scottis Croce callit Sanctandris Croce, is twyse divydit, and the Inglishe Croce callit Sanct George haldin hail and drawne through the Scottis Croce whiche is thereby obscurit, and no takin nor merk to be seene of the Scottis armes. This will breid some heit and discontentment betwix your Majesties subjectis and it is to be feirit that some inconvenientis sall fall oute betwix thame, for our seyfaring men cannot be inducit to ressave that flag as it is set down. They have drawne two new draughtis and patrones as most indifferent for both kingdomes, whiche they presented to the Counsell and craved our approbatioun of the same, but we haif reserved that to your Majesties princelie determinatioun, as moir particularlie the Erll of Mar who was present and hard their complaynt and to whome we haif remittet the discourse and delyverie of that mater, will inform your Majestie and let your Heynes see the errour of the first patrone and the indifferencie of the

two new draughts.<sup>1</sup> These new draughts or patterns, most unfortunately, are not now to be found: nor does it appear that any notice was taken of the complaint. Besides the pattern adopted, only two others seem possible, perhaps the very two sent in the above letter. The first thought would be to impale or join the two flags side by side, (Fig. 4); the next would be to quarter them. (Fig. 5) By the first plan the two crosses would be on one shield or flag, each occupying half of it; but jealousy might have arisen here as only one cross could have been next the staff which is the point of honour, except through a changed usage by reversing the flag in each Kingdom. By the second or quarterly plan, the flag being divided into four quarters, each cross would appear twice and one of each would be next the staff. But in this case one cross must have been in the uppermost corner next the staff which is the point of honour; except again that a different usage by a different quartering were adopted in the two countries. By permitting any such different usage and consequent change in a flag specially designed to mark it the flag of one Kingdom would have practically destroyed the primary intention. If Scotland grumbled at the new combination, England too might have complained, as by cutting away the familiar white of her flag leaving but little more than a red cross, the blue of St. Andrew becomes the basis on which the flag is built, superseding almost entirely the white of St. George. Remembering that an interlacement was the result aimed at no other than the plan adopted could have been used. By the rules of heraldry colour cannot be placed on colour, thus the red cross alone could not be placed on or touch the blue of St. Andrew; also the red cross alone would not be St. George, it must be red on white. For the same reason St. Andrew could not be carried over St. George, as the white on red would not be true; it must be on blue, and blue, even as a border, could not be placed on or pass over red (Fig. 6). By leaving a white border to the St. George and placing it where it is now seen, St. George was correctly shown and the contact of colour with colour avoided, white in heraldry being silver, a metal not a colour.

<sup>1</sup> Privy Council Registers of Scotland.

This first Union flag is rarely to be met with. It occurs on one of the Great Seals of Charles II., and is seen also as a Jack on the bowsprits of ships in paintings of early naval battles. It may, by good fortune, be seen also on the two colours of the 82nd Regiment, disbanded in 1783, now on the first column on the left hand on entering the High Kirk (St Giles), Edinburgh.

These orders of James remained in force until 5th May, 1634, when his son and successor, Charles I., being busy on matters relating to his navy, issued a Proclamation forbidding any but the Royal ships to carry the Union flag, and appointing other flags for general use. By this order all ships of England were to carry the Red Cross "as of old time hath been used," and ships of Scotland were to carry the White Cross, the pretence for this being that "shipping may be distinguished and we thereby the better discern the goodness of the same."<sup>1</sup> Too determined an interference with shipping was one of the causes which produced our internal war, resulting in the death of Charles on the scaffold in January, 1649. The King being dead, there was no longer a united crown, so the connection of the two countries was dissolved, and the Union flag ceased to be used. On the 23rd February, 1649, the governing council of the Parliament ordered that ships should bear the Red Cross only on a white flag, the cross passing quite through the flag, which was simply the St. George's Cross; and upon the stern, in lieu of the arms previously borne, the Red Cross in one escutcheon and a harp in another, the arms of England and Ireland, the two escutcheons joining.<sup>2</sup> At Cromwell's funeral this banner was used, showing separate shields but on one flag. The Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were also exhibited, quarterly.<sup>3</sup>

Next came the restoration of the Crown under Charles II. From a picture in Hampton Court, representing his embarkation in Holland, the ship wears a large red flag charged with the Stuart arms, and under this flag it may be assumed he would land. As soon as he was safely settled the Union flag was restored to use and an order issued, in 1660, that it should be worn by all the King's

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. viii., pt. iv. p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS., 5th Report, p. 307b.

<sup>3</sup> Noble, House of Cromwell, p. 281.

ships. A few years pass away and again the Stuart king departs. A painting in Hampton Court representing the embarkation of William of Orange for England, in 1688, shows his ship wearing two flags, one red with St. George's Cross in a canton, the other also red, but having the proper Union flag in a canton. This is the earliest example of this form, known to us as the Red Ensign.

After a delay of a century a closer union of the two countries was brought about, a political union such as James would have liked. On the 6th March, 1707, Queen Anne, "in her royal robes seated on the Throne," in giving her assent to the new Act congratulated every one on the completion of this work, one of "so much difficulty and nicety that all attempts made in the course of a hundred years to bring it about had proved ineffectual." Finally, she "desired and expected from all her subjects of both nations that they would act with all possible kindness and respect one to another, that the world may see they had hearts disposed to become one people."<sup>1</sup> Addresses as usual came in from divers parts. The Parliament of Ireland congratulated Her Majesty on her success in this great and glorious work, which would be so effectual a means for preventing the attempts of papists from disturbing the quiet of the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

As on the previous occasion, by the new agreement all ensigns armorial, were to be such as the Queen should appoint, and the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew conjoined in such manner as she should think fit. The point having again to be remembered, on the 17th March 1707, the Heralds were ordered to consider what changes should be made in the ensigns and the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. Just a month later, 17th April, divers drafts conjoining these crosses were submitted to the Council for approval, but unfortunately the Council Register does not describe them, nor give any drawings or any idea what they were, or to what they specially referred. They did not, however, refer to differing patterns for a union, but included the Royal Standard and the usual badges or crests. No change was made in the Union combination, but yet a new flag was produced. In the *Gazette*, as well as in the Proclamation ordering its

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gazette*, 7th Aug.



use, the new flag is found tricked or drawn in ink with the colours written in their respective places. It is simply the red flag with the union in a canton as seen used by William of Orange in 1688. On the 28th July—by Proclamation, it was ordered that all merchant ships instead of the ensign heretofore worn, should wear this flag, “a Red Jack with a Union Jack described in a canton at the upper corner thereof next the staff.” None were to presume to wear any other the flags, jacks, or pennants appointed by ancient usage for the Royal Navy. All Governors of Forts and Customs Officers were to seize any offending flag and report the vessel or the name of any delinquent to the High Admiral for punishment.

For the first time the names Union Jack and Jack applied to other flags are here found officially used.

The position thus remained for nearly a century, until 1st January 1801, when Ireland also joined the political Union. The first known suggestion for this union of the three Kingdoms was made in 1642 in a pamphlet entitled—“The Generall Junto or the Councell of Union chosen equally out of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the better compacting of three nations into one Monarchy. By H. P.” (Henry Parker), Fifty copies only of this tract were printed for private presentation. “To persuade to union,” says the author, and commend the benefit of it to England, Scotland, and Ireland will be unnecessary. *Divide et Impera* (Divide and Rule) is a fit saying for one who aims at the dissipation and perdition of his country. Honest counsellors have ever given contrary advice. England and Ireland are inseparably knit, no severance is possible but such as shall be violent and injurious. Ireland is an integral member of the Kingdom of England, both Kingdoms are connexed and co-invested, not more individued than Wales and Cornwall. England and Ireland already one under one crown, now united with Scotland by the same Royal line centred in one King, “the three kingdoms being thus conjoined under one head, the Tritarchy should be abolished.” In 1652 there seems to have been some negotiations towards this union,<sup>1</sup> but a century and a half passed away before it was brought about, on the 1st

<sup>1</sup>Hist. MSS., 7th Rept., p. 717<sup>a</sup>.



January 1801. By the first article in the agreement it was again provided that the ensigns armorial, flags and banners, should be such as the king should appoint by proclamation. In due course, as before, instructions were issued to the Heralds to design a new Union flag, now incorporating the Cross of St. Patrick for Ireland. Up to this time the usual Irish flag showed a harp with the Red Cross of St. George in the upper corner next the staff. Heraldically St. Patrick's Cross is, *argent a saltire gules*, or in other words, white, a diagonal cross red, the same in form as the cross for Scotland, differing only in the colours (Fig. 10). How this cross became associated with St. Patrick is not clear. It was used as such at Cromwell's funeral, so was not new at this time, but unlike those of St. George and St. Andrew, both known heraldic crosses, St. Patrick's is not found either in sacred Heraldry or in the Emblems of Saints. The result of the instructions was our present national combination, by custom called the Union Jack. The quarterly plan might again have been adopted (Fig. 8), but clearly the object kept in view by the Heralds in the new arrangement was to make the addition without altering or changing the old interlacement, and before doing this so neatly as they have done, they must have been somewhat puzzled. As the Cross of St. Andrew already on the flag was diagonal, the same in form and direction as the new comer St. Patrick, each of them would, according to all rule, be of the same width on any flag of the same size. This being so, by only putting the red of St. Patrick on the white of St. Andrew, the latter would be entirely obliterated. Moreover, St. Patrick would also disappear, as he would by this plan have a blue border or ground, whereas he must have a white one. Like St. George he is red on white. Also had St. Patrick been placed on St. Andrew, but leaving a border of white on each side, (Fig. 7), St. Andrew would still be obliterated, no heraldic description would show anything but red bordered white. As before, with the first Union, colour could not be placed upon colour, thus St. Patrick's red saltire, like St. Andrew's blue border (Fig. 6), could not pass over or under St. George. It could absolutely only be placed on St. Andrew, and must even then be broken up as its red



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9

THE UNION JACK.



could not pass or break the white border of St. George. (Fig. 7). It was clear necessity that produced the plan of quartering or cutting St. Patrick into four parts. Then by adopting also another heraldic device called counter-changing, that is the placing the red quarters of St. Patrick on the upper or lower quarters of St. Andrew's white, alternately in alternate quarters, (Fig. 11), St. Andrew was left clearly in view and was interfered with as little as possible. It is this plan which produces the curious difference in the white, which has probably puzzled every one, and perhaps but few could explain. The St. George being a cross proper was not interfered with by the saltire of St. Patrick, and consequently remained intact. This has been the cause of some further rather small jealousy from North Britain. As in the previous case in the first Union with the saltire of St. Andrew it could not be otherwise. Had St. Patrick come with a cross instead of a saltire, a cross the reverse in colours to St. George say a white cross on a red ground, then St. George must have been interfered with and the saltire of St. Andrew left intact. Supposing this, and that the Heralds followed the same plan, St. Patrick's white would have been quartered and counter-changed on and with St. George, the red of St. George giving it the necessary red border, as now is given by the white of St. Andrew, producing something like the plate here shown (Fig. 9), which must then have been the Union Jack. The first Union flag (Fig. 3), was heraldically and correctly formed, but the attempt to describe the new one has not been altogether successful. The Proclamation of the 1st January, 1801, describes it as:—*azure* the crosses saltire of St. Andrew and St. Patrick quarterly per saltire counter changed *argent* and *gules*, the latter fimbriated of the *second*, surmounted by the cross of St. George of the *third* fimbriated as the saltire. (Fig. 12). Heraldic descriptions must be always short and clear, and by rule, repetitions of the colours or tinctures must be avoided. When necessary to repeat, these are referred to as first, second, or third, as they may stand when previously used. In the above description we have in order, *azure*, *first*; *argent*, *second*; *gules*, *third*. St. Patrick's saltire is fimbriated or bordered of the *second*, that is *argent* or white; and

avoiding repetition the cross of St. George is fimbriated as the saltire, that is, of the *second*, or argent. According to this official description St. Patrick's red, to perfect the counter-change, should divide with, and be equal to, the half of St. Andrew; whereas in practice to obtain his required white border without widening St. Andrew, he is really reduced in width one third; this one-third, when taken off the outer edge exactly exposing the necessary white fimbriation, which is really part of St. Andrew. One weak point is, there is no heraldic intimation in the description that this fimbriation should be thus obtained or that St. Patrick should be thus diminished. Also the word fimbriation should not have been used, as the border is but partial, on one side only, instead of passing all round in accordance with the usual heraldic meaning. Thus the flag could not be drawn from the description given. The position or intention might perhaps have been read heraldically had St. Patrick been described as fimbriated on the outer edges. The fimbriation might then have been added, whilst an equal width with St. Andrew would have been retained, the white of the latter inside, as now, serving to show the required white ground of St. Patrick. This, however, would have increased, out of proportion, the width of the white of St. Andrew.

St. Andrew remains untouched, his width is the same as St. George, and his border is his own blue ground, the ground or tone really given by him to the whole flag; the fimbriation of St. Patrick is not abstracted from him, it is simply borrowed, the plan of counterchange cleverly leaving the whole width visible and intact.

St. George, as he has not been interfered with, retains his original dimensions. He is fimbriated white "as the saltire," but here again the word, as heraldically understood, hardly applies. Heraldry, usually very precise in its descriptions, seems to have no defined rule for the width of a fimbriation, but it must be clear that this should bear some proportion to the thing fimbriated. A narrow or small charge will require a narrower border than a large one. St. George should have thus double the border of St. Patrick, but there is no guide in the description towards determining this. If the word *cotised*



could have been used it would have marked the width of the border as being one fourth the width of the cross as shown in Fig. 3.

As the flag could not be produced from the heraldic description, much hard criticism has been thrown at the luckless or lucky Herald who formed it. But no critic has ever suggested a better or neater plan, remembering always the determination to retain the interlacement. From the difficulty in forming the flag early official and regimental flags may be found wrongly made, either in the widths of the crosses, the fimbriations, or general proportions. To remedy this an official but non-heraldic description, such as should have been issued with the Proclamation, has been laid down, and is now used under the Admiralty orders. The Rules are:—

1. The Red Cross of St. George to be one-fifth the depth of the flag. This, in a flag of 3ft. 9in. deep, would be,=9 inches.

2. The fimbriation or white border to it to be one-third the width of the red of the cross,=3 inches.

3. The red of St. Patrick to be one-third the width of St. George,=3 inches.

4. The narrow white border of St. Patrick to be one-sixth of the red of St. George,= $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

5. The broad white of St. Andrew to be one half the width of St. George,= $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

According to heraldic rule the depth of the flag governs or decides the width of the crosses, the rule being one fifth such depth just as is given here to St. George and St. Andrew. By rules 3, 4, 5, it will be seen that the broad white of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in, and the white border  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in, with the three inches included between them covered by St. Patrick, will give from out to out 9 inches to St. Andrew, the same width as St. George. When the flag is thus made and the counterchange correctly carried out, a line drawn diagonally through the centre should just touch or run along the inner edges of St. Patrick and St. Andrew, thus showing the line of the two complete crosses. The border of St. George, is proportionately the same as that of St. Patrick, *i e*, one third his width, but from greater width this makes him seem somewhat prominent in a large flag; one source of northern jealousy. It

has even been suggested there was design in this, but it clearly arises from the necessary position St George occupies, and from the fact that his colours, red and white, are the most conspicuous of any, perhaps the most readily seen of any colour combination.

As the plan of counterchange gives a broad and a narrow part to St. Andrew, so it gives to the flag the possibility of a right side and a wrong side uppermost. The Rule is, and it should be noted as a very important one, that in the hoist the broad white of St. Andrew must be uppermost next the staff.

On the 1st January 1801, the new flag was duly saluted on all forts and castles of the three kingdoms. In Edinburgh at noon it was hoisted at the Castle under a discharge of great guns, and the Dumfries Militia drawn up on the Castle Hill fired a *feu de joye* of artillery and small arms. On account of the herring fishery the Admiralty excepted the ships in the Firth of Forth and the forts and batteries on shore from this order to salute. The indissoluble union, says the *Caledonian Mercury*, will be celebrated this day by every mark of national respect and exaltation. The happy sentiment will be expanded and expressed in family circles who will dedicate a glass to toast the perpetual unity, lasting friendship, and mutual happiness, of the British Empire.

In Dublin at noon the new flag was displayed by the Royal Tyrone regiment on duty at the Castle and by the regiment that relieved them. At the same time the "Imperial United Standard" was hoisted on the Bedford Tower of the Castle, and a Royal salute fired in the Phoenix Park.<sup>1</sup>

A strange error may be recorded here, showing some excuse perhaps for writing these notes. One of the frescos in the House of Lords intended to represent Charles II. landing in 1660, shows us a boat bearing our present Union flag, including the saltire of St. Patrick which was not added until 1801.

No criticism or objection has ever come from Ireland, but in 1817 some Scotchmen again complained of the position of St. Andrew's Cross, and some official correspondence ensued.

<sup>1</sup> *Saunders News Letter.*



10



11



12

THE UNION JACK.



In January 1853, some citizens of Edinburgh once more raised this great grievance, and presented a petition on the matter,<sup>1</sup> but the Lord Lyon found he had no jurisdiction, the question being vested in the Crown by the Act of Union. On the 17th April in the same year the grievance was repeated from Brechin, and now addressed by petition directly to the Queen. Being referred to Garter, in May a general answer was sent to the Lord Lyon, pointing out that the ensigns were such as had been legally appointed by the Crown, and that they referred to the United Kingdom, and not specially to either. The Lord Lyon being again satisfied that all orders were intended thus to apply equally, the matter dropped. The second clause in the petition states—"That the Union Standard displayed on the Scottish forts is the union as borne in England, and not as borne in Scotland, the Cross of St. Andrew being placed behind the Cross of St. George instead of in front thereof, and having a red stripe run through the arms thereof, for which there is no precedent in law or heraldry."<sup>2</sup> Besides that there never was a flag in which the cross of St. Andrew was placed in front of St. George, the last paragraph in choosing to ignore the addition of St. Patrick, reads almost like a joke. All things being thus proved to be in order the subject has since remained dormant.

In conclusion, noting all the evidence, a few remarks may be made on the name Jack and the use of the Union flag. It has been suggested that the name Jack originated as a compliment to James I., under whom the first Union took place, the derivation coming from the French Jacques. An argument against this is that Jacques in English is pronounced Jaykes, and sometimes even as two syllables. Besides this James Town and James River, in Virginia, were not called Jackstown or Jack's river. It seems never to have been suggested as derived from Jacobus. Further, no one has ever thought of calling the present flag a Union George. The Jacobean arguments or suggestions would be good if the name Jack appeared for the first time with the arrival of James, but it was in use so long before that time that some other origin must be sought. There must have been a single Jack before there was a Union Jack.

<sup>1</sup> *Times*, 27th January, p. 8; 1st February, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Gent's Mag.* NS, vol. xxxix, p. 283.



Originally the officer known as Admiral was called a General at Sea, the two services being somewhat mixed, and perhaps the sailor, serving only from his own port, was not much considered. But as the navy became Royal, and so a fighting service distinct from the army, the long streamers bearing the personal armorials of the commander were disused, the shortened flag then remaining, showing only the national Red Cross. From its exact resemblance to the short surcoat, the "court jacque" of the early soldier, as well as from its general associations at sea with the defensive Jack used as "furniture for shippes," the inference seems fair and clear that even possibly at an early date, this small square flag with the Red Cross, would have been called a Jack. The Jack of to-day is a small square Union, worn only by men-of-war on a special staff on the bowsprit, much or exactly as the Red Cross is seen held thereabouts by a man, in the early illuminations. Also even now the short double-pointed pennon, formerly the special banner of a knight, is called at sea a cornet, and there is also used a triangular flag which is still called a guidon, both names deriving from a military origin.

From the many orders, the various forms of flag used by English ships became puzzling especially to foreign countries. In 1634 as already noted, the Union flag was forbidden to all save the Royal Navy. Using this as the national flag the navy in 1665 is found working in three divisions, the White, Blue and Red, each division sailing under its own distinguishing colour. In 1687, Pepys' diary marks a change, as then the precedence seems to have been red, blue and white. These were, however, plain colours as now, and no way connected with the Union Flag. The official incorporation of the Union in differing colours, and its use thus in conjunction with the plain or divisional colour, was made in 1707; when the council, after stating "that as by ancient usage the ensigns and the pennants of the royal ships ought not to be used by any others," ordered that merchants ships should wear only the Red Ensign, "a Red Jack with a Union Jack described in a Canton at the upper corner thereof next the staff."<sup>1</sup> The words "in a canton" seem

<sup>1</sup> Privy Council Register, fol. 25.

to be heraldically incorrect, as according to the drawing on the Proclamation and according to present usage, the Union occupies one-fourth of the flag as a square. The expression then should have been "in the first quarter." A canton is somewhat less than half a quarter. This order, however, did not clear the difficulty, as the red ensign was also worn by the red division of the Navy. In 1734, further regulations appointed merchant ships to wear a red ensign, the Union Jack in the upper corner thereof; and a "White Jack" with the red cross of St. George through it.<sup>1</sup> Here the old familiar St. George is called a Jack. The first move out of this confusion was made by Nelson before the battle of Trafalgar, when finding great inconvenience from the use of many colours, he ordered all his ships to hoist only the white ensign. But it was not until 1864 that the divisional use of the different coloured ensigns was officially discontinued. A petition from the Admiralty, dated 22nd June 1864, read in Council 9th July, set forth that, under the regulations established in Council 25 July 1861, the Flag Officers of the Fleet were classed in squadrons of the Red, White, and Blue, each vessel, therefore, had three sets of colours, and had to make frequent alteration according to the colour of the squadron under which she happened to serve, a proceeding attended with much inconvenience. Also, from the increased size of merchant steamships, it was of importance that merchant ships should be clearly distinguished by a distinctive flag, they carrying the same red ensign as a war ship when employed under an Admiral of the Red. Following the tenor of the petition it was ordered in Council, 18th October 1864, that the use of a differing ensign should be discontinued, and that the White Ensign alone should be used by the Royal Navy; the Red Ensign and the Union Jack with a white border, to be used by merchant ships; the Blue Ensign and the Union Jack with a white border being reserved for non-combative vessels employed in the public offices, the Transport, or other Civil departments of the Navy, and, under certain conditions, by the Royal Naval Reserve, and also, by warrant of the Admiralty, by Royal Yacht Clubs.<sup>2</sup> The Union with the white border is now the

<sup>1</sup> Lediard, *Naval Hist.*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *London Gazette*.

signal for a pilot : the border should be one-fifth the depth of the Jack.

The Union flag is not used at sea except as the Jack on the bowsprit, as above noted ; and as the special distinguishing flag of an Admiral of the Fleet, when such an officer appears, who hoists it at the main top-gallant-mast head ; besides this it is hoisted only at the mizen top-gallant-mast head when the Queen is on board, the Royal Standard being at the main. It is otherwise reserved entirely for the military for use on forts and garrisons, but the Regulations forbid its use by the military at sea or in boats.

Thus there remains for general purposes the Red Ensign as the National flag, and this only should be generally and publicly used.

## NOTES ON RUDE IMPLEMENTS FROM THE NORTH DOWNS.<sup>1</sup>

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

There have been under consideration of late a number of flints from the southern parts of England whose forms are suggestive of human influence in their shaping and in the mode of fracture or trimming by which this was accomplished. The district where they have mostly been studied is on the North Downs of West Kent. It is a riverless plateau some 300 to 800 feet above the sea. The rock is chalk, with patches of Tertiary sands and clays, on which lie a drift of pebbles and broken flints, with "red clay," the remains of a very ancient dry land surface.

Over this plateau are found implements of all the ages and many of the types usually found in England. In the matter before us, however, there may be made a distinction at once between those which show clearly *the bulb of percussion*, or its corresponding depression, in the chipping by which they were made, and those stones presumed to be implements which do not show these accepted signs. To these last I wish to draw attention. It is chiefly to Mr. Benjamin Harrison, of Ightham, whose labours in this field are so well known, that the collection from which those before you have been selected is owing, and which numbers in all about 1,000 specimens from the plateau. It has been about ten years in getting together. Of late others have been at work in this direction, and much interest has arisen as to the true nature and age of these so-called implements. It is claimed for these flints that they show about them human workmanship of at least two kinds. It is said that some were fashioned, however slightly, by chipping for a definite purpose before use; and that others were handy stones picked up and used in such a way as to leave a mark on them wholly different from nature's work.

I desire to offer a few remarks, having reference to the

<sup>1</sup> Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, July 2nd, 1891.

chipping and forms of flint produced by natural processes in effect in this district, with a view to the discovery of that peculiar workmanship which differentiates similar flints from the same place, and marks them as changed by the art of man. For the general characters of the two kinds of flints, it is useless to deny, are much alike; and it is quite possible to lay too much stress on certain points tending in either direction while ignoring others, to get at the probability of truth.

Most of the flint stones thickly covering the plateau are angular, and weathered grey or white. Some are sub-angular, such as may have been at one time sharply angular, but have suffered more or less abrasion in travelling down a river course. The latter kind mostly lie in patches coloured pale yellow and brown, which are widely scattered so as almost to form an even sprinkling over the downs; but all are surface worn in various ways. The sizes found range from half an inch to ten inches in length. They are mostly flattened, in many cases being large flakes broken from a larger block, and having a convex side usually rougher than the other. Some are approximately round, but most are long, the length being occasionally several times that of the short diameter. They are mostly flints from the chalk, not rounded into pebbles, but these are found also.

In looking at the marks left by nature in fractured flints, it must be borne in mind that these may differ with the kind of flint, and that circumstances and surroundings produce variations. Under pressure flint breaks up into splinters and flakes, some of which are long, thin and broad, but mostly of very uncertain and indescribable forms. Flints on a dry surface are liable to be chipped all round the thinner edges, often about equally from each side, and in such a manner that a want of regularity and useful order is the distinguishing character. But in flints where one side is flat, or flatter than the other, the tendency will be for a much larger number of chips to be broken or squeezed off, which commence to separate at the flat side and extend over the rounder or convex surface, more frequently than in those more nearly approaching a pebble form. This produces a kind of regularity or onesidedness which is perfectly easy to



understand as natural. But there follows a consequence, as the tendency to fracture is greater from the flat surface, and as the fracturing is more frequent where the edge is sharpest, in other words, where the resistance is least, it is found, as might be supposed, from the conditions mentioned, that where one fracture had occurred more would follow upon the place of the first fracture, or adjacent to it. Hence are found hollowed out bays consisting of a wasting away of the flint in one place more than another, and from one side more than another. There are therefore parts less chipped, or left unchipped altogether, and occasionally where two bays are near each other, projections are left simulating capes in my geographical simile. In the case of well smoothed and obtuse edged flints—the effect of bruises being rarer and less marked, the recurrence of the chipping on a starting place resulting in a bay will be more conspicuous. Here the attention of the implement hunter will specially be drawn to the peculiar situation of the hollows, which, occurring in various places round the margin of a flint, or in one or two spots, are suggestive of a purpose to be served. When these occur in a long flint which is narrower at one part, forming a kind of neck, this neck will present the opportunity for a pair of indentations more or less equal and nearly opposite. And yet all these appearances may be absolutely accidental and ordered by natural laws—that of the least resistance to abrasion being the chief; and sometimes by local peculiarities in the flint itself. Well-made implements, when lying on the surface after denudation from river gravels, sometimes shew these signs, and are then frequently said to have been re-used, without good reason.

It is not easy to determine the acts of nature which supply the force for chipping the flints, so many are they, but no person can walk across a field of flints without unconsciously assisting the process of knocking them about, while the irregular pressure of plants and animals, and the movements of the surface soil, especially when sandy grains come between the stones undergoing pressure, have much to answer for. Forcible mutual contact is, however, the means by which the chipping is done.

These hollows and promontories are of moderate, and

commonly of slight importance, but greatly exaggerated by a length of time. I have mentioned them in some detail because it is customary with most persons to assume that any approach to regularity, or to symmetry, or to repetition of blows on the same spot in the chipping of flints, is exclusively due to human agency, which, indeed, it is not.

The next processes of nature are different altogether, and are destructive of the results of the last. When these naturally chipped stones get into a river the general grinding levels the capes and promontories down to that of the bays and sometimes further. Lastly, when these smoothed stones reach a beach, as at Herne Bay, they become round pebbles unless arrested by the finder before all is ground away.

The flints under consideration whether implements or not, in their general forms are all natural, and can be certainly described as come-by-chance surface flints.

And there are among the "long," or "flat," or "handy" shaped flints picked up on the Downs, some which have characters closely resembling some of nature's work, as just described, which characters are however greatly exaggerated and intensified. When we meet with one in which the hollows and points are emphasized in a way which makes them very obvious, and in our opinion exceeding the possibilities of nature, *that* points to human use and wear. When we meet with a repetition of the same general *form*, aided by a chipping which assists that form, *that* points to selection and adaptation by man, thus the evidence of care and a direction of the force applied, brings a presumption to the mind that nature is surpassed by the art of man. Some of these flints, too, have forms such as have suggested names for their supposed uses, mostly in accordance with the names similarly applied to the generally received implements from river deposits; but they are limited in range, and mostly of the kind known, for a last shift, as scrapers. "Scrapers" are included in the lists usually as the name which covers and includes all sorts of indefinite forms; when, however, it is applied to the Plateau Rude flints it assumes a definiteness and an importance among the scanty names, very suggestive of uncertainty in definition.

No two persons, following this method of deducing evidence for their being human handiwork, have, however, succeeded in forming such a list in agreement with one another, either in nomenclature or in enumerating the mere variety of forms. In the latter more than twenty varieties have been given by one person, and by another as few as six. An instance of the difficulty is seen where two hollows have left between them a projecting cape (to continue my simile),—in one case it is named a double scraper, in another the same object is called a pointed implement. There are several flat flints chipped round the edges, but it is evident on inspection that among these rude shapes that of the pointed *hâche*, the characteristic implement of the river gravels, is wanting, unless we accept as belonging to the same series some of the very rare rough *hâches* which are chipped all over, and shew the depressions from which each flake has been detached; a mode of manufacture altogether different from those we have been considering.

As there is no precise and indisputable mark of human work on them, and, as in the case of the shapes and forms, there are none indisputably and exclusively of human origin—it is not until the numerical method is used that it can be shewn that some of these are the result of human influence. If numbers are put together resemblances are seen between them which are not apparent in single cases. Types thus formed are fallacies.

If, then, these rude plateau tools,—for it is not claimed that they are weapons, are to be considered in the light of “handy” and “likely” stones used for a purpose, which in the using have become shaped into more or less definite forms, I can partly agree with the collectors of the implements exhibited now. But that they are all implements fashioned for a purpose before using there is not yet evidence sufficient to determine, or even support it. There is far too much of nature mixed up with the art to make the distinction clear and demonstrable.

The age of these implements, if judged by their rudeness, must certainly have a priority over most others. And there is a probability that the geological evidence, when completed, will tend to confirm a great antiquity for the red gravel, with which they are associated.

## THE SWORD BELTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.<sup>1</sup>

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A.

In the remote ages of the world the belt or girdle consisted of a simple leather girth round the waist. In its specially pacific aspect, as a mere twisted linen band for confining or restraining loose flowing oriental raiments, it was in early days an indispensable part of the costume, so much so that, before undertaking any important or desperate enterprise, the adventurer was first careful to gird himself. Thus, in one of the wonderful predictions of Isaiah, through Maher-shalal-hash-baz, against Judah and Jerusalem, the prophet says, "gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken to pieces";<sup>2</sup> that is, "though ye be never so ready, yet shall ye be subdued by the Assyrian." Or, as by way of giving freedom and power, as we have it in Job, "He looseth the bond of kings, and girdeth their loins with a girdle."<sup>3</sup>

Again, to take a notable instance in the fateful episode of the meeting of Ahaziah and Elijah the Tishbite, the great seer is described as "an hairy man, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins;"<sup>4</sup> and again, on that memorable occasion, when Peter's chains fell from him, he was told by the heavenly messenger, "gird thyself, and bind on thy sandals," "cast thy garment about thee,"<sup>5</sup>—thus to completely habit himself before he went out and "wist not that it was true," before he passed the first and the second ward, and the iron gate, and found himself alone; and, as a further and famous example, John, in the wilderness, had "a leathern girdle,"<sup>6</sup> "a girdle of a skin about his loins."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Annual meeting of the Institute, at Edinburgh, August 12th, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> Is., 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Job 12, 18.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings, 1, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Acts, 12, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Matt., 3, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Mark, 1, 6.

It is recorded that when Joab dealt treacherously with Amasa, "and put the blood of war upon his girdle,"<sup>1</sup> "his garment was girded unto him, and upon it a girdle with a sword fastened upon his loins in the sheath thereof;"<sup>2</sup> this is an early registry of the lethal weapon, its belt and scabbard.

Of zones of the priestly kind we need only allude to "the curious girdle of the ephod,"<sup>3</sup> with which Moses invested Aaron, and the same "of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twisted linen, of needlework;"<sup>4</sup> to the picturesque figure of the fresh linen girdle hidden in a hole of the rock by Euphrates, and after many days found "marred" and "profitable for nothing,"<sup>5</sup> and we need merely call to remembrance the numerous allusions in the Scriptures to the girdle, both priestly, civil, and military, as a metaphor of gladness, faithfulness, strength, or revelation.

With the Egyptians the sword of bronze was carried in its leather scabbard in front of the body, and thrust in the sword belt in a sloping direction from right to left; and similarly of the dagger.

The Greek sword, generally speaking, was worn on the left side, suspended by a belt, usually from the shoulder, as in the figure of Meleager in the coins of Ætolia; it was sometimes slung more forward, bringing the hilt into the front,—a fashion which was revived, as we shall see presently, in the middle of the fifteenth century,—and occasionally suspended from a girdle round the waist.

As to the Romans, the monumental statue at Colchester of Marcus Favonius, a centurion of the Twentieth Legion, furnishes an excellent example. He wears a broad baudric, a sword suspended on the left side by a narrow belt from the shoulder, and a dagger on the right hung from a slender strap attached to the lower edge of the baudric; this appears to have been a modification of the Greek fashion. In the Colchester figure, which bears the reputation of being as early as before the insurrection of Boadicea, when the first Camulodunum fell, and consequently representing one of the Colony of Veterans honoured by the notice of

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings, 2, 5.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Sam., 20, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Lev., 8, 7, and Ex., 28, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ex., 39, 5, 29.

<sup>5</sup> Jer., 13, 7.



Tacitus, we have, distinctly prefigured, four of the objects with which we shall now be more or less concerned,—the sword belt, the baudric, the sword, and the dagger of the Middle Ages.

Herodian, in the third century, speaking of the Britons, says :—“ They wear iron about their bellies, and wear no clothing ; they are a very bloody and warlike people ; their sword hangs on their naked bodies ” This sounds somewhat primitive, but seems to have been the costume for war. On the other hand, Dion Cassius, speaking of the Caledonians at the same period, says :—“ They have no houses, but huts, where they live naked, they use large swords,” and, we may presume, wore belts.

According to Sidonius Appolinaris, writing in the fifth century, the Frankish soldiers wore a belt round the waist ; Agathias, speaking two centuries later, tells us that they bore the sword on the left thigh, and Gregory of Tours, in his *Annales Francorum*, alluding to the same period, adds another weapon, a dagger, also suspended from the belt. It must be sufficient now to say that these declarations are amply supported by the testimony of the graves, as far as the weapons and the metal attributes of the belts are concerned. In certain rare instances we have indications from the barrows of the leather sword belt, but, although it may be true in one sense, according to the ancient saying, that “ there is nothing like leather,” it is also true in another, that the adage is not quite complete, for there is nothing like leather to perish ; and it will be our difficulty throughout, in dealing with the sword belts of the Middle Ages, that we have absolutely no original examples to refer to. This being the case we must, for the preliminaries, content ourselves with the evidences which the earth has surrendered, evidences of so much of the domestic and military life of our far-removed ancestors, which have been so faithfully interpreted and made available for use by a patient, enthusiastic, and learned body of investigators.

We gather, as we have indicated, from the graves, that the sword belts of Anglo-Saxon times were of leather, and usually girt round the waist. That they were fitted with buckles and tongues of bronze, or sometimes copper, and other harnessings, not infrequently gilt, embossed, or

enamelled, we know from the same irrefragable sources; we have, however, as yet, no pictorial representation, but there seems no reason to suppose that any change took place in the method of wearing the sword during a long period. The same rude and general military requirements produced the same general results. Presently Illuminated MSS. became available as contemporary evidence, and from them we ascertain that no important alteration took place in the fashion of the sword belt up to the end of the tenth century. The belt was, indeed, worn for a time not over, but under the body garment, or hauberk, and so invisible, while the sword handle projected through a cleft, a contrivance seen in the figures in the Bayeux Tapestry, and apparent also in early seals. Likewise in the Stitch Work, and in other pictorial authorities of the eleventh century, the sword is shown, not suspended from the waist belt, but simply stuck into it. It is evident that the same style of military equipment in this particular had become general throughout Western Europe before the close of the century, and so continued for another hundred years.

But one especial innovation took place about the middle of the twelfth century, which brought about an important change in the sword belt. The surcote was introduced, to be worn over the hauberk. This loose light garment necessitated a narrow belt, or strap, round the waist to confine and control its folds. King John is the first English sovereign shown in his great seal wearing the surcote, and we fortunately have, in the Temple Church, a most interesting and valuable series of monumental effigies, exhibiting this picturesque vestment in its various forms during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As examples of military costume during 150 years these memorials are unsurpassed, but it is somewhat depressing to know that they have not only been moved from their original positions, but also restored by that *bête noire* of antiquaries the modern "restorer." Of the vexed question of restoration generally this is not the occasion to speak, but certain it is that whatever else may, by very particular concession, be restored, an effigy most assuredly may not. It is to be hoped that we have passed the dangerous time when such work as this was possible, and it is some satis-

faction to know that both Kerrich and Stothard made careful drawings of some of the Temple effigies, before Richardson was set to work, and did not as he did, both in the Temple Church, and at Elford, "restore" the figures first, and draw and publish them afterwards. In spite, however, of the troubles and sufferings of six centuries, the nine Temple memorials are still of the utmost value, and take the first place both in age and interest in the finest series of national monuments in Europe.

We now enter upon a new and wide field of enquiry, and we propose to draw our illustrations and information from the effigies and brasses,—from the stony texts and brazen records, in which the details of the sword belts are set forth with minuteness and precision, but only up to a certain point, in consequence of the nature of the materials used by the "kervers" and "latteners." Any detailed study of sword belts must be supplemented by special examination of Illuminated MSS., in which their delicate particulars are expressed in the vivid hues of the miniature painter, and by close attention to the pictures of the early Flemish and German Schools. For the present purpose of a general survey of the subject, the effigies and brasses will suffice.

No. 1, the most ancient of the nine Temple effigies, an unknown man carved in Purbeck marble in low relief, gives us the early short surcote, confined round the waist by a cingulum, and showing the sword hung from its separate, and in this particular instance, horizontal belt. Now, the question at once arises, how was this belt kept in position, and prevented from slipping down? This is a difficulty that has not been satisfactorily solved by any detail shown on the figures themselves, or by representations in Illuminated MSS. We can, therefore, only suppose that in the early days the sword belt was sustained at the back by a loop attached to the cingulum. It is, indeed, ill work to have to guess in such a matter, and at the outset, and it may be urged that the great men did not fight on foot, and that the sword belt was kept naturally in its place when the wearer was on horseback. But this is by no means sufficient, a sudden contingency, as of a smitten steed, and the walking attitude, must also have been provided for, how, we know not yet exactly.

No. 2, Geoffrey de Magnaville, died 1144, in Sussex marble, in the Temple Church, puts us into a better position; in this case the sword belt is certainly attached to the cingulum, and we have, besides, the curious feature, associated with a few early effigies,—perhaps the characteristic of a special school of sculpture, of the sword worn on the right side, and the man lying upon it.

No. 3 is from the very interesting enamelled plate at Mans representing Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, who died in 1149. Not only as the father of Henry II. does he claim attention, but on account also of the costume which he wears, namely, tunic, or dalmatic, supertunic, and mantle, with the sword belt in the ancient position, and a shield whose ample form recalls those in the Tapestry. He holds up a sword in the early manner, indicative of power. Henry the Lion, died 1195, in his effigy at Brunswick bears his sheathed blade point upwards, with the belt wound round it. Eric Menved, King of Denmark, died 1319, in his brass at Ringstead holds his naked brand erect, and the costume of Geoffrey is the same as may be seen, with slightly varying forms, in the effigies of Henry II., Cœur de Lion at Rouen, King John, Henry III., Edward II., Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry VII. No. (a) exhibits the sword of Henry II., died 1154, from his effigy at Fontevrault. The King is shown with closed eyes lying dead upon a bier, the sword sheathed and useless, and the belt twisted round it and done with.

No. 4, Cœur de Lion at Rouen, died 1189, gives an excellent example of the belt or girdle over the tunic, harnessed alternately with bars and quatrefoils of gold, and furnished with a buckle and pendant of rich jewellers' work, such as may be seen in the details of the *chusses* of the period. Nos. 5 and 6, both unappropriated Temple effigies, show an advance in style, and the belts decorated with bars and quatrefoils leave no doubt as to their period.

No. 7 gives the girdle and sword of that remarkable personage, the worst and ablest of the Angevins, King John, died 1216, from his effigy at Worcester, the earliest of a King in England. The belt is, perhaps, not the sword belt, but the kingly girdle. The effigy had many points of interest. Carved in Purbeck marble, like



most of the early recumbent figures, it was originally painted to the life, in accordance with the invariable practice of the time. Thus, the King was shown in a crimson dalmatic lined with green, a yellow tunic, red hose, and black shoes. When the coffin was opened, in 1797, the agreement of the dress on the body with that expressed on the effigy was very remarkable, and showed that the latter faithfully represented the King "in his habits as he lived ;" on the head was found the remains of the famous monk's cowl spoken of by Matthew Paris,—the passport through Purgatory,—a practice alluded to by Milton in a grand Puritanical outburst.<sup>1</sup> Unhappily, by the process of restoration, all evidence of the King's costume was obliterated in 1873, when the whole of this most genuine and interesting memorial was ignorantly gilded. This is the sort of thing "restoration" of effigies does for us.

We have seen already a certain advance in the character of the sword belts, but that shown in No. 8, from the Sussex marble figure, in the Temple, of William Marshall the Elder, died 1219, is again quite simple, the sword has, however, recovered its position on the left side. No. 9, is from an interesting statue of an interesting character, William Longespée, in Salisbury Cathedral, who died in 1227. The bastard grandson of Geoffrey Plantagenet, and son of Fair Rosamond de Clifford, wears his sword from one plain belt, and lies upon his wooden tomb in a lifeless manner that is admirably expressed. This beautiful monument was one of those that suffered by "re-arrangement" at the end of the last century, at the hands of Wyatt, the "restorer" of Salisbury, who caused the thirteenth century glass to be taken out, to be wickedly beaten to bits, and cast into the city ditch. The matter is too shocking to dwell upon.

In No. 10, about 1230, a further unappropriated example in Furbeck, from the Temple, we again have an advance. The surcote is fuller and more freely rendered, the belt is barred with bosses, and, for the first time, we have indication of the means of attaching the leather belt to the leather scabbard by metal studs ; but there is, as yet, no sign of the locket of

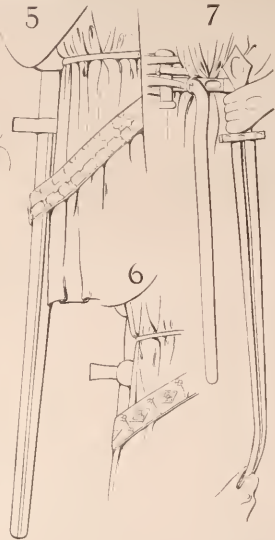
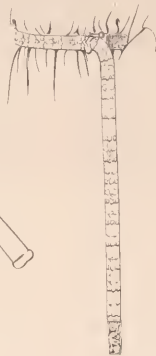
<sup>1</sup> *Paradise Lost*. Book iii, line 478.



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later times. No. 11, again a Temple figure, William Marshall the younger, died 1231, is the earliest instance of the sword being handled in its sheath by the wearer. Here is also shown a method of attaching the short or buckle portion of the strap, to the scabbard by a metal tab. No. 12, the man with the targe and martel at Malvern, about 1230, wears his sword from a plain belt, a recurrence to the practice of a hundred years earlier,—an old-fashioned warrior.

Gilbert Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, died 1241, is the subject of No. 13. This figure is also preserved in the Temple Church, and is valuable as a *point de départ*. The belt is well suited, both in its metal harnessing, and width, for practical use; the sword is, in like manner, well shaped and suitable for the service to which it is about to be put, and, not least important, is the new method for attaching the belt to the scabbard by means of leather ties. Apparently the metal studs and the tab before spoken of, were found, the former to tear through, and the latter to tear out from the leather scabbard, for there is at present no sign of a metal mouth to the sheath, a detail that was, perhaps, not conspicuous by its absence from swords of a far earlier period. But, be this as it may,—and it will be borne in mind that there are no original examples for comparison,—these slight metal arrangements were soon discarded, and we find, as we have intimated, that the belt of Gilbert Marshall is fastened to the scabbard, by double thongs of leather, knotted in front, with the slack ends hanging free. These thongs or ties soon led to an improvement in the use of the material. The mediæval girdler seems to have quickly realized in the old adage that “there is nothing like leather,” the means, in its practical manipulation, both for adding to the efficiency of the belt, and increasing the picturesqueness of the military costume of that stirring and warlike period. No. 14, from the long posthumous and excellent wooden figure of Robert, Duke of Normandy, at Gloucester, presents no new features, save that the unfortunate subject of it seems to have been deprived, among his many distresses, of a cingulum round his waist.

No. 15, Sir David de Esseby, from Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, 1268, in polished Purbeck, gives us a new and important arrangement. Hitherto we have

seen the belt attached solely to the top of the scabbard, the result being that the sword constantly hung in a more or less vertical position, and vibrated inconveniently. This was found to be an evil both on foot and on horseback. The new system of fastening the entire end of the buckle strap to the scabbard, and the other, or long strap, a few inches down the scabbard, had many advantages. It brought the grip of the sword more within the compass of the right hand, and the weight of the weapon, by leverage, tended to tighten and steady the belt, while, on horseback, the hilt was pitched outwards, and the sword thrown more into a line parallel with the side of the body of the horse and its rider. But there was yet a difficulty. The tendency of the sword, thus hung from two points, not opposite each other, was to take a diagonal bearing, and throw its front edge out of plane. This was at once obviated by slitting the upper portion of the buckle end of the belt into a number of thongs of varying widths, lacing and tying these into the mouth of the scabbard, and carrying the remaining portion of the belt in a slanting direction, and free, across the scabbard, until it met on the scabbard the loop of the long portion of the belt. Arrived at this point, the slanting strap was split into two narrowing thongs; these were laced alternately into the sinister or back edge, never into the dexter, of the loop of the long portion of the belt, the ends were run out behind, brought forward to the front of the scabbard, and tied in a "sennit" knot. Thus the sword was steadied and righted, and this connection of the belt ends on the scabbard had the further advantage of hindering it from flying wildly about, and entangling in the belt when the sword was drawn from it, and the wearer on horseback and in action. That the system answered its purpose there can be no doubt, for it remained in constant use, of course with different, or modified details, until the middle of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and it probably had other qualities connected with service in the field, which to us at the present day are not so apparent. The illustrations from 16 to 36 give a variety of examples. During the whole of this eventful period the sword belt was supported, as we suppose, by the cingulum, and it so

happens that the duration of this particular type of belt exactly covers the reign of the King of whom, in these friendly and peaceful days, it may perhaps be allowable to speak as "the Great Edward," so far north of the Tweed as in Edinburgh itself.

At this point it will be convenient to call attention to some of the examples to which allusion has just been made. The belts all differ slightly, as the details of every effigy do, and they are, no doubt, accurate representations of the individual fancies or peculiarities of the wearers in their arming items. No. 16, the earliest example of the new style, is the belt of a Ros, at Braunston, Northamptonshire, in Purbeck marble, who died in 1270. No. 17 is from the vigorous figure of a De Vere, at Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex, about 1275. No. 18 is well-known as from the earliest brass, Sir John Dabernoun 1277, at Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey. No. 19 is from the effigy of a Gosberton, at Gosberton, Lincolnshire, carved in admirable style, and of the same date; and No. 20 shows the system adopted by Sir Richard de Crupes, died 1278, in his effigy at Whittington, Gloucestershire. No. 22, also a Ros, the latest of the Temple effigies, is dated 1285 on the authority of Hewitt. This example is very puzzling, because it shows the fully developed metal locket of the scabbard, quite of the end of the next reign, and the free-flowing long surcote of about 1300; moreover, lions' faces are introduced on the belt much before such decorations came into general use. Such doubts do not arise concerning No. 23, part of a noble and death-like figure of a De Iisle, in Purbeck, at Stow-Nine-Churches, Northamptonshire, who died in 1287. He lies upon his sword, after the ancient fashion. The wide barred belt takes its proper place in the order of time and sequence of belts. No. 24, from a Purbeck effigy at Winchelsea, shows the knight's own peculiar little tie in the sword belt, and  $\frac{1}{11}c$  upon the pommel,—“goddeshygh name thereon was grave,”—a very rare feature.

Nos. 25 and 26 have a melancholy interest for antiquaries. Both examples are from Beer Ferrers in Devonshire. The one is from a representation in glass of the founder of the church, Sir William Ferrers, and the other from a crossed-legged effigy lying upon a tomb imme-

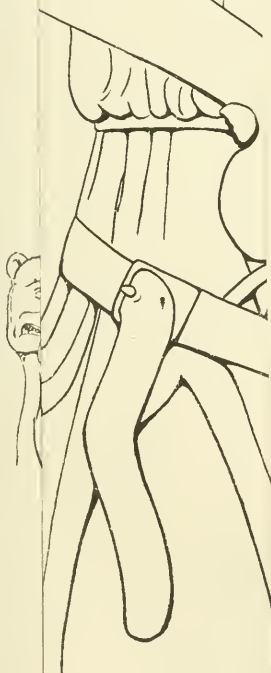


diately below the window. While Mr. Charles Alfred Stothard was pursuing his labours for his masterly work on the Monumental Effigies of Great Britain, he was standing upon a ladder tracing this glass, when, suddenly, the step broke, and he was thrown to the ground; he struck his head against the effigy and was killed on the spot, May 28th 1821. His widow, who married the Rev. E. A. Bray, survived her first husband sixty-one years, and, dying in 1883, at the age of ninety-two, bequeathed his beautiful drawings to the British Museum.

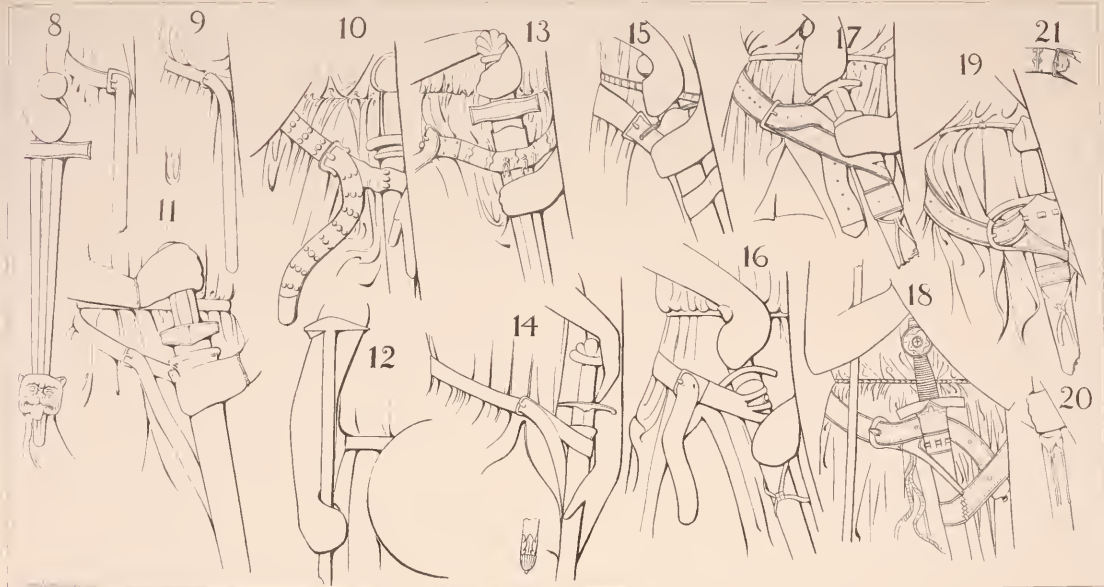
No. 28, Robert de Bures, 1302, from his brass at Acton, Suffolk, shows very distinctly the peculiar arrangement of lacing that this man chose to have for his sword. No. 29, John de Weston, about 1300, one of two wooden effigies, at Weston-under-Lizard, Staffordshire, has a belt of much simplicity. He wears a purse, his badge of office as keeper of the jewels to the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I. No. 30, Robert de Keynes 1305, in banded mail, from his Purbeck marble effigy at Dodford, Northamptonshire, on a low tomb formed of five plain polished slabs of the same material, has the belt fastened to the scabbard, apparently in the old way. The surcote is laced at the side, and short and scanty in the skirts, indicating the cyclas, and the coming change.

No. 31, from the brass at Chartham, Kent, of Robert de Septvans, 1306, is another step forward. The short piece of the belt is laced and studded into the top of the scabbard, and the long one has a metal end with a loop and ring, fastened to a staple in the scabbard below. It is a capital transitional example. No. 33, the belt of Robert du Bois, 1311, from his effigy at Fersfield, Norfolk, is an early instance of the style in the new reign which we shall presently see in its full development. Nos. 32, 34, 35, and 36,—the sword-belts respectively from the effigies of an Oxenbridge at Winchelsea; John de Lyons, Warkworth, Northamptonshire, died 1312; a Goshall at Ash, Kent, and Gervase Alard at Winchelsea, died about 1312, give the laced fastenings in their more complicated forms and latest evolutions. In No. 36 the final tie is not made, the long thongs hanging free in a very unusual manner.

But fashions in sword belts, as in all other things, overlap and run both ways into each other. Some men, as



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we have seen, preferred the old, while those more travelled, or more fashionably-minded, brought in the new style; and we have, for this reason, in the earlier and in the later parts of the reign of Edward I., two very different types.

Nos. 21 and 27 are respectively from the effigies of Charles King of Naples, brother of St. Louis, died 1285. formerly in the church of the Jacobins at Paris, and of Philippe d'Artois, died 1289, from the church of the Dominicans. They are taken from the drawings in the Kerrieh collection in the British Museum, made in 1773, and serve to show how much more advanced the arts were in France in this respect at the end of the thirteenth century.

It may not be supposed that the sword belts of which we have been speaking were mere dull objects of leather and brass, like those of the present day. Far from it; they were enriched with patterns in gold, silver, and colours, many sculptured and painted representations of which have been revealed to us in their minute and beautiful details by the patience and accuracy of Stothard. But, rich as were the belts of the thirteenth century, they were far surpassed by those of the fourteenth and fifteenth. Notices in accounts and inventories, as well as Illuminated MSS. and early pictures, before alluded to, show what tasteful and splendid objects both sword belts and lockets were. However, the subject of the gold, silver, and *cuir bouilli* work, the jewelry, the enamelling, the painting, silvering, and gilding of these knightly accessories, cannot be entered upon now, it is one that is incidental rather than essential to the matter at present in hand.

We have said that fashions in sword belts overlap. For instance, Robert de Septvans, No. 31, was ahead of his time in 1306, while Sir John de Lyons, No. 34, still clave, in 1312, to the old style from which we pass away, to enter upon a new order of things, and with a new King very different from the old one.

The slittered and looped ends of the belts now give place to metal ones, hooked, at first, opposite each other into a single metal locket near the mouth of the scabbard, and, a few years later, into lockets of which the left one is a few inches lower than the right. The loose surcote is yielding to the tighter cyclas; and the narrow cingulum, instead

of its old use for confining the surcote's folds, has for its sole object that of sustaining the sword belt proper. This system is clearly foreshadowed as early as 1311, in the arrangement shown in No. 33. The green and gold belts of John de Ifield, died 1317, from his effigy at Ifield, Sussex, No. 37, who wears the *cyclas*, give a capital example of the manner of carrying the sword in the middle of the reign of Edward II.

It may here be mentioned that the outer covering for the body had three developments. First, the ancient *Surcote*. This, in its origin, as we have seen in the early Temple figures, Nos. 1, 5, and 6, reached only to the knees; it subsequently came to such a length, at the end of the century, that men called upon suddenly to fight on foot got their legs entangled in the surcote's ample folds, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. The skirt was accordingly evenly reduced all round, but still the shorter drapery was found to be an inconvenience. A new and strange garment was therefore formed by cutting away the whole of the front of the surcote up to the middle of the thighs, slitting it up the sides, to the hips, taking it in at the body, and lacing it on the right side, as No. 50 shows, or, like some of the later surcotes, as No. 30, for instance, indicates. Thus was formed the *Cyclas* which appears to have been a purely English garment.

It did not long find favour; the useless hinder flapping part was an incumbrance, and not more than fifteen monumental effigies, between 1321 and 1346, represent it.

As early as 1340, the long hinder flap of the *cyclas* was cut off, it was fitted tightly to the body, the lower edges of the garment thus formed were quainted, or dagged, it was laced up at the side, and the *Jupon* made its appearance. These three stages are remarkable examples of the gradual growth of a garment, from long and loose to short and tight, within two hundred years.

But before the *jupon* came fully in a curious style arose, rather connected with the history of art than of armour and costume. This was the representation of knights and ladies with their bodies bent outwardly to the right or to the left. The posture in the early days of the modern revival, was taken to be a truly correct mediæval attitude, and it formerly found much favour with the glass painters of the



modern school. It is a singular thing that with this ungainly position is generally associated, as to the knights, another not very practical feature, namely that of wearing the sword right in front of the body, and from the old-fashioned leather looped belts, and this in the middle of the fourteenth century. It was a peculiarity that was popular, not only in England but also in the Low Counties; it had only a short run. No. 45, from the small figure of Ralph, Lord Stafford, in one of the shafts of the canopy of the beautiful brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, 1347, at Elsing, Norfolk, and No. 46, from the brass of Sir John de Wantyng, at Wimbish, Essex, died 1347, are examples of these vagaries.

To return to the main story when we left it at No. 37. It will be noticed that the sword pommel is filled with a lion's face. This was out of compliment to the bravery of the knights, at a time when they all, doubtless, thought that they were imbued with the noble attributes of the lion proper. Some of us are rather apt to think that the simple soldier of the present day, who calmly faces the deadliest weapons of precision, "i' the imminent deadly breach," in a mere coat of cloth, is a far greater hero than he of the ages of chivalry who went forth with his shining shield "in glittering arms and glory drest," against nothing more serious than spears, swords, and quarrels. No. 42, from the beautiful effigy of John of Eltham, in the Abbey, 1334, gives precisely the same arrangement of belts as No. 37.

The rise of the jupon has been spoken of. Its first appearance as a military garment is about 1340. The figure of a knight at Ash, Kent, No. 40, gives a good and early example; it will be seen that the paramount belt is still retained in position by the small waist strap. In this instance, and at this time, the misericorde or dagger first appears, slung or attached at the right side of the sword belt. It was, perhaps, adopted from the anelace of civil dress, for every frankelin carried his dagger at his girdle, and from this time forward we never lose sight of the misericorde as part of the proper and constant arming of a soldier.

Nos. 38 and 39 give the belts of Robert Earl of Clermont, son of St. Louis, 1317, and of Charles Earl of

Valois, 1315, formerly in the Dominicans' Church at Paris; while No. 43 is that of Louis de Valois, 1329, in the Cordeliers,—all taken from the Kerrich collection in the British Museum from drawings made in 1773. They again illustrate, collaterally, the character of the belts in France. No. 44 shows the particular odd fancy and complicated sword belt of Maurice, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1326, from his effigy at Bristol.

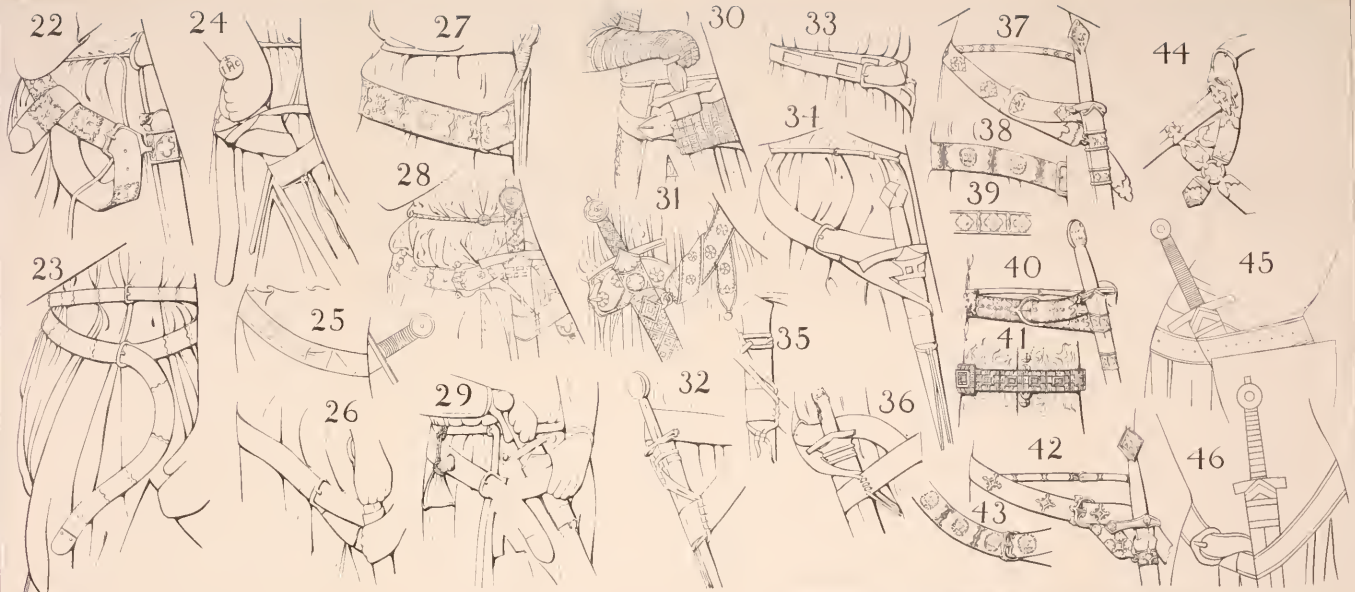
We are now on the eve of another change,—the introduction of the baudric. This also seems to have originated with the civilians. A fine and early civil example is that worn by the youth William of Hatfield, No. 41, in his effigy at York. He died in 1335, and is represented wearing his baudric over a delicately embroidered jupon, and fastened by a large stud on the left side; there is a loop in front for the anelace. It is rather a puzzle to determine how these horizontal baudrics were kept in position; neither effigy, brass, or illumination indicates this, and we are therefore, again, as in the case of the early sword belts, left to conjecture. Perhaps the baudrics were sustained by loops fastened to buttons or hooks in the jupon, with the view of rapidly putting on or taking off, or possibly sewn directly on to this garment.

In wood-craft the baudric was the special band for suspending the hunting horn from the neck, and the points or "tyndes" of a hart's horn were reckoned in the Middle Ages so soon as a baudric, or a lyam or leash, could be hung on them.

We have already alluded to the trouble of having no original examples of sword belts to refer to, but there is one existing specimen of the military baudric, unfortunately not in this country, but in Munich. It consists of a leather belt with ornaments of gilt and engraved brass, having staples at their backs which pass through holes in the belt, and are secured by thongs.

At this stage it may be recorded that in the Roach Smith collection in the British Museum are a number of leather straps, &c., all found in London, and which appear, for the most part, to be portions of mediæval horse harness, not lost in battle,—for London was not a battle field, but thrown away as useless fragments. Some portions may, perhaps, be parts of belts, but not necessarily military

21



belts, perhaps chest-bands of horses. Many pieces, including some large flat ones, are delicately treated in impressed work; these latter were probably parts of saddle flaps, or the decorations of the faces of the high cantles and cruppers, such as may be seen in the equestrian marble statue of Bernabo Visconti, died 1399, now preserved in the Brera at Milan. These objects recall the work on early deed cases, pix, chalice, and cup cases of leather. Certain of the straps are quite narrow, and may be parts of the ceintures of ladies. Although there is nothing in the collection that approaches to the military belt proper, or that seems to have had anything to do with the sword, these remains have, of course, great interest and value as showing the treatment of leather trappings in the Middle Ages.

But the baudric, although in being in 1335, was slow in becoming generally adopted by military men. That martial spirit, Sir Roger de Kerdeston, who died in 1337, wears one in his interesting effigy at Reepham, Norfolk, No. 47. This example sustains a sword, upon whose pommel the vigilant wearer rests his steel-clad hand, and a misericorde of great elegance. The baudric would have been fastened at the circular stud in front, although there is a long pendent portion that might be taken for a loose end that has passed through a buckle. There is no indication of the means of retaining this baudric in position. Evidently it was not a popular change for the earlier arrangement well held its ground until the middle of the century. No. 48, a Gifford, from his effigy at Leckhampton, Gloucestershire, 1327, is a fine and fully developed example of the old style, and the figure has additional interest from the chains or *mamelières* from the breast to the sword-hilt and scabbard. No. 49, is the modest strap of Hugh Despencer, son of Hugh Despencer "the younger," died 1350, who sleeps beneath his sumptuous canopy under the stately vaults of Tewkesbury.

No. 50, from the effigy of Sir John de Lyons, Warkworth, Northamptonshire, living 1346, is the latest example of the cyclas, and marks the culminating point in the girdler's art. In allusion to the name and arms of Lyons, if not to his military virtues, we have lions' faces wherever they could with propriety be introduced. The whole monu-



ment is full of rich details, freely and artistically disposed, and the lions loll out long tongues, unlike French lions, and the lions of commerce. The lacing of the cyclas is finished with the ancient "sennit" knot, and the same detail appears upon the ornate misericorde; it is probably the finest effigy and military belt of the period in England.

No. 51, from the effigy of Sir Humphrey Littlebury, at Holbeach, Lincolnshire, 1360, is a good instance of the hesitancy and uncertainty that there was at this time as to the best manner of suspending the sword. There were then no harassing cast iron "dress regulations" issuing from a mediæval War Office; it was the period of individual prowess, and the knights had a free hand in the fashion of their military equipments, and were fully alive to the necessity of their harness and weapons being of the most convenient and practical kind that could be obtained. This example shows how awkwardly the horizontal baudric worked in the buckling, although a certain length was specially made less rigid for the purpose. So unpractical was it that soldiers preferred to increase the strength of the old disused subsidiary sustaining belt, and hang the sword from that alone, the baudric remaining as a mere ornamental girdle for supporting the misericorde.

Yet there was no marked retrogression and some very satisfactory means seem shortly to have been devised for bringing the ends of the baudric together in a simpler fashion. No. 52, from the effigy of an Arden, at Aston near Birmingham, about 1365, is a transition case representing a buckling leather belt, with metal collets filled with blue decoration, like the real example at Munich. In the actual effigy, much of this blue glass has been carried off by appreciative Black Country connoisseurs. No. 53, the baudric of an Orlingbury, at Orlingbury, Northamptonshire, about 1375,—exactly such as the Black Prince wore at the scenes of his valour,—shows the matter settled; all attempts at buckles and knots have been given up, and the baudric now does the work of sustaining both sword and misericorde, and so well that it remained the only sword belt through the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV., and, indeed, for about 15 years of the fifteenth century. That some very good method had been conceived for fastening the baudric firmly at the widest part of the hips is further

shown by No. 54, Lord Montacute, at Salisbury, 1389, who twists the small belt, formerly so indispensable, round his scabbard, having no further use for it. At first the sword was hung from the baudric from two lockets, with one link, and a short chain respectively, as in the fine example on the effigy of Sir John Swinford, at Spratton, Northamptonshire, died 1371; in later times it was hooked up close from a single fastening.

No. 55, from the brass of Sir William Bagot, 1407, at Baginton, Warwickshire, indicates a shrinking of the baudric, and foreshadows the approaching change.

On the death of Henry IV. in 1413, a great alteration took place in armour, and again we enter upon a new stage of enquiry. The old-fashioned jupon, the lineal descendant of the ancient surcote, is almost clean gone, the baudric gradually vanishes, and gone is the mail camail and skirt, the last relics of the hauberk and hood of early days; the man is now "lock'd up in steel" and the change has been complete and remarkable.

Already in 1400 we have instances of the baudric being used for carrying the misericorde only, and a narrow transverse belt over the tassets introduced for the sword. The effigy of Ralph Greene, Lowick, Northamptonshire, died 1419, No. 57, is a good example of the transition, and is the more interesting because the Contract for the monument exists. It is stipulated that the figure shall be "*counterfait à un Esquier en Armes en toutz pointz*"; this gives us, therefore, the particular sword belts at a precise date. The Contract is set forth from the Drayton evidences, in that rarest of printed books "*Halstead's Genealogies*," and has been reprinted and commented on by Professor Willis in his "*Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages*." As usual, the old and the new fashions over-lapped each other for a few years; in the new style, as in the old, we have no visible means for retaining the belt in position.

Throughout the whole story of the sword belt it may be taken for granted that its fashion was influenced, as was that of the armour, by the military events of the time. So great a tactician as Henry V., for instance, the greatest soldier of his age, is not likely to have ignored these particulars. This tempting field of study may not

be entered upon now. No 56, from the brass of Sir Simon de Felbrigg, at Felbrigg, Norfolk, in his younger days standard-bearer to Richard II., laid down by him in 1416 when his first wife died, is an excellent example of the belt worn over the taces or tassets; it was in use in this form until the middle of the century, as we know from the numberless brasses which for a time took the place of effigies as monumental memorials. During the course of this belt the tuilles were gradually introduced. No. 58, Sir Thomas Strange, Constable of Ireland, from his brass at Wellesbourne, Warwickshire, died 1426, and No. 59, Sir Thomas Chaucer, son of the Poet, died 1434, from his brass at Ewelme, Oxfordshire, carry us forward chronologically. No. 60, from the effigy of a knight with the stirring name of Cressy, at Dodford, Northamptonshire, who fought under the Duke of Bedford in France, as captain of a band of fifty-four horse and foot lancers, and a hundred and forty-seven archers, and died in Lorraine in 1444, takes us so far onwards; and No. 61, a Delamare effigy about 1455, at Nunney, Somerset, gives us the very rare feature of the belt worn over the tabard, a military garment not seen earlier than the reign of Henry VI., and not shown in monuments before the end of the century. The common practice was to wear the tabard over the belt, the sword and dagger appearing through the side openings. No. (b) indicates a knotted cord and key, the mysterious Delamare badge, from the verge of the Nunney tomb. No. 64, from the effigy of an Erdington, at Aston near Birmingham, is a further development, in which the sword belt reached its narrowest form. This strap is associated with the effigies of a very uncommon kind, in which the armour is beautifully expressed, and the wearers exhibit the collar of Suns and Roses, with the pendent badges of the rival houses,—the white lion of March, the black bull of Clare, and the white boar of Richard III.

Immediately after the middle of the century an entirely new feature was introduced. The large and ponderous sword was now deliberately hung in front of the body. Further novelties also seen are the pierced pommel and the divided belt, stopped by a stud at the bifurcation. No. 62, from the brass of John Austy, the Knight of

Quy, Cambridgeshire, 1465, exhibits these features. No. 63, from the brass of Simon Norwich, Brampton-by-Dingley, Northamptonshire, is an early example of the fluted pommel, and the fringed grip. No. 65, from the fine brass of Sir Thomas Peyton, 1484, and his two well-dressed wives with their butterfly head-dresses, at Iselham, Cambridgeshire; No. 66, Roger Salisbury, 1491, from his brass at Horton, and No. 67, Henry Mitchel, 1510 from Flore, Northamptonshire,—these two last, with demi “wrythen” grips to their swords,—further illustrate these strange fashions and take us out of the century.

In 1534, as we judge from the brass of William Asshevy, Harefield, Middlesex, No. 68, the sword has, in a manner, regained its old position, but it has passed, together with the misericorde, behind, and almost out of sight. No. 69 is the belt of William, Lord Parr of Horton, 1546, from his effigy at Horton, Northamptonshire. He was uncle of Queen Katherine, and spent an eventful military life, serving the King's Grace in Spain, France, and Scotland; he conducted himself “right dangerously,” and accompanied his master to the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. This is a good instance of the sword belts of the reign of Henry VIII. In an odd way Lord Parr's buckle is left-handed, and the dagger has two little knives outside the sheath, or, possibly, a knife and fork, indicative of the rude appliances of camp life. Sir Humphrey Bradbourne, 1581, exhibits, in his effigy at Ashbourne, three implements in the same position.

No. 70. shows the sword belt of that distinguished man Sir William Fitz William, 1599, from his effigy at Marholm, Northamptonshire. He was for thirty years Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, and Constable of Fotheringhay on a sad and memorable occasion. Here, again, we get an entire change, and a good type of the attributes of a working sword of the teeming times of Elizabeth, and which continued in use until the end of the reign of “our cousin of Scotland.” In this example a tight belt encircling the waist has a slack strap attached to it in front. From another point is hooked a short, wide, and multiform suspending band. This is the notable item known as the *hangers*, and its object was to balance the



sword on the hip in an exact horizontal position ; the lax strap, the lower one on the scabbard, permitted this feat to be satisfactorily accomplished. No. 71, the harness of another soldier of Elizabeth, — William Lord Russell, 1613, from his effigy at Thornhaugh, Northamptonshire, further exemplifies the working of this fashion. Such were the belts of the captains who went with the Earl of Leicester to the Low Countries in 1585, and fought on the field of Zutphen. The tall and athletic figure of Russell, and the romantic achievement of his arms struck consternation into the Spaniards, and when he soothed the last hours of Sir Philip Sydney that famous spirit bequeathed to him "his best gilt armour" as a mark of his regard.

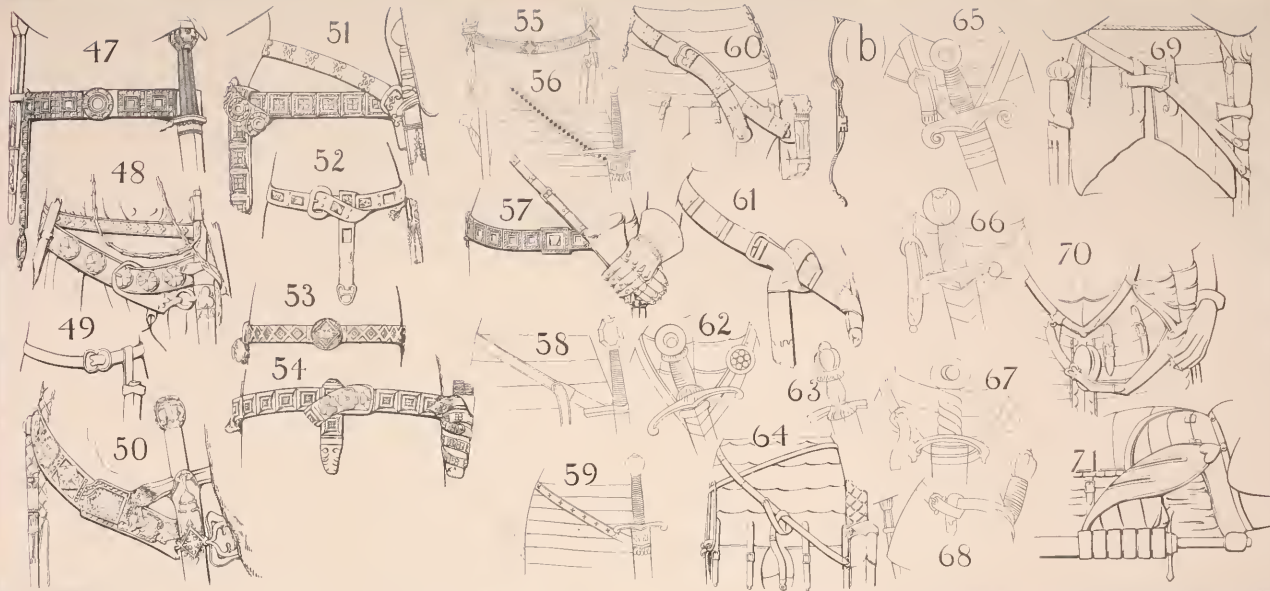
With this knightly episode the story of the sword belts may well come to an end, for we have left the Middle Ages far behind.

The belts of the seventeenth century are illustrated with such accuracy of detail, and beauty of colour, in the pictures of the Flemish and Dutch Schools,—in the masterpieces by Rubens, Rembrandt, Van der Helst, Franz Hals, Flinck, and a multitude of other gifted men, that to pursue the subject any further on the present occasion would be alike inexpedient and tedious.

Moreover, these remarks have already run to too great a length, and the fear is that they may be deemed, like the girdle hidden and found by Euphrates, "marred" and "profitable for nothing."







ON THE SEALS OF THE BISHOPS OF CARLISLE, AND  
OTHER SEALS BELONGING TO THAT DIOCESE.

By Mrs. HENRY WARE.

The See of Carlisle was founded by Henry I., and there have been fifty-eight Bishops.

After much searching and enquiry and kind help from many friends, I have only succeeded in finding the seals of twenty-eight, and of these only eleven belong to the Pre-Reformation period. The muniment rooms of the Bishop and of the Dean and Chapter have been searched with singularly little success; none of the Pre-Reformation seals come from these quarters; two seals only come from Carlisle at all, these are both Post-Reformation and belong to the Corporation.<sup>1</sup> There are but few Carlisle seals in the Way collection, and not one single Carlisle example is quoted by Mr. St. John Hope in his invaluable paper on "The Seals of English Bishops," (Pro. Soc. Ant. 2nd S. vol. xi, p. 271).

It is to be hoped that in course of time the series may be rendered less incomplete, and I shall gratefully receive any help in this direction. I should like to preface what I have to say by thanking very cordially those who have kindly assisted me, specially I would mention the late Mr. Spencer Percival, Chancellor Ferguson, the Dean of Carlisle, and Canon Greenwell; to the paper of Mr. St. John Hope, mentioned above, I owe a deep debt of gratitude. Mr. Ready has also given me much assistance, besides others who, I hope, will accept my thanks.

There are four kinds of Episcopal seals; *i.e.* seals of dignity, counterseals, private seals or *secreta*. and seals *ad causas*. Mr. St. John Hope gives a fifth variety,

<sup>1</sup> "It is much to be regretted that in a city like Carlisle, which is one of the chief gateways into Scotland, so few documentary memorials should have been preserved. Their destruction however was probably due to that restless people, whose dangerous proximity has invested with such interest the past history of the capital of the Borders." Canon Raine cited in Transactions Cumbd. and West Ant. and Arch. Soc. vol. vii, p. 295.

namely seals made for special purposes, but I think they were not common, and we have no examples of this kind.

The seal of dignity was used for charters and instruments affecting the property of the See, or to authenticate copies of important documents : it was generally a pointed oval, and all in my collection are in this form, though the Rev. A. S. Porter, in his paper on the Seals of the Archbishops of York (*Pro. Soc. Ant.*, 2 S. xiii, p. 45), says that the earliest shape was round. The oval form was probably adopted as the most convenient for a standing figure; and it is somewhat curious that though in our own day episcopal seals have degenerated generally into a shield of arms with a mitre, they still retain their ancient shape.

The Pre-Reformation seal of dignity consisted of a device, surrounded by a legend or inscription. The earliest device was an effigy of the Bishop, vested for the Mass, on a plain back-ground; as time went on this was gradually elaborated, accessories, such as canopies, and heads or figures of saints were added, until (about A.D. 1345) the effigy of the Bishop was reduced to a subordinate position, and the Blessed Virgin and Child occupy the chief place.

This transition is well shewn in the series of engravings which illustrate this paper.

The Post-Reformation seals of dignity are generally far less interesting than the earlier ones. The only two illustrations given of this period are that of Ussher 1641, which seemed to me a curious specimen, and that of the present Bishop, which I have engraved (Plate III, figure A) to show the sphragistic art of to-day.

After 1664 episcopal seals are invariably the arms of the See impaling the Bishop's family arms and surmounted by the mitre.

The counterseal appears to have been used to prevent fraudulent tampering with the seal of dignity, and the *secretum* or *sigillum privatum* was intended for deeds concerning the Bishop's private affairs; but these two seals seem to have been applied somewhat indiscriminately, and it is not always easy to say to which class a seal belongs.

The earlier counterseals were pointed ovals, with subjects or figures (see Plate I, figure 3), and the later ones

were round with saints or shields of arms (see Plate II, figure 10). The legends vary very much.

Seals *ad causas* were, in the earlier times, applied to probates, licenses, and letters of orders. I have only one example of this class, and that is Post-Reformation.

A detailed description of the seals follows, and I have noted any point which seems to call for special remark.

Plate I, figure 1.

Bernard, 2nd Bishop, 1156—1186.

Seal of dignity, rather more than  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

Legend, Roman capitals changing into Lombardic:

/BERNARDVS : DEI GRACIA.  
/ARLEOLENSIS : EPISC ///

Device, Figure of the Bishop, vested in albe, dalmatic, chasuble, amice, and perhaps stole, all plain. The right hand upraised in benediction, the left holds the crook (a plain single coil) turned inwards, with the fanon hanging from the wrist. A square brooch, which must be the rationale, is on his breast, and if this be so, it is an early instance, as the first rationale quoted by Mr. Hope is in 1189. The field of the seal is plain.

This cast is from a seal attached to a deed in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster, dated 1157.

Plate I, figure 2.

Walter Malclerk, 4th Bishop 1223 to 1246.

Seal of dignity,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

Legend. Roman capitals changing into Lombardic.

+ WALTERVS : DEI : GRATIA :  
— KARLEOLENSIS : EPISCOPVS.

The initial cross has a crescent beneath it, and the stops between the words are very small annulets.

Device. Figure of the Bishop vested in albe, dalmatic, chasuble, and amice, all plain; the ends of the stole are not seen, and the albe and dalmatic are nearly of the same length. The right hand upraised in benediction, the left holds the crook (a plain single coil), head turned inwards with the fanon hanging from the wrist. The rationale, a somewhat trefoil shaped brooch, is on his breast. The field of the seal is plain, with the exception of a five pointed star on the Bishop's right, and a crescent on his left.



Plate I, figure 3. Counterseal, pointed oval,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches.  
Legend.

\* HEC : SCVLPTVRA : SONAT  
FINIS : NÖ PVGNA : CORONAT.

Which may be rendered—

Voiceless though this sculpture,  
Still it utters sound ;  
Not till fight is finished  
Is the Victor crowned.

Device. The Bishop kneels before a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin with the Child on her knee. She holds a mitre with *infule* over the Bishop's head. There is a suggestion of a trefoil canopy over the figures, and beneath their feet an irregular quatrefoil, apparently blank.

The casts are from a deed among the muniments in the Treasury of Durham Cathedral.

Plate I, figure 4.

Silvester de Everdon, 5th Bishop, 1246—1255.

Seal of dignity, rather more than  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

Legend. The same lettering as the preceding.

// ILVESTER D ////  
// SIS EP // COPVS.

Device. Figure of the Bishop vested in albe, dalmatic, chasuble and amice, all plain ; the ends of the stole are not visible, and the albe and the dalmatic are nearly of the same length. The right hand is upraised in benediction, and the left holds the crook (a plain single coil), with the head turned inwards, and the fanon hanging from the wrist. The rationale is on his breast, the mitre is full faced. The field of the seal is diapered in lozenge pattern, each lozenge charged with a crescent. There are no accessories, and this seal would seem to be a little behind the fashion,

Plate I, figure 5.

Counterseal, pointed oval, 2 inches.

Legend.

+ TE ROGO VIRGO REDI  
SIS VIGIL ERGO GREGL.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The writer of the motto must have had in his mind Virg. Ecl. iv. 6, "Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna." Silvester de Everdon was a lawyer and a man of peace. He became Bishop in 1246. In 1249, a code of Border Laws was established. Can the motto refer to his desire to restore peace on the borders? Compare Ferguson's History of the Diocese of Carlisle, p. 75, with Creighton's Carlisle, (Historic Towns), p. 47.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 1.



No. 4.



No. 5.



BIB. INT. TEL. J

Which may be rendered—

Come Holy Maid, and hear my prayer,  
The flock to aid, with kindly care.

Device. Two compartments of Gothic tracery: in the upper one the Blessed Virgin and Child; in the lower, a half effigy of the Bishop, vested and mitred, in the posture of adoration; he holds something in his hand which might be a censer or a crook.

The casts of both seals are from deeds in Durham Cathedral, dated 1247.

Plate II, figure 6.

Ralph de Irton, 8th Bishop 1280—1292.

Seal of dignity,  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches.

Legend, lettering the same as preceding.

// ADVLPVVS : DEI : GRA ///  
KA /// OLENSIS : EPS

Device. Figure of the Bishop vested in albe, stole, dalmatic, chasuble, and amice; the dalmatic has embroidered apparels round the bottom and on the cuffs. The right hand is gloved and has a ring on the middle finger, it is upraised in benediction; the left hand holds the crook, head turned outwards, interrupting the legend, with the fanon hanging from the wrist. The crook is a plain coil ending in a leaf or some small ornament, and rises from a slight knop. The mitre is full-faced and *preciosa*. The face looks like a portrait. In the field of the seal, which is otherwise plain, are the heads of S.S Peter and Paul in circular panels, a key beneath the former, and a sword beneath the latter. These two apostles had no special connection with Carlisle, and their heads occur in the same way on seals of this period in various dioceses; it is possible that the idea may have been suggested by the papal bulls, which I am told were often adorned with the heads of those two apostles at this period. This cast is from a seal at Durham, to a deed dated 1286.

I have another cast of this seal from the office of the Duchy of Lancaster (the deed is dated 1280); it is much broken; it contains a torso of the Bishop, the head of S. Peter and his key, and three letters (R L E) missing from the other cast.

Plate II, figure 7.

John de Halton, 9th Bishop, 1292—1325.

Seal of dignity,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

Legend, Rude Lombardic.

S. JOHIS ////  
EPISCOPI. ////

This is the first instance of an inscription in this form, Sigillum, &c. : all preceding ones have had the name in the nominative case.

Device. Figure of the Bishop, vested in albe, dalmatic, chasuble and amice : the lower part of the figure has perished, but the cuffs of the dalmatic have richly embroidered apparels ; the amice is also embroidered. The right hand (apparently gloved) is upraised in benediction. The left hand holds the crook, head turned outwards, the crook is plain, rising from a knop, it has a double coil with one evolute ; the fanon hangs from the wrist. The mitre is full-faced and richly jewelled. The rationale, a trefoiled shaped brooch, is on his breast. This is a late example ; the last given by Mr. Hope is that of a Bishop of S. David's 1280. The field is diapered with diagonal lattice work, each compartment charged with an annulet. There is a canopy over the Bishop's head, which represents a building, and may be the east end of the Norman Cathedral of Carlisle, which was burnt in 1292.

This cast is from a seal at S. John's College, Cambridge, to a deed dated 1293.

Plate II, figure 8.

John de Kirby, 11th Bishop 1332—1352.

Seal of dignity, 3 inches.

Legend, Roman capitals changing into Lombardic.

SIGILLV // OHANNIS DE KIR ///

All the rest gone.

Mr. Hope's first example of the introduction of the Bishop's surname is the seal of William de Wykeham 1367, so that John de Kirby is a very early example of this fashion.

Device. Under an elaborate crocketed canopy with supporting shafts and pinnacles, a figure of the Bishop standing in an easy attitude, vested in albe, dalmatic and chasuble all plain, and amice embroidered ; the openings



up the sides of the dalmatic are well shown. The right hand, with ring on the middle finger, is upraised in benediction, the left hand holds the crook, turned outwards; it rises from a small knop and is crocketed. The mitre is full-faced and jewelled.

The cast is from a seal at Durham to a deed dated 1333.

Plate II, figure 9.

Thomas de Appleby, 13th Bishop 1362—1396.

Seal of dignity, rather more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

Legend, black letter.

Sigillum ▷ Tho ///  
Episcopi ◁ Carlolens.

The legend is interrupted by two small shields of arms, that to the dexter side of the seal is much worn, but seems to be a quartered coat, France Ancient and England; the other is a chief indented, or three piles issuing out of a chief, the family arms of De Appleby.

Device. Under an elaborate canopy with pinnacles, crockets and buttresses, is the Bishop vested in albe, dalmatic, chasuble and amice; the ends of the stole are not visible, and the details are obscured, except that the mitre is full-faced and jewelled. The right hand is raised in benediction, and the left holds the crook, head turned outwards; the fanon hangs from the wrist. In a niche in the upper part of the canopy, are small figures of our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, crowned and enthroned, the Saviour has His right hand raised in benediction, and in His left He holds a sceptre. The Virgin has her hands raised in prayer. This cast is from a seal in the British Museum, to a deed dated 1392.

Plate V. figure D.

Counterseal of Thomas de Appleby,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

The Legend has nearly perished, only the beginning *Ecc* is legible.

Device. The Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Two figures under a tabernacle. The angel holds a scroll inscribed *Ave Maria*. In a small niche underneath is what looks like the figure of the Bishop.

This cast is from a deed belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Durham. "*Datum apud manerium nostrum de Rosa xxviii die mensis Marcii Anno Dni Millesimo*

ccc° nonogesimo quinto, et nostræ consecrationis tricesimo secundo.”

Plate II, figure 10.

Counterseal, or *secretum*, circular; diameter,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inches, also said to be that of Thomas de Appleby.

Legend, black letter.

**Gloria Deo. Pax hominibus.**

Device. An angel with extended wings supports a shield within a geometrical pattern. The pattern is identical with that on the seal of Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, 1382-1404, engraved in *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2nd S. vol. iv, p. 394, and xi. p. 297.

The shield is a canton and a label of five points.

This cast is from a seal in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris. It is said to be that of Thomas de Appleby, but it may be noticed that the Coat of Arms is different from that on his seal of dignity.

Plate III, figure 11.

Marmaduke Lumley, 19th Bishop 1429—1449.

Seal of dignity  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

Legend, black letter.

**Sig. /////**

**// epī.**

Device. Beneath an elaborate canopy our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, crowned and enthroned. He is in the act of blessing, and she has her hands joined in prayer. In a circular headed niche below is the effigy of the Bishop, vested and mitred, with crook. To his right a shield with the arms of the see, a mitre charged on a cross; to his left a shield with his private arms, a fess between three parrots.

This cast is from a seal at King's College, Cambridge, to a deed, dated 1447.

Nicholas Close, 20th Bishop, 1449-1452.

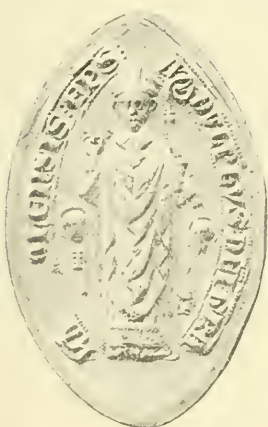
Plate III, figure 12, *secretum* or signet. Oval, approaching to circular, greatest diameter  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an inch.

Legend, Velut  vel 

(Velut rosa, vel lilium.)

This may be an allusion to the passage in *Canticles* ii, 1, “I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys.”

Device. Figure of the Blessed Virgin irradiated, the



No. 6.



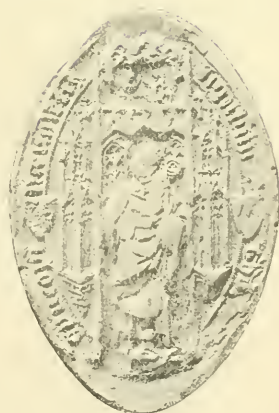
No. 7.



No. 10.



No. 8.



No. 9.



hands raised in an attitude of devotion. It may be a representation of the Assumption. The cast is from King's College, Cambridge.

Plate III, figure 13.

John Kyte, 29th Bishop 1521—1537.

He was originally Archbishop of Armagh, but exchanged that preferment in 1521, for the titular Archbishopric of Thebes, in Greece, together with the Bishopric of Carlisle.

Seal of dignity,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

Legend, bold Roman capitals

S. JOHIS ARCHIEPI TEBANES &  
EPI KARLIONIS.

Device. The Blessed Virgin with the Child in her arms, under a boldly executed arch with pilasters and pediment, in the style of the classical renaissance. Beneath in a smaller arch is the figure of the Bishop, vested in albe, dalmatic, chasuble and amice; the mitre is full-faced with *infula*. The hands are joined in the attitude of prayer, and the archiepiscopal cross rests in the left arm. On the Archbishop's right is a diapered shield with plain cross, probably intended for Carlisle; on his left, an impaled shield, viz., an archiepiscopal cross surmounted by a pall, impaling a chevron between three kite's heads for Kyte. This is a beautiful seal, evidently of Italian workmanship.

The cast is from a seal in the Chapter-house at Westminster, and is dated 1520.

The date is perplexing, as Kyte is stated to have been made Bishop in 1521; this and similar discrepancies are explained by Chancellor Ferguson in his Diocesan History, in a foot-note on page 232.

"The date of the consecration and of the restitution of the temporalities are sometimes much later than the date of accession—often a year—sometimes two—which occasions much confusion."

Kyte's predecessor certainly died in 1520.

Richard Barnes, 33rd Bishop, 1570—1577.

Plate V, figure E.

Seal *ad causas*, very much broken. The headless figure of the Bishop is seated in a chair of state; beneath his feet is a much broken shield containing his arms, namely, on a bend between two estoiles, a bear statant; a chief charged with three roses. On either



side is a rose. This may be an allusion to Rose Castle, the Bishop's residence. This seal is in the possession of the Corporation of Carlisle, and is attached to the Probate of will of Robert Mulcaster, dated Jan. 27, 1571.<sup>1</sup>

The Chancellor of Carlisle tells me that he has a recollection of seeing among the muniments of the Corporation, a deed sealed by this Bishop, with a seal bearing the simple device of a rose, about an inch or more in diameter. He was however unable to find it on a recent search.

Richard Senhouse, 38th Bishop 1624—1626.

Signet from Netherhall.

The Bishop's paternal coat : viz , party per pale argent, and gules, in the dexter fess a popinjay ; impaled by the arms of the See.

Plate III, figure 14.

James Ussher, 41st Bishop 1641—1656.

Ussher was made Archbishop of Armagh in 1624, and took refuge in England in 1641, in consequence of the Rebellion. He was the intimate friend and spiritual adviser of the Earl of Strafford, whom he attended on the scaffold. He was Chaplain to the King, who, seeing there was little prospect of his being able to return to Ireland, conferred upon him the Bishopric of Carlisle *in commendam*. I have not found his seal as Bishop of Carlisle, but the one at Queen's College, Oxford, as Archbishop of Armagh is so curious that I have included it in the series.

Seal of dignity, 4 inches.

Legend, Roman capitals.

SIGILL. JACOBI VSSHER, ARCH. EPISC. ARMACHANI  
TOTIVS HIBERN. PRIMATIS.

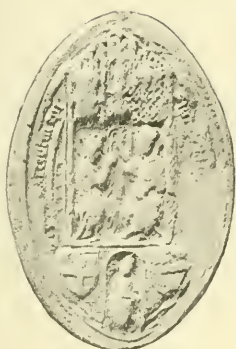
Device. A Bishop (or Archbishop) preaching from a pulpit to a large congregation seated in a church.

Below is the legend.

VAE MIHI SI NON  
EVANGELIZAUERO.

Underneath is a shield per pale : to the dexter, the arms of the Archbishop of Armagh, a pall surmounting an archiepiscopal cross ; to the dexter a chevron ermine between three batons for Ussher.

<sup>1</sup> In 1577, Barnes was translated to Durham. In the Way collection, there is a very similar seal *ad causas* to the one above described, of Barnes as Bishop of Durham.



No. 11.



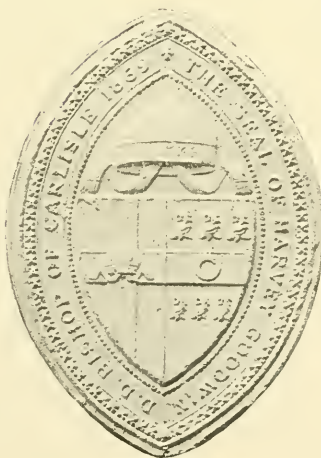
No. 14.



No. 12.



No. 13.



A



This concludes the series of seals of Bishops of Carlisle, but in the course of my investigations I have come across a few other seals of interest in the Diocese, of which I am able to add engravings.

Plate IV, figure A.

Vicar-General of Carlisle, oval pointed  $2\frac{1}{3}$  inches.

Legend, small black letter.

Sigillum Vicarii  
Generalis Carlioli.

Device. Beneath a canopy seated and crowned, the Blessed Virgin with her Divine Son. Underneath, in a niche, a kneeling Bishop with crook.

This cast was sent to me by Mr. Ready, and is dated 15th century, but he cannot now remember where the original is to be found.

Plate IV, figure B.

Lanercost Priory, pointed oval, 3 inches.

Legend, Roman capitals changing into Lombardic.

S 'CAPITLI : SCE : MARIE : MAG :

DALENE : DE : LANRECOST.

Device. Figure of S. Mary Magdalene in bold relief, a palm branch in right hand, and the box of ointment in the left. A six pointed star over the left shoulder, and the field of the seal filled up with flowers.

Date 13th century.

This seal is engraved in Surtees' Durham.

Plate IV, Figure C.

Abbey of Holm-Cultram, pointed oval,  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches.

Legend, Lombardic.

SIG // //BATIS ET CONV  
ENTUS DE HOLMCOLTRAN.

Device. The Blessed Virgin and Child. Underneath is a shield on which are the three lions of England: this is supported by two Monks, and beneath it is an object which looks like a ram's head. On one side of the B.V.M. is a king crowned, with a sceptre; on the other an Abbot with crook and mitre, The Abbot of Holm-Cultram was mitred.

The date on the back of the cast is 1275—1300.

Plate V, figure F.

Seal of Bishop Barnes' Chancellor.

A circular seal, very much broken, displaying the Bishop's shield of arms (described above). The word *comes* is all that remains of the motto, and the legend has perished entirely. Fortunately there is a perfect specimen (at the Society of Antiquaries), of the seal of this Bishop's Chancellor, after he was translated to Durham.

The Bishop's arms are displayed upon an irradiated rose; two hands issue from a cloud above, one holds the Bible, and the other a birch-rod. The motto upon a ribbon beneath the arms is *Crux Veritatis Comes*; the letters R. B. on either side of the arms stood for Richard Barnes. The legend runs "*Sigillum officii cancell ecclii Reverendi Patris Rici Dunelm Epi.*" From what remains of the Carlisle seal, I think there is little doubt that it was *mutatis mutandis*, the same as the one at Durham,

The cast is from a seal attached to an indenture in the possession of the Corporation of Carlisle, dated March 22, 1574, relating to the "mylne damme head in well-close" which is stated to have damaged the episcopal estates.

Plate V, figure G.

Seal of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle.

Pointed oval  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

Legend.

SIGIL \* DECANI \* ET \* CAP \* ECCL CATH  
 . . . . . \* CARLIOL \* 1660.

The words omitted have evidently been purposely erased; on a careful examination the remains of the letters B. VIRG. may be traced, and some slight indications of other letters consistent with the words BEATAE \* VIRG. Device, under a renaissance canopy, a nimbed figure of the Blessed Virgin kneels to the right at a faldstool, her hands folded in prayer. Beneath is the shield of arms of the Dean and Chapter. It seems curious that the B. V. M. should figure as the device of the Post-Reformation seal, as the Cathedral, originally dedicated to S. Mary, had been re-founded by Henry VIII, under the name of the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. Guy Carleton was Dean when the seal was made; he was afterwards Bishop of Chichester and was called by the mob, an "old Popish rogue"; he may have been responsible for the design of the new seal. I have not found any earlier seal of the Dean and Chapter, and there-





B



C

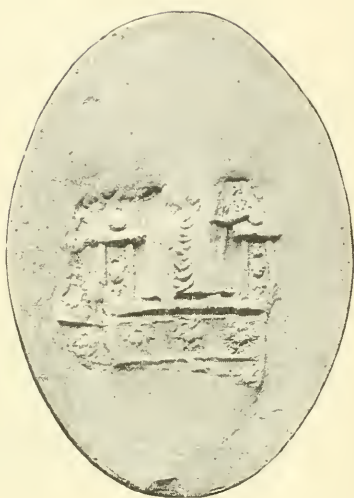


A





G



E



F



D



fore cannot say whether they always retained the B. V. M. on their seal, or whether the present example was a return, adopted at the Restoration, to something like the old seal of the Priory.<sup>1</sup> The erasure of the words BEATAE VIRG. in the legend may have been the work of some Dean with puritan sympathies; but it is perhaps more likely that their insertion in the first instance was simply caused by a mistake of the engraver.

<sup>1</sup> For description and illustration of the seal of the Priory, see Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. Soc. vol. 7, p. 330.



## SAINT HELEN.

By EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.

From a very early period Saint Helen has been regarded as a British Princess. Our antiquaries of the older school, Protestant and Catholic alike, seem to have entertained no doubts on the matter. Recent researches have, however, rendered it extremely improbable; though, we believe, there are yet some few men (whose learning is by no means to be lightly spoken of) who still hold that the legends connecting the mother of Constantine the Great with Colchester, are not mere dreams, but have a solid foundation in fact.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Cutts, the latest historian of Colchester, has carefully investigated this legend. He seems not to entertain a doubt that St. Helen was born at Naissus, an important town of upper Moesia.<sup>2</sup> It was in those days a place of historical importance, for almost within sight of its walls Claudius the Second gained a memorable victory over the Goths in the year 269; but it was destroyed by the Huns under Attila. It seems, nevertheless, soon to have arisen from its ashes and now bears the name of Nissa. It is 130 miles south east of Belgrade. The warm baths in the neighbourhood have given Nissa some celebrity, but the chief claim that it has on our attention is that here Helena gave birth to Constantine the Great. Because her son first saw the light here, it by no means follows that Helen herself was a native of the place also. Another opinion is that Helen was a native of Bythinia. Her parents, it is believed, were in a humble rank of life, dwelling at Drepanum, a place which her son, when the empire became his, named Helenopolis in her honour.

It has been asserted by more than one writer, ignorant of Roman Law and Roman morals, that

<sup>1</sup> Henry, of Huntingdon (Rolls Series) pp. liv. 29. Monast. Anglic iv. 607.

<sup>2</sup> Historic Towns, *Colchester*, p. 51.

the connection between Constantius Chlorus and Helena was an illicit one. This can be proved to be a mistake. Gibbon (who was certainly influenced by no prejudices in favour of those whom the Church regards as holy) says, "we may defend the legality of her marriage against those who have represented her as the concubine of Constantius."<sup>1</sup> Eutropius, who must have known the truth, says, "ex obscuriori matrimonio ejus filius."<sup>2</sup> The truth, (when divested of the clouds with which partizan historians have hidden it), is very simple. In the Roman world there were several kinds of marriage, each one of them securing an honourable position for the wife, but they differed in social dignity, and in their effects with regard to property. The misunderstanding this has led to many mistakes with regard to the early Christian History of Spain and other countries.

When Constantius was raised to the rank of Caesar by Diocletian, 292, he was compelled to repudiate Helena, and to make a great political alliance by wedding Theodora, the step-daughter of Maximianus Herculius. A divorce from Helena in due legal form was therefore procured. As Professor Ramsay has pertinently remarked, "the necessity of such a divorce is in itself a sufficient proof that the existing marriage was regarded as regular and legal."<sup>3</sup>

Constantine was a man of very mixed character. His affection for his mother seems to have been one of his deepest and most enduring sentiments. When he became Emperor, he did all he could to compensate her for his father's neglect and cruelty. She was, till the day of her death, treated with every distinction which the ruler of the civilized world had at his command. The title of Augusta was bestowed upon her, coins were struck in her honour, and more than one place (beside the Bythinian town we have before mentioned) was named after her.

Whatever may have been the nationality of Helena, it is certain that, in early days, she was not a christian. We do not suppose that Helen was ever a heathen, if that word be used to imply a sincere believer in any one of the

<sup>1</sup> *Decline and Fall of Rome*, Ed. 1862, vol. ii., p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> X. 2.

<sup>3</sup> W. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. Sub voce Helena.

innumerable cults which were then slowly perishing throughout the whole area of the Roman world, but it seems certain that Helena first received instruction in the teachings of the Gospel from her son. That after her conversion to Christianity, she was holy and devout, is beyond question; thus much may be gathered from all the historians of her own, and the immediately succeeding times.<sup>1</sup> But Helen's name, like that of by far the greater number of the blessed of all ages, would have been forgotten—recorded, as Sir Thomas Browne has said, “in the register of God, not in the record of man,”<sup>2</sup> had she not undertaken a search at Jerusalem for the memorials of our Lord's Passion. We cannot enter at present into an account of these investigations and the events by which they were followed. The “Invention of the Holy Cross,” as it has been called, and the building of the churches of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem have impressed the memory of Helen deeply on the minds of all those to whom the history of the earlier days of the Kingdom of God upon earth is attractive. The nave of the church at Bethlehem yet remains much as Helen saw it. It is the only existing example of the great Constantinean churches which has not suffered hopeless mutilation.<sup>3</sup>

Colchester is not the only place in England which has been held to have given birth to this holy princess. York has also put in its claims, which have been supported by not a little misemployed learning, and Trèves has entered the lists as a claimant for the honour of her nativity. We do not know that Scotland has ever asserted that St. Helen was a native of her territory, but she was honoured in the middle ages in this kingdom. Several of the old Scottish churches were dedicated to her, and there is a St. Helen's Well at Maybole, and another at Melrose. We have heard of fifteen English springs named after Saint Helen. It may not be uninteresting to give a list of them. Persevering research would most probably discover many others. Those of which we have notes are at—

<sup>1</sup> See Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III., 42, Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecccl. Hist.* I. 17. Sozomer, *Ecccl. Hist.* ii., 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Urn Burial*, chap. v.

<sup>3</sup> A little sketch of it may be seen in

Cutts's *Constantine The Great*, p. 353, and we are informed that it is duly illustrated in Court de Vogue's *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*.

Barnby-on-the-Marsh, Yorkshire.  
 Brindle, Lancashire.  
 Brindley, Lancashire.  
 Cornhill, Northumberland.  
 Derby.  
 Eshton, Yorkshire  
 Fernhill, Yorkshire.  
 Gargrave, Yorkshire.  
 Louth, Lincolnshire.  
 Newton Kyme, Yorkshire.  
 Rushton Spencer, Staffordshire.  
 Sefton, Lancashire.  
 Staniland, Yorkshire.  
 Thorparch, Yorkshire.  
 Wrawby, Lincolnshire.

We do not know of any wells named after St. Helen in Wales, and the dedications of the old churches of that principality have not as yet been arranged in a satisfactory manner, but she was well known and highly honoured there in former times. Her name often occurs in the Welsh legends, but early history is so much distorted in them that if we did not know of her from more authentic sources we might well believe Helen to have been a mere creation of the fervid Keltic imagination. There she appears as the wife of Maximus the Usurper. She is represented in this phase as the daughter of King Eudav of Caernarvon. She now became Helen Luyddawc, or Helen of the Mighty Host, and gave her name to the Sarn Helen, or Roman Road in North Wales. The men of Britain would not have made these great roads for any save her alone.<sup>1</sup>

There are many churches dedicated to the honour of St. Helen in England, but they are very irregularly distributed. None seems to occur in Cumberland, Westmorland, or Essex. The rest of the English shires for which we have at present authentic information give the following results :—

Devonshire. <sup>2</sup>	3
Durham.	2
Kent.	1
Lincolnshire. <sup>3</sup>	28
Northumberland.	3
Nottinghamshire.	15
Yorkshire. <sup>4</sup>	32

<sup>1</sup> Charles Elton, *Origins of English History*, 334, quoting Lady C. Guest's *Mabinogion*, 449, 456. <sup>3</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxviii, p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> J. Brooking Rowe, *Topography of* *Archæological Rev.* ii, 276. <sup>4</sup> See table of Church Dedications in *Dev on*, 68.

It would, therefore, appear that in the three adjoining counties of York, Nottingham, and Lincoln the devotion to St. Helen was much greater than in any other parts of the island of which we have accurate knowledge.

Although there seem to be no church dedications to St. Helen in Essex, there was a chapel in her honour at Colchester, an admirable account of which has been written by Mr. J. H. Round. It was secularized in the reign of Henry VIII., but has now once more been devoted to ecclesiastical uses. The seal of the Mayor of Colchester represents St. Helen holding the cross on which our Blessed Lord suffered, in her left hand, and a casket in her right.<sup>1</sup> Church dedications to St. Helen seem to be commoner in England than elsewhere, but they are not unknown in continental lands. There are two churches at Mount Athos dedicated to Saints Constantine and Helen.<sup>2</sup>

Many representations of St. Helen occur in old service-books, and, we believe, that there are figures of her in stained glass yet remaining, but of these we have at present no accurate accounts. The Norman sculptured cross at Kelloe, Durham, has upon it a representation of St. Helen which is probably by far the oldest in existence in this country. In the upper part the Saint is shewn asleep, an angel revealing to her where the cross is to be found; below we have other scenes from the legendary history of the cross.<sup>3</sup>

At Beverley one of the pre-reformation Guilds seems to have been under St. Helen's patronage. On her feast a boy clad like a queen to represent St. Helen walked in a procession, accompanied by an old man bearing the cross and another carrying a spade, symbolizing the workmen who found it. These performers headed a long procession of the brethren and sisters of the Guild, who went with much music to worship in the Church of the Friars Minors.<sup>4</sup>

The tomb of St. Helen is near Rome, beyond the Porta Maggiore. A porphyry sarcophagus of the Empress was found here, and is now among the countless treasures of the Vatican.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquary*, xxiii., p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Riley, *Athos* 260, 375.

<sup>3</sup> An account of this cross by Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A., occurs in *Archæologia*, lii., 73,

<sup>4</sup> Ormsby, *Dioc. Histories*, York, p. 208.

<sup>5</sup> R. R. Madden *Shrines and Sepulchres* ii, 484, Quoting Rome in the Nineteenth Cent. ii, 204; c.f. Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Aug. 18.



Saint Helen is said to have brought the bodies of the three Wise Men from the far east to Constantinople, from whence, in a latter time, they were transferred to Cologne.<sup>1</sup> No catalogue of the pictures of St. Helen has hitherto been compiled. Such a work would be of much service to archæologists. There is a painting of her in the Church of St. Roche at Venice, and another in the Manfrini gallery in the same city, where St. Peter and St. Helen are represented in attendance on our Blessed Lady.<sup>2</sup>

As well as church dedications in honour of St. Helen, we meet with several separate altars at which she was invoked. Of these there is at present no list. There was probably a St. Helen's altar in the church of Horncastle, co. Lincoln, for in a will of the year 1536 we find a bequest to St. Helen's light.<sup>3</sup> Saint Helen's Lane, Walkerley, near Sheffield, seems to point to a chapel in her honour having existed at one time in that neighbourhood.<sup>4</sup> In some parts of England her feast-day appears to have been kept with special honour, for in the Churchwardens Accounts of Leverton, near Boston, there is a charge for "reed wyne to syng wyth agaynes saynt Elyne daye"<sup>5</sup> The feast day of St. Helen is on the 18th August, but the festival of "The Invention of the Cross," May 3rd, was often called St. Helen's day in Spring. It was long kept in memory among rural people as a term for paying rents, and a proper time for turning stock on commons, cleansing ditches, and repairing banks. In the Court Rolls of the Manor of Scotter, a village in Lincolnshire, once a possession of the great Benedictine Abbey of Peterborough, the following order occurs in the year 1557:—"Every one dwelling in ye Coote houses or Suswarth shall both ring and yock ther swynne<sup>6</sup> before Seynt Ellen daye."<sup>7</sup>

James Pilkington, one of the Elizabethan revisers of the Book of Common Prayer, Bishop of Durham 1561-1576,

<sup>1</sup> Horstmann, *The Kings of Cologne*, (E.E.T.S.), xix.

<sup>2</sup> Webb, *Continental Ecclesiology* 292, 298.

<sup>3</sup> Maddison, *Lincoln Wills*, 16; *The Antiquary*, xxiii, 248.

<sup>4</sup> Addy, *Sheffield Glossary* (E.D.S.) 197.

<sup>5</sup> *Archæologia*, xii, 348.

<sup>6</sup> A pig-yock is, or perhaps we ought

to say was, a wooden yoke or collar with projecting bars, put around the necks of pigs to hinder them from forcing their way through hedges. "What is the use of that wooden yoke on your neck?" "To keep us from breaking through our drivers fences." Porson.—*Catechism for the Swinish Multitude*.

<sup>7</sup> *Archæologia*, xli, 379.

speaks of St. Helen's day, evidently meaning May 3rd, as a term at which some persons paid their rents, and adds that it was, along with Michaelmas, Martinmas, and the Feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady regarded by some persons as the beginning of the year.<sup>1</sup>

Saint Helen was the patroness of cloth-dyers in certain parts of Germany,<sup>2</sup> and in Virginia potatoes acquired the name of Saint Helen's paternosters.<sup>3</sup>

In our own island and elsewhere folk-lore has gathered around Saint Helen's name. On her festival in Cleveland branches of the rowan-tree were gathered for the sake of warding off enchantments,<sup>4</sup> and in France the following superstitious rite was observed for discovering thefts. A crystal glass was taken, on which the sign of the cross was made, and under it was written, "Sancta Helena." The glass was then given to a child of ten years of age, who was chaste and born in lawful wedlock; behind the child some one said, kneeling, "Deprecor te Domina sancta Helena mater Regis Constantini." It was then believed that the child would see an angel in the glass, who, on being asked, would tell the name of the thief.<sup>5</sup>

Saint Helen was, and we believe still is, held in great honour by the Bretons. Half a century ago it was the custom for the peasants to act a mystery play, in which she appeared as the chief character. It was in the native tongue of the people, and very long, the performance lasting a week.<sup>6</sup> We cannot ascertain that this curious drama has ever been printed.

The above notes are but a very slight sketch. The writer trusts that someone who has the means and leisure may be induced to treat this interesting subject in a more worthy manner.

<sup>1</sup> *Works* (Parker Soc.) p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> G. L. Von Maurer, *Geschichte der Stadteverfassung*, ii, 403.

<sup>3</sup> *Dublin Review*, Jan, 1890, 77.

<sup>4</sup> Atkinson's *Cleveland Glossary*, 417.

<sup>5</sup> Jean-Baptist Thiers, *Traité Des Superstitions*, Avignon 1777, vol. i, p. 419.

<sup>6</sup> T. A. Trollope, *A Summer in Brittany*, ii, 1-4.

IS BURGHEAD, ON THE MORAY FIRTH, THE WINGED CAMP OF PTOLEMY? WITH REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN OF SOME POPULAR OPINIONS REGARDING THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF NORTH BRITAIN, THE VALUE TO BE ATTACHED TO PTOLEMY'S TABLES AND MAP OF ALBION, AND THE PROBABLE SOURCES OF HIS INFORMATION.<sup>1</sup>

By JAMES MACDONALD, LL.D., F.S.A., Scot.

In the second book of the Geography of Claudius Ptolemaeus of Alexandria a tribe named the *Οἰακουάγιοι* (Vacomagans) are represented as inhabiting that part of modern Scotland which, roughly speaking, stretches from the Spey on the east to the Beauly Firth on the west, and as far south as the Grampian mountains and the sources of the Tay. Of the four towns which he assigns to them, *Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον* (The Winged Camp) has attracted much more attention than the other three, or, indeed, than any town to be found in his tabular lists of North Britain. Owing to its being identified by many recent authorities with the old fort of Burghead on the Moray Firth, it has been looked upon as affording strong proof of certain statements regarding the ancient geography and history of Northern Scotland. These statements were first made towards the close of last century; and, although the evidence originally brought forward in their support is now known to be valueless, they are still widely credited, and, so far as Burghead is concerned, are even supposed by some writers of repute to be tenable, in part at least, on other grounds. The correctness of the identification and the conclusions drawn from it are consequently matters of some importance.

The Winged Camp has hitherto been best known to us as *Alata Castra*—the rendering into Latin of its Greek name by the first translators of the Geography. With the exception of Professor Carl Müller, who prefers

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, held at Edinburgh, August 13th, 1891.

Pinnata Castra, in which he recognises the Pinnatis of an independent authority, the Ravenna geographer,<sup>1</sup> all subsequent editors give the same Latin equivalent, which thus came into common use.

Whatever may be the origin of its Ptolemaic designation there is no foundation for Mannert's supposition that the Camp was so called because it had been "only pitched in a hurry."<sup>2</sup> The word *πτέρωτός* does not appear to have been ever used in this sense, in either classical or Alexandrian Greek. *Πτερόν* (a wing) has, for a secondary meaning, "anything like a wing;" and in Egypt especially, where Ptolemy wrote, it was applied, like the English word, to an addition made to the side of a building. *Πτερωτός* (winged) was employed in a similar way. Plutarch speaks of a particular kind of tunic as *χιτωνίσκος πτερωτός*, i.e., with some wing-like appendage. Moreover, Ptolemy distinctly states that his Winged Camp was a town (*πόλις*), situated, according to his method of reckoning the position of places, in long. 27° 15' and lat. 59° 20'; and, for some reason that we cannot now determine, he brings it into special prominence in his eighth book. There, after proposing to divide the map of the world into twenty-six separate maps and naming the countries they would include, he gives in hours the length of the solstitial day and the distance west or east from Alexandria of a few selected localities in each of them. Of six such places in his first map of Europe, which comprises Hibernia and Albion, two are islands—*Οὐνηκτίς* (Vectis, probably the Isle of Wight) and *Θούλη*<sup>3</sup> (Thule), and four are towns of the larger island—London, York,

<sup>1</sup> Præmatis, however, not Pinnatis, is the reading of Gronovius (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, xxvi.)

<sup>2</sup> *Geogr. der Gr. und Römer*, II, 2, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> It is still and probably will ever remain a vexed question, what is the Thule of Pytheas, said by him to be six days' sail north of Britain. Iceland, Lapland or some other part of Norway, and one of the Shetland or of the Orkney islands, have all been held to suit best the description he gave of it. Müllenhoff, in his *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (new ed. Berlin, 1890) has discussed the subject at great length, leaving it very much as he found it. If I might express an opinion, it would be that the Thule of

"the Humboldt of the Olden Time," as Pytheas has been called by Brehmer, was either Iceland or Norway, but that the name was applied by others in a vague manner to whatever land the writer chose at the time to consider the most northerly part of the known world. Tacitus, for example, in his doubtfully veracious account of the exploits of Agricola's fleet, cannot be supposed when mentioning Thule to speak of land farther North than Orkney or the Shetlands. Cp. Arvedson (quoted by Elton, *Origins of English History*, pp. 420, 421) for a brief but very exhaustive notice of the controversy.



Caturactonium (which must have been somewhere in the North of England), and the Winged Camp; the last being the only one of the four in what is now Scotland. These facts leave no reasonable doubt, that at the date of Ptolemy's information about Britain this town, instead of being a camp "hurriedly pitched" and held for a brief period by a flying column of invaders, was a place that had an importance of its own and occupied a definite site.

Great difference of opinion exists among our earlier geographers and historians as to the position of the Winged Camp. Hector Boece identified it with Castle Urquhart at the northern extremity of Loch Ness; Camden, following some of the early Continental editors of Ptolemy, with Edinburgh;<sup>1</sup> Gordon of Straloch, with Nairn; Sir John Clerk, with Cramond (Alaterva); Horsley, first with Tain and afterwards with Inverness. Stukeley, in his analysis of the now discredited *De Situ Britanniae*, ascribed by its real author, Charles Julius Bertram, to Richard of Cirencester, a Westminster monk of the fourteenth century, assumed that the fictitious Ptoroton of that treatise was Ptolemy's Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον, and chose for it the second of Horsley's sites. All these positions, however, were fixed on merely by conjecture.

In 1776 Major-General William Roy, who had acquired an accurate knowledge of the country during the first Government survey of Scotland, circulated privately among his friends a "Map of North Britain as known to the Romans"—the result mainly of his own studies and observations. On this map Burghead was laid down as Ptoroton. But it was not till the publication in 1793 of his "Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain," which contains a commentary on those portions of the so-called "Richard" that relate to the Roman topography of Scotland, that Roy's views and the grounds on which they were advanced became generally known. Adopted by George Chalmers in the first volume of his *Caledonia* the belief that Burghead had been

<sup>1</sup> "Since Camden's times," according to Mannert, "Edinburgh is assumed by some—led away by the Scottish derivation of the name—to be Castra Alata." This is incorrect. In the 1552 Basle

edition of Ptolemy we read "Alata Castra, castra puellarum, vulgo Edinburgh, Scotiæ regia;" and the *Britannia* did not appear till 1586.



fortified by the Romans and called by them Ptoroton, and that it was also the Winged Camp of Ptolemy remained for many years almost unchallenged. This is no longer the case; and so clearly can it now be shown that no such town as Ptoroton ever existed that the name must soon cease to be associated with Burghead or any other locality. The possibility, however, remains of Burghead having been the Vacomagan town. The latter had, no doubt, a real existence, and must have been situated somewhere in the North of Scotland. Accordingly several recent authors, whose opinion is entitled to much weight, continue to identify it with the old fort on the Moray Firth, some holding it to have been a Roman, and others only a native stronghold. It is to this point that I wish to direct attention in what follows. No attempt will be made to fix the exact site of the Camp. For an inquiry of this nature Ptolemy's Geography and his maps are all but useless. The longitudes and latitudes of the former are so untrustworthy and the differences between existing copies of the latter are so marked that, while both may give in most cases a correct idea of the relative position of the places he names, they do not enable us to lay down with any precision the position of those mentioned only by him. It happens, however, that, in connection with the question more particularly before us, two points of much wider interest than the site of an obscure Ptolemaic town fall to be considered. It is necessary to ascertain whether there is sufficient evidence to show that the Roman armies ever reached the Moray Firth, as well as to determine what value ought to be placed on the geography and the maps of Ptolemy for fixing the situation of places found in them but otherwise unknown. Thus treated, the question may, I venture to think, claim some attention from this Section of the Royal Archæological Institute.

The survey of Scotland, to which allusion has been made, was undertaken some time in 1748. Though conducted under the superintendence of Quartermaster-General Watson, it was chiefly executed by Major-General Roy. An antiquary as well as a soldier, Roy eagerly availed himself of the opportunities for gratifying his tastes afforded him by his official duties. Differences of

opinion regarding the scene of the battle of Mons Grampius having induced him to turn his attention to Tacitus' account of Agricola's campaigns, he was led to favour on military considerations an idea first advanced in 1754 by a brother officer, that the engagement had been fought in the neighbourhood of Stonehaven. The discovery at the same time of certain camps, which he at once set down as Roman, stimulated him to continue his researches; and in the course of the summer of 1755 his collection of plans of ancient camps was largely augmented. Soon after this, when nearly the whole of the mainland had been surveyed, the Seven Years' War, in which he greatly distinguished himself, interrupted his investigations. They were resumed on his return to England in 1764. In the interval the *De Situ Britanniae* had made its appearance. Stukeley, its English editor, supplied notes in which he pointed out "the present names of new places" in the southern part of the island, but attempted little in regard to Scotland, having left the identification of localities "to such as are acquainted with that country, and who have opportunities of making private inquiries." It was this hint that suggested to Roy the composition of the "Military Antiquities." Implicitly believing in the authenticity of "Richard," and relying on his own knowledge of the country as qualifying him for the task, he now enlarged the scope of his intended treatise so as to include an exposition of those portions of the *De Situ* that relate to the Roman geography of Scotland.

According to this new authority the whole of Scotland east of the Great Glen, and between the Antonine Wall and the Moray Firth, had been conquered by the Romans in the reign of Domitian, and erected into a province named Vespasiana. Of this province the chief city is said to have been Ptoroton, situated at the mouth of the Varar, on the coast. Other towns of the same tribe, who dwelt "along the Varar," were Tuessis, Tamea, and Banatia, as with Ptolemy; and in the Itinerary of an unnamed Roman general appended to the treatise, all these, except Banatia, are set down as Roman stations. Two other stations are added as lying in their territories—Varis and Ad Tuessim. Vespasiana is further represented as having

been traversed by two distinct Iters, which diverged at Orrea in Perthshire, and met at Ultima Ptoroton on the Varar, the one proceeding along the coast and the other by the mountainous interior.

Unfortunately General Roy lived in an age when either the Druid or the Roman craze blinded the judgment of men otherwise able and accomplished. It was thus that, finding on the promontory of Burghead an ancient fortress, the situation of which could be made to suit the distances in the Ninth Iter of "Richard," he unhesitatingly recognised it as the Ultima Ptoroton of the latter, and at the same time as Ptolemy's Winged Camp. The antiquity and importance of the place were obvious at a glance. Across the headland from sea to sea there extended a series of formidable ramparts and ditches, which, though now swept away, were still entire in Roy's day.<sup>1</sup> Within them were two extensive areas of unequal shape and elevation that had been surrounded by walls of great thickness and peculiar construction.<sup>2</sup> As a landing-place Burghead was accessible in most states of the wind and tide; and it commanded a view of the wide Moray Firth from the mouth of the Lossie to the Ord of Caithness.<sup>3</sup> Had the Romans ever established themselves in the district by marching northwards, and had it been in accordance with their practice in such circumstances to fortify, for defensive or other purposes, positions on the coast of a conquered country, the headland was a most likely spot for them to occupy in force. It need not, therefore, surprise us that Roy, deceived by his guide and overlooking many considerations that would now present themselves to any intelligent inquirer, was led by his own military instincts and by modern ideas of warfare to imagine that its fortifications had been planned by some victorious Roman general, though, as he admitted, "probably altered in some degree by the Scots as well as the Danes."

It is fair to add that although the majority of succeeding writers on the early history of Scotland con-

<sup>1</sup> *Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain*, Pl. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Joseph Anderson : *Scotland in*

*Pagan Times*, p. 279 (Rhind Lectures, 1881).

<sup>3</sup> See its position on any good map of Scotland.

tinued for a long time to follow Roy more or less closely, doubts were all along entertained by a few as to the genuineness of the *De Situ Britanniae*.<sup>1</sup> But for more than half a century no attempts were made to prove that these doubts were well founded. In a communication made to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and printed in Vol. IV of their *Proceedings*, I ventured to dispute the Roman origin of the fortifications of Burghead, and to assert that Bertram's discovery, if not a forgery, was worse than useless as a guide to the history and antiquities of these northern parts.<sup>2</sup> At the time I was not aware that Wex in his *Prolegomena* to the *Agricola* of Tacitus (1852) had on internal evidence declared the composition of the book to be later than the invention of printing, else I would have been emboldened to speak even more strongly than I did. A few years later Dr. J. H. Burton, in the first volume of his *History of Scotland* (1867) pronounced against it on the grounds stated by Wex.<sup>3</sup> He went, however, too far, as Dr. W. F. Skene justly observes, in saying that because the Ptoroton of Richard had no existence "the Pteroton Stratopedon must go back to Edinburgh or some of its old sites," since it is not to Bertram but to Ptolemy that we owe our knowledge of the latter.<sup>4</sup> At length Mr. B. B. Woodward of the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, in a series of papers in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,<sup>5</sup> subjected the text of the *De Situ Britanniae* to a critical examination, with results which conclusively proved that it was a spurious work, written at a much later date than the fourteenth century. This was followed in 1869 by a most learned and elaborate dissection of the forgery from the pen of Professor John E. B. Mayor of Cambridge, in his preface to the second volume of Richard of Cirencester's genuine work, the *Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliae*, published under the direction of

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Dr. Gordon, in his account of the parish of Birnie, written for the New Statistical Account of Scotland (1835), designates Burghead, with that sagacity and caution which have made him the highest authority on the natural history and antiquities of the North of Scotland, "the great Danish stronghold."

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Notices of "The Broch" or Burghead, in Moray*; Proceedings Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland, Vol. iv pp. 321-369 (1862).

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, pp. 61-2 (Library Edition).

<sup>4</sup> *Celtic Scotland*. Vol. I, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> N. S., March, May, and Oct., 1866, and Oct., 1867.



the Master of the Rolls. Its credit was now gone for ever ; and at the same time there disappeared the Roman province of Vespasiana with its capital Ptoroton, as well as the Roman roads, camps, and stations that, trusting to "Richard" as an authority, the too credulous antiquaries of former days had so readily discovered in north eastern Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

We may next turn to those authors who while repudiating or ignoring "Richard," are yet disposed to claim Burghead as having been Roman, selecting two of their ablest representatives.

Mr. E. H. Bunbury, whose *History of Ancient Geography* is the most complete work of the kind in the English language, writes:—"The most northern point (on the mainland of Scotland) of which Ptolemy professes to give the latitudes in his eighth book, is a place called Περρωτὸν στρατόπεδον . . . The position of this place (the name of which is not found in a Latin author, but is obviously a mere translation of Alata Castra)<sup>2</sup> is wholly uncertain, and it is merely by conjecture that it is usually placed at Burghead on the Moray Firth."<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere when discussing the extent of Ptolemy's knowledge of Britain as compared with that of Strabo or Pliny, he remarks;—"We may surmise also that the increased knowledge of the northern parts of Britain, shortly after this time (*i.e.*, the age of the Antonines) was due in a great part to the campaigns of Lollius; and that he actually carried his arms as far north as the Moray Firth and established a fortified station on its shores,"<sup>4</sup> meaning clearly the Winged Camp, which he had already indicated might be Burghead. And Prof. Carl Müller, the greatest living authority on ancient Greek and especially Ptolemaic geography, expresses a similar opinion. "The Winged Camp may be placed," he says, "at the modern Burghead, or the adjoining village of Findhorn. . . . It seems to have been a naval camp formed for the

<sup>1</sup> Very few Continental writers take any notice of the *De Situ*. Diefenbach refers to it in his *Celtica* (1842), but only as quoted by Pinkerton.

<sup>2</sup> This is by no means obvious. The Greek for a camp which had become a town is *τείχος* or *τείχη* rather than

*στρατόπεδον*. It has been suggested that Ptolemy may have mistranslated some Semitic (Phœnician) word. See also below, p. 384, *note*.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. of Anc. Geogr.* vol. ii, p. 640.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. i, p. 511.



temporary purpose of protecting the fleet (perhaps at the time when Lollins Urbicus carried on his campaigns) and soon afterwards abandoned." And as supporting him in this conclusion Prof. Müller refers to Pausanias, Julius Capitolinus and the German geographer, Mannert.<sup>1</sup>

To begin with Pausanias. It is difficult to see what possible connection the words of that historian can have with the North of Scotland. They are as follows:—Antoninus "deprived the Brigantes in Britain of a great portion of their land because they had begun to overrun with their arms the territory of the Genunii who were tributary to the Romans." Now, the Brigantes were a powerful tribe inhabiting modern Lancashire and Yorkshire. Horsley is of opinion that the words of Pausanias imply that they had revolted against the Romans, whose power could no longer have extended to Hadrian's Wall, and conjectures that the country of the Genunii was south of theirs. But even if it lay to the north, it could not have extended far, if at all, into Scotland.

The passage of Capitolinus referred to, is doubtless the well-known one in which he gives us the only notice we have of the Antonine Wall that is to be found in any ancient author. Antoninus, he remarks "carried on very many wars by the agency of his generals. For he vanquished even the Britons by his lieutenant, Lollius Urbicus, and after pushing back the barbarians built another wall which was of turf." This wall as is proved by the inscriptions that have been found along its line, is unquestionably the rampart that once ran between the Forth and the Clyde; and evidently what Urbicus is said to have done was to subdue the tribes in the south of Scotland, who seem to have quickly regained their independence after having been brought into unwilling subjection by Agricola. Having thus again extended the limits of the empire to the point that had formerly been fixed on by his great predecessor as its northern boundary, he erected there a barrier to check the attacks of the barbarians that inhabited the country beyond. How far they may have been pursued into their native wilds,

<sup>1</sup> C. *Ptolemæi Geographia*, vol. i, pt 1, p. 95. Paris, 1883.

when they sought from time to time, as we may be sure they did, to harass the builders or the defenders of the wall, we are not informed. But the words of Capitolinus afford no warrant whatever for the inference that Urbicus ever carried the Roman eagles beyond the Grampians.

Yet this is the inference that Mannert has drawn. Taking Horsley as his chief guide for the Ptolemaic towns of Britain, he says of *Alata Castra*, that it was "the farthest point of the country known to the Romans at that time, which may certainly be looked for in the neighbourhood of Inverness. Agricola's expeditions did not reach so far; accordingly it must be supposed that Lollius in his inroad came as far as this district and pitched his camp; but that without making further efforts to maintain his position, he marched away again; hence the name of a camp pitched only in a hurry."<sup>1</sup>

Here Mannert assumes, what Horsley certainly did not, that the Winged Camp was Roman. Having done so, he appears to have felt it necessary to show that there was some historical evidence on which the assumption might rest; and this, he thought, could be supplied by what Capitolinus records of Lollius Urbicus. It is, however, more than probable that Mannert's commentary on the historian's words is not due in the first instance to himself. Six years before the volume of his work containing Britain was published, Pinkerton in his "*Enquiry into the History of Scotland*" had with a similar object in view, sought to extract from them the same meaning. "About 150," he informs us, "when Ptolemy wrote, we find *Vespasiana* full (*sic*) of Roman towns. For these we are surely indebted to Lollius Urbicus only, who about the year 140, carried the Roman arms in Britain to a greater extent than ever, as the wall of Antoninus and the work of Ptolemy remain lasting proofs. To him, therefore, ought chiefly to be ascribed the Roman remains in *Vespasiana*."<sup>2</sup> Mannert nowhere refers to Pinkerton. But the "*Enquiry*" is frequently quoted by continental writers of that day, and there is every reason to suppose

<sup>1</sup> *Geogr. der Gr. und. Römer*, ii, 2, p. 178 (1795.)

<sup>2</sup> *Enquiry into the Hist. of Scot.*, vol. i, p. 215 (1789).

that it was Mannert's authority on the point.<sup>1</sup> If so we are brought back to that source of so much confusion—the *De Situ Britannie*, in the genuineness of which Pinkerton believed. Mannert's statement is copied with due acknowledgement by Forbiger.<sup>2</sup> Bertram has thus indirectly influenced not only Mannert but through him Forbiger, Bunbury and Prof. Carl. Müller.

Roy's "Military Antiquities" was not published till some time after the "Enquiry." But it was lying in MS. in the King's Library, and Pinkerton had access to it and made, as he admits, much use of it. He did not, however, slavishly follow Roy who had ascribed the conquest of the north to Agricola and the "establishment" of Ptoroton to that general's fleet. He further retained Alata Castra near where Horsley had placed it, "at Inverness or Fort George." George Chalmers adopted Pinkerton's view of the operations of Urbicus, while preferring that of Roy as to the site of Ptoroton; and in "Caledonia" the brief statement of Capitolinus was, with the aid of "Richard," expanded into a chapter of 68 quarto pages, entitled "The Actions of Lollius Urbicus." Thus is history sometimes written!

It must, of course, be conceded that the silence of those ancient writers that have come down to us, would not justify us in rejecting the supposition that the Romans had made a raid into northern Albion and held some positions there for a time, did any traces remain of their presence. But it is not too much to say that of such evidence there is not even a shred. Except a few so-called Roman camps, which may possibly mark the steps of Severus during his hurried inroad into Caledonia A.D. 209, and a few easily transported articles, such as coins, nothing has been met with north of the Antonine Wall bearing the impress of Roman hands. The supposed Roman roads are mediæval causeways of varying age. Burghead had evidently been a native stronghold, which, as we learn from the Sagas, was more than once in possession of the Norsemen during the days when their galleys

<sup>1</sup> In his Preface Mannert says:—"I have to thank the University of Göttingen and particularly Herr Hofrath Heine for kindly assisting me with English works and maps." This is all but conclusive. At the time Mannert wrote, the "En-

quiry" was the most recent and best known work on the ancient history and geography of Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, vol. iii, p. 304, *note*.

were the terror of our coasts. In their latest form its fortifications were partly of Pictish, partly of Scandinavian origin. A cistern cut out of the solid rock, and containing water of a depth of three or four feet, which has been described sometimes as a Roman well, and sometimes as a Roman bath, and the existence of which has done more, perhaps, than anything else to confirm the idea of a Roman occupation in the popular mind, is almost beyond doubt an ancient baptistery. In very early times a Christian church had stood on the headland, and with it this basin was evidently connected.<sup>1</sup>

It is now possible for us to deal with the question, Is Burghead the Winged Camp of Ptolemy? free from those extraneous considerations with which it has so long been complicated.

In the Geography the Vacomagans and their towns are thus noticed:—

“Below (*i.e.* east of) the Caledonians are the Vacomagans, whose towns are<sup>2</sup>

		Long.	Lat.
Βαννατία	Bannatia	24°	59° 30'
Ταμία	Tamia	25°	59° 20'
Πτερωτὸν στρατοπεδον	Winged Camp	27° 15'	59° 20'
Τούεσις	Tuesis	36° 45'	59° 10'

It adds greatly to the difficulty of getting any definite information as to the situation of the places mentioned in the Ptolemaic map as being in northern Albion, that the whole of Scotland is made to trend to the east. Owing to this the Vacomagans are spoken of in the text as lying ‘below’ or south of, instead of east of, the Caledonians. Various explanations have been offered of this strange mistake. The true one is simple enough, and was first given by Gosselin in a letter to Pinkerton, dated, Paris, April 30th, 1803, a translation of which from the French is printed in the second edition of the “Enquiry.” It is in substance as follows:—Having fixed 63° as the latitude of Thule—a position which Ptolemy evidently held to have been settled by observation—and having

<sup>1</sup> *Burghead as the site of an Early Christian Church*, &c., in Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 63-115 (New Series).

<sup>2</sup> In this table as well as the one given afterwards, the text of Prof. C. Müller, has been followed. (Paris, 1883.)

through miscalculations of his own brought *Νοοναντῶν χερσόνησος*<sup>1</sup> (the Mull of Galloway) as far north as 61° 40', only one degree and twenty minutes south of it, the cartographer was obliged to turn Scotland to the east, else it would have stretched beyond that island, which was supposed to be the extreme northern limit of the known world.

Had the Vacomagans been subdued by the Romans, all the towns noted in the preceding Table might have been at one time Roman, as Pinkerton actually supposes they were. But this opinion is, as we have seen, untenable. Even the Camp, however its name may be accounted for, must, in the entire absence of either historical or archaeological evidence to the contrary, be put down as a native stronghold. Was it then Burghead?

Dr. W. F. Skene, whose researches into the history of Celtic Scotland are so well known and so highly valued, thinks the two are one and the same. "It is of course," he writes, "absurd to recognise Burghead as a Roman station; but it was certainly one of the positions of the Vacomagans, on which they had a town named *Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον* or the Winged Camp."<sup>2</sup>

It will be observed that there is one important particular on which Dr. Skene and all our authorities since Roy's time, and even before it are agreed, however they differ in others; they place the Winged Camp on the sea coast. If they are right in so doing, it may be admitted that as good a claim can be made out for Burghead as for any other locality. But if they are wrong, then the claim of Burghead falls to the ground. This consideration has, so far as I am aware, never hitherto been taken into account. Our historians have assumed not only that we are entitled to neglect it but that the town may properly be looked for on the coast. If, however, it can be shown that the Camp must have been situated inland, we have a decisive reply to the only question that has to be answered. And in order to be able to estimate aright the nature of the evidence Ptolemy supplies for our purpose, some preliminary observations are necessary on the

<sup>1</sup> Gosselin selects the mouth of the Vedra (?Wear) to illustrate his argument. The Mull of Galloway makes its force

still clearer.

<sup>2</sup> *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i, pp. 74, 75.



plan of his Geography as well as on the chief errors and defects both of the text and of the accompanying maps.

Of Ptolemy almost nothing is known except that he lived and wrote at Alexandria in the middle of the second century A.D. Astronomy rather than geography was the study of his life. Even his treatise on the latter was not called by himself a geography but merely a "Geographical Guide," (*Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις*), and consists for the most part of Tables giving the longitudes and latitudes of the more striking features of the sea coasts as well as those of the chief towns belonging to the peoples inhabiting the various countries of the globe. The maps are usually twenty seven in number, one being a general map of the world, followed by ten devoted to Europe, twelve to Asia, and four to Africa. Though wanting in some MSS. they are clearly a necessary supplement to the text. In fact it would seem as if the Tables were meant either to be a kind of Index to the Atlas or else to enable cartographers to construct for themselves a map of the world or of any part of it.

The Geography is divided into eight books. The first is introductory, the next five and the greater part of the seventh are made up of the Tables referred to, while the rest of the seventh and the whole of the eighth contain some mathematical and astronomical information bearing on the subject matter of the work. The first book contains three sections. In chapters one to five, Ptolemy explains the difference between geography as he understands the term, and chorography, the proper method of collecting materials for the construction of maps; and the necessity, in the absence of a sufficient number of astronomical observations, of having recourse to the journals of explorers or voyagers for the calculation of distances between different places. Chapters six to twenty are occupied with a criticism of the writings of his immediate predecessor Marinus of Tyre, to whom he owns himself very largely indebted. The third and last section, chapters twenty-one to twenty-four, treats of the difficulty of delineating a spherical on a plain surface and of the best devices for overcoming this difficulty. In the Geography itself Ptolemy usually begins his description of the map of a country by noting in succession the chief natural and some-

times the artificial features of the coast and then gives the names and relative situations of the maritime and inland tribes with their more important towns, never omitting to mention any island or groups of islands that may lie off its shores. If the country does not touch the sea, some well known river or mountain range is selected either as a starting point or as a guide to the position of the different tribes. Descriptive notices are few and far between; and it is only occasionally and in the case of well-known provinces, such as the Peloponnesus, that the mountains are mentioned, all the information given regarding the interior of a country being for the most part only the names of its tribes and their chief towns. Assuming the earth to be spherical, Ptolemy in computing latitude started from the equator, and, as had been done by Hipparchus long before, divided its circumference and all other circles that could be drawn round it into 360 equal parts or degrees, each of which was again subdivided into 60 minutes. As the western limits of its land surface and his own first meridian of longitude, he adopted, following probably Marinus, the Fortunate or Canary Islands. Thus the outlines of his system were scientifically accurate. During the Middle Ages, when his maps were almost unknown or forgotten, the inferiority of those then constructed is very marked. This may be seen by examining the attempts at map-drawing of our own countrymen as shown by Gough,<sup>1</sup> the maps of the Arab geographers,<sup>2</sup> or the fifteenth and sixteenth century maps lately reproduced by Professor Nordenskiöld.<sup>3</sup> When by means of the invention of printing and of copper plate and wood engraving, copies of Ptolemy were multiplied, his instructions for map-drawing and his method of denoting the boundaries between countries, together with many of his other geographical expedients, were speedily adopted. His maps, or maps made in accordance with his directions, thus became the prototypes of all our modern ones.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *British Topography*, 2 vols, 4to. (London, 1780).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Age, accompagnée d'Atlas*; Tom i. ii. (Bruxelles, 1852).

<sup>3</sup> A. E Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile Atlas* XLVIII

to the *Early History of Cartography*, fol. (Stockholm, 1889).

<sup>4</sup> It cannot be positively asserted that Ptolemy constructed maps himself. But what he undertook was "to reform the map of the world;" and by his definition

It may be well to give here Ptolemy's own account of his work and the methods he followed, as summarized in the nineteenth chapter of his first book. That chapter translated as literally as the somewhat involved construction of his Greek sentences will permit, reads thus. "We have undertaken a twofold task—that of upholding the views of Marinus throughout the entire work, except in those particulars that require some correction, and of inserting (in our map) in their proper positions, as far as that is practicable, the places that have not been distinctly noted by him. (This last improvement we shall make) either in accordance with information received from people who have visited the different localities or with their positions on the more accurate maps. Further, we have taken care to make our method easy of use by arranging in order in each province, one after another, its boundaries, its extent, its longitude and latitude, and the relative situations of its principal tribes, as well as those of its more remarkable towns, rivers, bays, mountains and other objects that ought to find a place in the map of the world. These situations we have indicated by giving their exact distances, that is to say, the number of degrees—of which a great circle contains 360—the meridian of any place is distant from the western extremity (of the land surface of the globe), the degrees being reckoned upon the equator. We also give (for the same purpose) the distance in degrees from the equator, reckoned upon the meridian, of the parallel of latitude that runs through each of these situations. In this way we shall at once be able to ascertain not only the position of each place, but from the accuracy with which they are severally laid down, the relative situations of the different provinces to one another and to the rest of the habitable world."

But with all its merits, the errors and defects of the atlas and consequently of the Geography are serious. The latitudes except in a few instances are not the result of astronomical observations but of guesses derived

of geography he almost limits it to the art of drawing such a map. "Ptolémée," remarks Letronne, "prend le mot géographie dans le sens graphique et non descriptif. Pour Ptolémée, la géographie

est l'art de dresser des cartes générales de la terre." *Examen Critique des Prolégomènes de la Géographie de Ptolémée*, Par M. Letronne (Paris, 1831), p. 5 note.

from the time said to be occupied in journeying and sailing from a place whose position was supposed to be already known to another, whose position had to be laid down. This we learn from Ptolemy's own admissions. For determining longitude the ancients had no correct appliances, and recourse was had in every case to the same unreliable mode of reckoning. Ptolemy's first meridian, which he assumed to be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  degrees west of Cape St. Vincent, is really  $9\frac{1}{2}$ . The length of a degree both of longitude and latitude he estimated at fifty instead of sixty geographical miles; and, contrary to the directions given in his introductory remarks, he made when drawing lines of longitude no sufficient allowance for graduation, except in his map of the world. In commenting on the vague and indefinite nature of much of the information given us by Ptolemy and the impossibility of attaining accuracy in his day, Mr. Bunbury observes:—"Under these circumstances the attempt to clothe his imperfect materials in a scientific garb, was only to mislead his readers by concealing the poverty of his real knowledge: and unfortunately it had that effect in a most unprecedented degree. Owing to the definite and positive form in which his results were presented it was assumed without further inquiry that they were based on sound and sufficient data. His great astronomical reputation also contributed to the same effect. . . . Few read or cared to remember his first introductory book. . . . The problem which he proposed to himself was a noble scientific conception, but it was one which it was in his day utterly impossible to realize. The scientific framework was in reality a delusion, but its outward form was so regular and symmetrical that it imposed upon almost all observers; and the authority of Ptolemy became established in geography in a position nearly as paramount as that which for many centuries it occupied in astronomy. Even at the present day there still remains a lingering desire to prove him in the right if possible, and to believe in the accuracy of geographical positions which could not possibly have been founded on actual observations."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Anc. Geography*, vol. ii, p: 634, 635.



From these remarks, the truth of which every student of Ptolemy will readily acknowledge, it is evident that little or no dependence can be placed on the longitudes and latitudes of the Geography as marking accurately the positions of the places to which they are attached in the Tables. When the more prominent features of a coast are laid down on one of his maps with a fair approach to correctness, they may lend themselves to identification, and others may be fixed within certain limits. In the case of inland localities this does not hold good, since he has very seldom associated them with any material object, such as a river. Thus nearly all that we can infer with certainty from the Tables as to any town is its position relative to the coast or to other towns enumerated along with it. But with some necessary reservations we are entitled to use them as evidence on this particular point.

Regarding the codex maps, as well as those of the earliest editions of the Geography, a very pertinent question is put by Prof. Nordenskiöld :—"To what extent can they claim to be faithful reproductions of Ptolemy's own maps?" One thing is certain, the copyists made no attempt at improvement or correction. Nor do the maps show the slightest trace of the influence of the church, so evident in most mediæval maps. The differences found in copies of the same map are due either to carelessness or to the map-maker having taken the longitudes and latitudes of the Geography as his guide rather than an earlier map.

In some of the Codices the construction of the maps is attributed to a certain Agathodaemon said to be "an artist of Alexandria."<sup>1</sup> But, as Heeren remarks, this comprehends all that we certainly know of him. The common opinion that he lived in the fifth century, rests upon the bare assumption of his being the same individual as a grammarian named Agathodæmon, some epistles to whom written by Isidore of Pelusium are still extant. This supposition, however, is not only without foundation, but is even extremely improbable from the unlikely cir-

<sup>1</sup> At the end of the St. Mark's (Venice) Codex there is written :—Εκ τῶν κλαυδιῶν πολεμαίων γεωγραφικῶν βιβλίων ὀκτώ,

την οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν ἀγαθὸς δαίμων ἀλεξαδρεὺς μηχανικὸς ὑπετύπωσε.



cumstance that an artist should be at the same time also a grammarian. On the other hand he might very possibly have been contemporary with Ptolemy and have assisted him in the construction of his charts.<sup>1</sup>

The oldest manuscript of the Geography with maps attached is that preserved at the Convent Vatopedi on Mount Athos, which has been reproduced in lithography. According to its editor, its date is between the beginning of the twelfth and the end of the thirteenth century. Several of the maps have been torn out or lost, among them that of Albion. Carelessly executed at first, they have been very badly preserved, and are much inferior to those of the later Codices. On the geographical worth of these and other Ptolemaic maps Prof. Müller, who must have given more time to the comparison of them than any other living scholar, thus writes :—“ With the methods customary in the oldest maps of indicating positions, not by points or small circles, but by large squares and other drawings, we are seldom able to fix accurately the situation of a place. Examples of this are the almost useless oldest maps of the lithographed Mount Athos Codex. Further, with reference to the codex maps in general, they have by no means the value one is often inclined to attach to them. The view, that independently of the written text of the Geography, there has been produced since the time of Agathodæmon a succession of maps, so that, in consequence of the changes introduced by copyists, the oldest maps are also the most valuable, cannot, in my opinion, be maintained. I should rather say that all the maps, so far as we know them, have been to some extent adapted to written texts, as these were understood by the map makers.”<sup>2</sup> Prof. Nordenskiöld, however, puts their value higher. After noticing the poor execution and worn condition of the Vatopedi maps, he says :—“ But an opportunity is supplied to the inquirer by this edition of convincing himself in his own study, how exactly and minutely the fine maps which were published in Ptolemy’s name at the end of the 15th

<sup>1</sup> A. H. L. Heeren, *De Fontibus Geographicorum Ptolemæi Tabularumque iis annexarum*, &c., Prælecta, 17 Jul. 1824. Comment. Reg. Soc. Götting, vol. vi, Cp. Appendix c. to vol. iii, of

Heeren’s *Historical Researches* (Eng. Trans.)

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Mr. H. A. Grueber (8th May, 1891).

century correspond with the maps from the beginning of the 12th, as regards the main geographical features and the legends."<sup>1</sup>

According to either view the evidence of the maps on the particular question before us also deserves to be heard equally with that of the Tables. To what effect, then, is the evidence of both Tables and maps?

Taking the Tables first, we find the features of the coast of Northern Scotland thus laid down;—

		Lat.	Long.
Οὐρουεδρουμ ἄκρον	Cape Virvedrum	31°	60°
Οὐρουβίου ἄκρον	Cape Verubium	30° 30'	59° 40'
"Ἰλα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	Mouths of the Ila	30°	59° 40'
"Οχθη ὑψηλή	The Lofty Bank	29°	59° 40'
Οὐάραρ εἰσχωσις	Estuary of the Varar	27°	59° 40'
Λόξα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	Mouths of the Loxa	27° 30'	59° 40'
Τούεσις εἰσχωσις	Estuary of the Tuesis	27°	59°
Ταιζάλων ἄκρον	The Tæzalan Cape	27° 30'	58° 30'
Καίλεος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί	Mouths of the Cælis	27°	58° 45'

If we regard these degrees as the best readings—for the MSS. vary—and assume that the order in which the promontories and bays are laid down is correct—for here too the MSS. differ, one at least placing the Mouths of the Loxa before, and not after, the Estuary of the Varar, as do several of the maps—we may, I think, identify with considerable probability Cape Virvedrum with Duncansbay Head and the Tæzalan Cape with Kinnaird's Head, the northern and southern extremities of the triangular area occupied on a modern map by the Moray Firth. The sudden change in the latitudes (properly the longitudes) seems also to indicate that the apex of this triangle lies somewhere between the "Lofty Bank," and either the estuary of the Varar or the mouths of the Loxa. Nearer the truth than this it is impossible, I believe, to come, and we can do little more than conjecture what are the modern equivalents of these last and the other names in the Table. To identify the Estuary of the Varar with the Moray Firth, as is usually done, is clearly wrong. Every one of the features named belongs to that broad arm of the sea, of which the Varar is merely

<sup>1</sup> *Facsimile Atlas*, Introduction, p. 31.

a smaller arm thrown out after it has become greatly narrowed—its termination it may be, though if we take some of the maps into account that cannot be held as certain. It is probable, however, that the copyists may have made greater changes on the details of this map than on the text of the Geography, and that the latter is the more trustworthy.

It will be observed that the Winged Camp is not in the Table. Some may be disposed to say that Ptolemy, intending to give afterwards a Table of the Vacomagan towns, omitted it purposely. But such is not his usual mode of procedure. For example, on the west coast of Ireland he names along with the river mouths and promontories a town which he calls Magnata; and though he afterwards gives the Magnatæ as one of the tribes dwelling in that part of the Island, he assigns them no town, deeming it enough to have mentioned it once. In the same way on the east coast, we have the towns of Menapia and Eblana (Dublin) in the description of the sea-board. When, however, he comes to enumerate the Eblani and the Menapii as native tribes, he does not think it necessary to assign them any town. His account of Latium is still more to the point. In his description of the coast the only natural features noted are—the mouth of the Tiber and the promontory of Circe, while the names are given of Ostia, Antium and four other Latin towns. On the other hand Rome, Tibur, Præneste, Tusculum and no fewer than seventeen others are given in a separate Table of inland Latin towns, in which none of those appear that are in the Table of places on the coast. Nor is it towns alone of the artificial features of the coast that he enumerates. He notices, for instance, on the southern shores of Spain a temple of Hera that stood on a promontory near the Straits of Gibraltar, and elsewhere, temples of Aphrodite, Zeus and other deities. More than this: striking features of the coast are not left unnoticed though their names are unknown to him. Twice at least on the Spanish coast, and once on that of the Cimbrian Chersonese an eminence is named simply ἑξοχή; a promontory is sometimes marked as such without being named; and a height on the eastern shore of the Moray Firth has no other designation than the 'Lofty Bank.'

Ptolemy does perhaps place inland certain towns, Rutupiae (Richborough) for example, that at the time he wrote were on the coast, or at all events, on a navigable inlet ; and it may be admitted that when one has sufficient reason, independently of Ptolemy, for seeking a town either on the coast or inland, as may happen, this must be allowed to outweigh anything to the contrary in his Tables or his maps. In that case we must suppose that Ptolemy has made a mistake, or that the information on which he went was of a much older date than his own day. But of the site of the Winged Camp, we have no means of judging apart from Ptolemy ; and since it is absent from his coast Table, we are bound to conclude on this branch of the evidence that it must have been an inland town.

Owing to various circumstances already indicated—the turning of Scotland to the east instead of the north, the haphazard method used by Ptolemy in his calculations of distances and his having represented large portions of the sea coast, to use the words of Gosselin, by “straight lines without attention to the intervening sinuosities,” the longitudes and latitudes of the geography give us no satisfactory aid in determining the position of the Winged Camp. I have, therefore, thought it unnecessary to waste time in trying to use them for that purpose.<sup>1</sup>

In dealing with the maps we must take into account not only those of existing Codices, but the maps of the earlier editions of Ptolemy, which are supposed to be more or less faithful reproductions of the codex maps from which they were taken. Through the great kindness of friends<sup>2</sup> I have been supplied with tracings of the more important of the former as well as enabled to examine a

<sup>1</sup> Capt. F. W. L. Thomas, R.N., (*Proceedings, Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland*, vol. xi, pp. 198-225), has reconstructed the Ptolemaic map of Scotland solely from these longitudes and latitudes, connecting with straight lines the different places on the coast. Among these places he includes, in accordance with the prevailing opinion, though not with Ptolemy's text, the Winged Camp. What he has produced is interesting as shewing that Ptolemy must have had a very large amount of correct information as to the general outline and features of

northern Albion. But his two maps have no other value.

<sup>2</sup> Among those who have most obligingly aided me in this and some other particulars I may be permitted to mention Mr. Hellier Gosselin, Prof. Carl Müller (through Mr. H. A. Grueber, Brit. Museum), Herr G. Maag, Carls Gymnasium, Stuttgart, Mr. J. W. Mackail, Mr. J. A. Smith and Mr. G. Macdonald, Balliol College, Oxford, Rev. Alexander Robertson, Venice, and the Librarians of the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh.





PTOLEMY'S NORTHERN ALBION.

Codex Parisiensis N<sup>o</sup> 1402.

much larger number of the many editions of the Geography than I was likely to have seen without such aid. The results of this inspection of both codex and early maps I shall now give.

1. *Codex Vind.* 1. This, which Raidel pronounces to be the finest of existing MSS. of Ptolemy, is in the Imperial Library, Vienna.<sup>1</sup> It has richly coloured maps and is said to be very old. At present it seems to be guarded with somewhat jealous care. In its map of Albion the Winged Camp is placed well inland.

2. *Codex Ven.* 388. This Codex is also described by Raidel. It is a beautiful MS. with coloured maps, all according to him of the 13th century.<sup>2</sup> In Northern Albion the sites of towns are marked simply by their names. On comparing, however, the position of the name of the Camp with that given it in other codex maps of a closely related type, there can be no doubt whatever that it is represented as being inland.

3. *Codex Par.* 1402. (See Map I.) The Catalogue makes this a 14th century Codex, but Prof. C. Müller, is of opinion that it belongs rather to the 15th. It contains, he states, only two maps—Spain and Britain—the latter not quite completed. Among the blanks is the name of the Camp. This he has no hesitation in supplying from the *Codex Vind.* 1, to which this Paris map bears so close a resemblance that they must have been taken from the same archetype.

4. *Codex Laur. Flor.* 2380. Prof. Müller says that all the maps of this Codex are of the same shape and have the same map drawing as those of the last.

5. *Codex Constant.* "This" writes Prof. Müller, "is a MS. of the fifteenth century. Nearly related to its maps are those of the *Codex Laur. Flor.* xxviii, 49 and *Codex Med. D.* 527; and in all of them the usual

<sup>1</sup> *Commentatio Critico-Literaria de Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, p. 10 (Norimbergae 1737).

<sup>2</sup> *Op. Cit.*, pp. 10-113.

<sup>3</sup> The names in the original being in contracted Greek characters, it has been thought best for the sake of clearness to insert only a few in this small map; and the latitudes and longitudes are given in figures instead of letters. Beginning at the left hand the names read:—*Δηούανα* (Devana), *Λόξας ποταμός* (River Loxas),

*Ἰλας ποταμός* (River Ilas), *πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον* (the Winged Camp), *κούρια* (Curia), *τοῦαισις* (Tuæsis), *οὐάρα (ρ) εἰσχυσις* (estuary of the Varar), *τοῦαισιός* (estuary of the Tuæsis), *κελνίος ποταμός* (River Celnius), *ταῖζαλον ἄκρον* (the Tæzalan Cape). The Rhinns of Galloway are seen jutting northwards, and the position of the Caledonian Forest is distinctly marked. Away to the north in lat. 63° is Thule. Ireland (not shown) lies to the left.

division into twenty-six maps has been departed from. The codices are only of medium size, and this has necessitated the giving a map of each single province, instead of a set of large maps." In consequence, the maps though adapted to the Tables can hardly be claimed as Ptolemaic in the same sense as those of the other codices. In *Codex Const.* the towns are represented by castles or by large squares. The place of the camp is marked by a castle with two wings, one of which touches the sea-shore, while the other reaches far inland.<sup>1</sup> It may be argued that one is thus at liberty to place the site of the town at the extremity of the castle next the sea. This may be so, but we are just as free to place it at the other extremity. Common sense seems to say that, looking to the size of the building as compared with that of the map, we must hold the centre of the castle to mark the true position of the Camp. It thus stands inland.

6 *Codex Par.* 1401. The catalogue ascribes this splendid Codex to the 14th Century. Prof. Müller, however, to whom I owe so much of what I know of these codices, thinks so early a date an error, and assigns it to the beginning of the 16th. Most of the names in it are Latinised, the Camp being among the few exceptions in the map of northern Albion, where it is placed well inland. This map in its style of execution has a more modern look than any of the others, but seems derived from purely Ptolemaic sources.

The evidence of the maps in those early editions of the Geography which represent most faithfully the Greek originals, is very decidedly to the same effect: they all, without exception, place the Winged Camp inland. The editions are four in number, viz. :—

1. The Florence edition, undated, but probably 1478. This edition appears to be rare. There is no copy of it in the British Museum.
2. The Bologna edition, 1462 according to the colophon, but more probably 1472, if not 1482.
3. The beautiful Rome edition, 1478, quickly followed

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Müller conjectures that on the map before him Ptolemy may have found such a castle marked without any designation attached, and that the Winged Camp is, therefore, not a proper name at all, any more than "Οχθη ύψηλή (the

Lofty Bank). This conjecture may or may not be well founded. But it is not likely that a more satisfactory explanation will ever be offered of the origin of the name.

by others, with the maps apparently all from the same plates.

4. The Ulm edition, 1582,<sup>1</sup> succeeded also by others printed at the same place.

In the Florence edition (See Map II),<sup>2</sup> the maps appear to be exact reproductions of those of some codex, except as regards the names of places, which are mostly in Italian.

The maps of the Bologna edition have been redrawn on a kind of conical projection, and those of the Rome edition as well as of that printed at Ulm, have been taken from a set that had been prepared some time before by Nicolaus Germanus (Donis) "with rectilineal converging meridians,"<sup>3</sup> but otherwise they are copies of the original

<sup>1</sup> In this edition the camp is called, no doubt through a blunder, "peteron vel alata castra." Can Peteron have suggested Bertram's Ptoroton?

<sup>2</sup> The map is reduced, with the omission of some names, from the map of the Florence (Berlinghieri's) Edition in the copy now in the Royal Library, Berlin. In the original, the lines of latitude and longitude are, of course, completely filled in. The printing of these and of the coast-line, as well as in some cases of the names, had been at first faint. An unskilful hand has gone over the more indistinct portions with ink. Among the names thus treated are "Galedonii," "Vacomagi," "Loxa Fl.," and "Alata Casta." To this circumstance is owing the G instead of C in Caledonii and the mis-spelling Casta. Apparently the T and R of Castra had been originally run into one, like the initial T and E, and the A and L of Texali (mis-placed here as also in some codex maps); and this has been overlooked by the emendator, who seems to have done his work without much knowledge of what he was about, for in his hands "Victoria" has become "Victona." A few of the other maps in this copy have undergone similar treatment, but none to such an extent as this one. It should be noted that everything named—promontories, estuaries, &c., as well as towns—is marked by a circle. "Par. 18," &c., are not, as might be supposed at first sight, parallels of latitude, but mark climates.

On the title-page of the work itself, Berlinghieri claims the Geography and the maps as his own, indicating, however, that he had followed Ptolemy. He fur-

ther endeavours to belittle Ptolemy by printing his own name in the largest capitals and Ptolemy's in very small type. The Geography is "in terza rima and the Tuscan tongue;" and, while it is evidently based upon Ptolemy, cannot with any degree of correctness be called a translation. It is divided into books, which are again subdivided into cantos. The Vacomagans and their towns are thus described:—

"Et sotto acaledoni inmen deserte  
rive son Vacomagi appresso aquali  
vedrai queste citta chiare & aperte  
Bannatia e quella & Tamia e laltra &  
tali

Alata castra son Tuesi e questa."

"And beneath the Caledonians in less deserted districts are the Vacomagi among whom you will see these cities clear and plain: that is Bannatia, and the other is Tamia, and there is Alata castra, and this other is Tuesis." So far there is nothing but Ptolemy. A few lines further down, however,—just after the Texali and Devana—there are mentioned "Drumbane, Abrodone and Catana in the province called Saint Andrew, Rossinachine and Rossena and Rossimana." "Breachina" and "Moranea" (*sic*) appear also as well as "Elgiui" (*sic*); in the last two cases the "u" and "n" have evidently been reversed by mistake. In the map, on the other hand, the names are all Ptolemaic, and there is no doubt Professor Nordenskiöld is right in saying that the maps of this edition represent more faithfully than those of any other the old codex maps.

<sup>3</sup> A. E. Nordenskiöld. *Fac-simile Atlas*, p. 31.

Greek maps. In redrawing the maps on these projections the editors followed Ptolemy's instructions rather than his example.

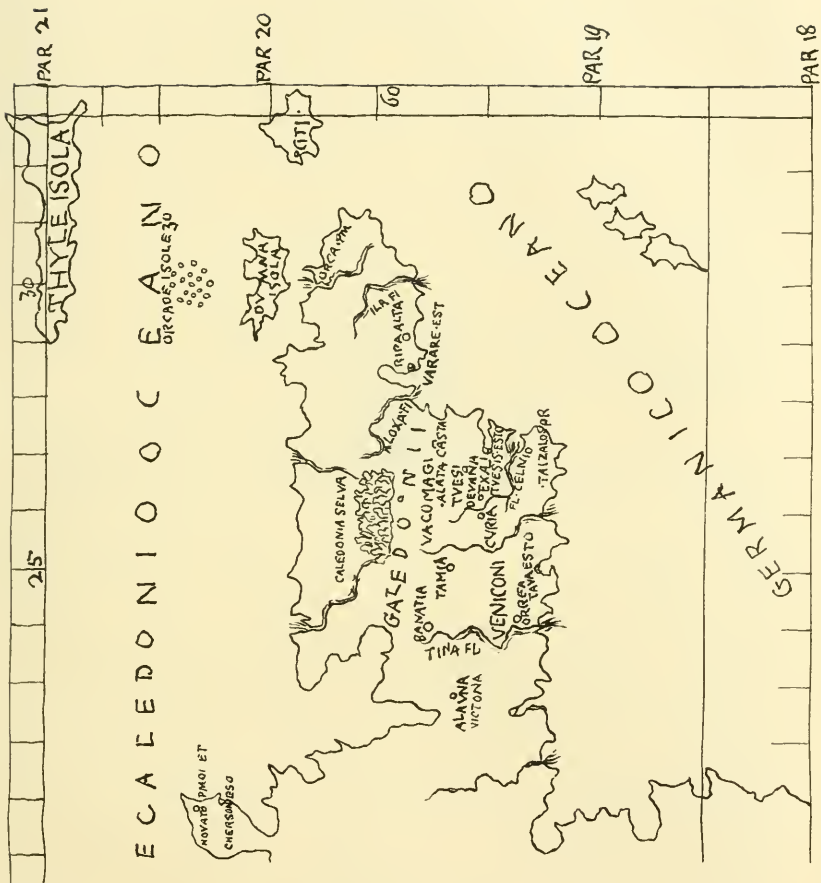
In a short time the modernizing of the maps began, with the view of making them serve as an Atlas that represented the geographical knowledge of the day. Gerard Mercator produced a set with reformed projections, some being filled in from those of Ptolemy, others being new. Bertius used these for his edition of the Geography (Lugd. 1618), which remained the standard one for many years. The maps of Albion in Horsley, Roy, &c., in which, it may be noted, the Camp is placed far inland, are copies of Mercator's, *not* of any codex maps.<sup>1</sup>

It remains to make some observations on the probable sources and date of Ptolemy's knowledge of the coasts of Britain—a subject which has a closer bearing on the main question with which we have been occupied, than appears at first sight.

Writing with the resources of the Alexandrian library at his command, Ptolemy must have had access to almost all the geographical information that had been gathered by the voyagers and travellers of every civilized nation. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that his work is much richer in place-names than that of any previous Greek or Roman geographer whose writings we possess. But we cannot tell what the extent of those resources was, what use he actually made of them when editing Marinus, or whether that use was always a discriminating one. In justice to him we must not forget the principal object for which he compiled his geography. This, as has already been remarked, was to produce a work founded on methods scientifically correct rather than filled with details that were strictly accurate. Ptolemy was a scientific rather than a practical man. He laid down with wonderful sagacity the lines on which a map or maps of the world ought to be constructed; but it was of greater importance from his point of view to fill up blanks in countries as yet unexplored by Greek or Roman, so as to present an imposing whole, than to waste time over subordinate matters.

<sup>1</sup> In the edition of Ptolemy, *Argentē-norati* (Strassburg) 1522, *Castra alata* stands on the seashore.







While this fact may lessen our respect for him as a geographer, it in no way dims the lustre of his name as an original thinker and observer. For the great bulk of his materials Ptolemy frankly acknowledges his obligations to Marinus. Indeed, he gives us plainly to understand that his own Geography is little more than an edition of that of his predecessor, corrected in some respects and better arranged. The work of Marinus being unfortunately lost, we are unable to compare it with Ptolemy's, and are also deprived of the light its numerous disquisitions, which Ptolemy censures as marring its symmetry, might have thrown on the labours of both writers. We can, however, infer from his criticisms on it the nature of the chief changes Ptolemy made. Most of them deal with the errors into which the Tyrian geographer had fallen when estimating the breadth and length of the Inhabited World (*τῆς οἰκουμένης γῆς*). Some space is certainly devoted to pointing out mistakes in the position of places; but none of these places are in any of the countries of North-Western Europe.

Marinus, we are told, had issued in his life-time three different editions of his geography. Before he could supply the last one with maps suited to the changes and additions he had made, his death took place;<sup>1</sup> and Ptolemy hints that but for this and the errors just alluded to, he himself would hardly have felt it necessary to undertake the preparation of a new geography. Of the sources from which Marinus derived his materials little is said by his editor, except that he had availed himself as far as he could of the investigations of those who had worked before him in the same field, not neglecting the accounts of military and trading expeditions recently undertaken by the Romans. In consequence it has hitherto been the prevailing opinion that the superior knowledge of distant lands shewn by Ptolemy was obtained either by himself or by Marinus from Roman sources, and was mainly due to the discoveries made through the extension of the Roman Empire that took

<sup>1</sup> There is a difference of opinion as to whether even the earlier editions of Marinus had maps or not. Letronne, Wilberg, and Müllenhoff think that he published no maps—only facts for the correction of existing atlases. Bunbury

holds that their having been accompanied with maps is clearly implied in Ptolemy's statement (Bk. i, c. 17); and such seems to be the natural meaning of the words Ptolemy employs.

place between the accession of Domitian and the death of Marcus Aurelius—a period undoubtedly of great warlike and commercial activity on the part of the Romans. Gatterer was among the first to suspect a Tyrian or Phœnician origin for that knowledge. But the somewhat inconclusive statements with which he supported the supposition were believed to have been refuted soon after by Mannert. The hypothesis was adopted by Gosselin and developed more fully by Dr. N. H. Brehmer, of Lübeck, in his “*Entdeckungen im Alterthum*,” (1822), both maintaining that Marinus must have founded his geographical descriptions and maps on an ancient Tyrian atlas, the fruit of the numerous voyages for trading purposes undertaken by the Phœnicians. Brehmer’s arguments which are not laid down with much clearness or precision may be summarized as follows:—

1. The extraordinary number of place-names known to Ptolemy in countries with which the Greeks and Romans were very imperfectly acquainted, requires some such explanation. This is especially true of Ceylon—hitherto *nominis umbra*,—India,<sup>1</sup> Northern Asia, Northern Europe, Scotland and Ireland. Even in Roman provinces he sometimes gives names quite unknown to Roman geographers; and the spelling of many names in Roman territory is peculiar. Nor could Alexandria have supplied him with the necessary information. The trade of that city was chiefly carried on by sea to the coast of India, to Italy, and to the towns of the Mediterranean.

2. In Ptolemy’s Tables of the coasts of different countries the names of places occur in the order in which they lie; in those of the interior, from left to right, according to each degree of latitude. Names of peoples, on the other hand, are generally enumerated from above downwards.

3. The Canary Islands would not have been chosen in Alexandria as the starting point for determining longitude. Eratosthenes and Strabo took Spain to be the most westerly part of the earth. Among the Greeks and Romans the Fortunate Islands belonged rather to the domain of poetry and myth.

<sup>1</sup> For a very full account of the Ptolemaic geography of India, see *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, &c. By

J. W. McCrindle, M.A., M.R.A.S., Calcutta and London 1885).

4. Ptolemy's frequent use of Ch for C, which seems to have been a custom peculiar to the Phoenicians, is another important link in the chain of evidence as to his authorities.

5. Though Ptolemy says nothing about caravan routes they appear frequently and distinctly, if his place-names be marked out on a map according to his directions. This knowledge could not have reached him from the Romans whose acquaintance with foreign lands was acquired in the course of their numerous wars, nor from the Greeks, who owed their information to individual travellers. It must have come to him through the commerce that flowed from Tyre and its colonies over all the known world.

6. No less significant is the absence of any trace of the Alexandrian trade routes to the East, from Coptus on the Nile and Bernice on the Red Sea. These were unimportant for Phoenicia. The non-Roman origin of the map of Italy is indicated by its undue prolongation eastwards and the absence of tributaries to the Tiber.

7. In Ptolemy's Tables as well as in his Maps the coasts are much more carefully marked than the interior, and the knowledge shewn of bays and small rivers would be invaluable for navigators.

8. It seems clear from Ptolemy's own explicit statements in Bk. I, c. 6, c. 7, c. 17, and c. 18, that both he and Marinus used maps; and if so they must have been Tyrian. A geographer drawing from Roman sources would never have assigned twelve maps to Asia, of which the Romans knew so little, and only ten to Europe. Ptolemy seems to speak of only one map; but eight thousand names with lines of longitude and latitude could not have been crowded into one small map. The purpose for which the maps were evidently intended is an additional proof of their origin: they must have been meant for the use of traders. It is only on this supposition that all their peculiarities can be explained.

9. Ptolemy's maps could not have been constructed without models. We may be sure that there were cartographers in Tyre long before Marinus. Anaximander (circa B.C. 530) is said by Strabo to have invented map making; more probably he only introduced it into Greece



from Phœnicia as Cadmus did letters. At all events if there were maps in Greece there is much more likelihood of there having been charts in Phœnicia, as the commercial enterprise of its people would naturally lead to their construction and indeed render them indispensable.<sup>1</sup>

Two years after the publication of the "Entdeckungen," Brehmer found an opponent in Prof. A. H. Heeren, who made the sources of Ptolemy's information the subject of an Essay read before the Royal Society of Göttingen, in which he maintained the older opinion.<sup>2</sup> It will be found however, that only one of Brehmer's arguments is really grappled with; the others, some of which are quite as strong, being either lightly touched on or altogether passed over. Unfortunately Brehmer had meantime died and Heeren was thus left in possession of the field. From the position the latter deservedly held as an authority on the history of Eastern nations and from the Essay having been allowed in consequence of Brehmer's too early death to remain unanswered, he was very generally considered in France and England as well as in Germany, to be the safer guide of the two. Letronne, who probably knew what Brehmer had written, only at second hand, dismisses his arguments with the almost contemptuous remark:—"L'opinion de Brehmer, qui prétendait que Marin avait travaillé sur d'anciennes cartes tyriennes, n'a aucun fondement solide, et M. de Heeren l'a combattue par des argumens sans réplique."—*Examen Critique*, p. 14.

The hypothesis was also rejected with equal decision by one whose opinion must be received with much respect, F. A. Ukert. In a dissertation on the geographies of Marinus and Ptolemy in the "Rheinisches Museum für Philologie" (1839), he asserts that Ptolemy had in Alexandria abundant materials for improving Marinus first in the Library there, and next in his intercourse with the travellers, merchants, and seamen of what was then the first commercial city in the world. Moreover, he blames Brehmer, and with some justice, for looking upon the maps in editions of Ptolemy that had been copied from those prepared by Nicolaus (Donis), as

<sup>1</sup> *Entdeckungen im Alterthum*; Part i, chap. i to iii.      <sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

facsimiles of the codex maps; and points out that the great map of the Roman Empire to which frequent reference is made by some old chroniclers was no doubt at Ptolemy's disposal. But all this may be true, and yet much of what Brehmer has said may be true also.<sup>1</sup> Forbiger and Mr. Philip Smith, in brief allusions to the same subject take a similar view, both following Heeren.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, Dr. R. G. Latham in his singularly suggestive article "*Britannicae Insulae*"<sup>3</sup> (1869), writing without any reference to Brehmer's hypothesis, called attention to the importance of Ptolemy's notices of Great Britain as indicating that he spoke on the strength of Phoenician authorities. "His account of our island," he says, "both in respect of what it contains and what it omits, stands in contrast to those of all the Roman authors; and, besides this, Ptolemy is as minute in the geography of Hibernia as in that of Britannia and Caledonia. Now Ireland was a country that, so far as it was known at all, was known through the Greeks, the Iberians, and the Phoenicians (Punic or Proper Phoenician as the case might be) rather than through the Britons, Gauls, and Romans." And very recently Prof. Nordenskiöld has thus expressed himself:—"Heeren has made an attempt to prove that the atlases of Marinus and Ptolemy rest not upon old Tyrian sources, but upon Greek and Roman writings and itineraries. But the arguments of Heeren are not convincing, and I do not hesitate to adopt the opinion of Brehmer, with regard to this question, which is of such importance to the history of geography."<sup>4</sup>

In discussing any question, the answer to which lies hidden in the obscurities of the past, assumptions must necessarily be made at first on both sides. Unless this is done not much progress is likely to be made in the direction of the truth. What an impartial critic has to decide

<sup>1</sup> *Handbuch der alten Geographie erster Band*, p. 411, note, and Dr. Wm. Smith, *Dictionary of Grk. and Roman Biography and Mythology*: art., Ptolemæus.

<sup>2</sup> Once "there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be taxed." But it does not follow that the populations of Northern Albion were numbered and classified according

to their tribes and the results sent to Rome to be pigeon-holed there. It is surely significant, as against Ukert, that there is not in Ptolemy the slightest trace either of the Antonine or of Hadrian's Wall.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. William Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

<sup>4</sup> *Facsimile Atlas* p. 52.

is not whether all or any of these assumptions are true or the reverse, but on which side on the whole are the probabilities the stronger.

Our first glimpses of the Phœnicians are got from the Old Testament and the Homeric poems. The prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, while predicting the downfall of Tyre, draw striking pictures of its greatness, its commerce, and its riches. In the Iliad the excellency of the Phœnician manufactures and the enterprize of the people themselves are frequently referred to. They had abundant supplies of gold, copper, and electrum. Their textile fabrics and glass ornaments were everywhere prized. Some of the myths in the Odyssey show traces of Phœnician influence. The floating Aeolian isle where—

πάσαν δέ τέ μιν περί τεῖχος  
χάλκεον ἔρρηκτον, λισσὴ ἀναδεδρομε πέτρῃ,<sup>1</sup>

has been supposed to be “a poetical reproduction of the story of some Phœnician sailors who had voyaged far enough to the north to fall in with an iceberg,” and the city of the Laestrygonians where—

ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡματός εἰσι κέλευθοι,<sup>2</sup>

may be a reminiscence of the long nights of the northern regions, that had reached the shores of the Aegean Sea in the same way. As far back as 1100 B.C., the coasts of the Mediterranean were dotted with Phœnician colonies. Their mariners had even sailed through the Pillars of Hercules and founded the city of Gadir (Cadiz). Thence they and their kinsmen of Carthage voyaged to the countries of the north for tin, electrum<sup>3</sup> and other articles of commerce, concealing from selfish motives the course and destination of their voyage. Various conjectures have been formed as to the limits of their progress northward. Heeren, while rejecting Brehmer's hypothesis, believes it probable that they reached the Baltic Sea and the coasts of Prussia. The difficulties of the navigation would not, in his view, keep them back. They

<sup>1</sup> All round the island stretched a lucid belt,

Based on the sheer rock, a long mount of brass. (Worsley) Od. x. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Night with the day doth move and measure equal stage (Worsley) Od. x. 86.

See Merry and Riddell on both passages.

<sup>3</sup> It has been doubted if the electrum of the Homeric poems is amber; but the word certainly has this meaning in Herodotus and later writers.

held no voyage impossible which the practice of maritime art at that time would allow. "It lay in the very spirit of that people," he tells us, "to penetrate along a coast by repeated attempts, as far as was possible for man to reach."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Müllenhoff would restrict them to Cornwall, which he takes to be the *κασσιτερίδες νῆσοι* (Tin Islands) of Herodotus, and to the opposite shores of North Germany, to which he supposes electrum may have been brought from the Baltic overland. But his reason for this belief is founded entirely on the "Ora Maritima" of Festus Avienus. This poem, he is almost satisfied, was translated from Phœnician into Greek by a Massiliot and by Avienus into Latin, and thus reveals to us all that the Phœnicians knew of the shores of the west and the north. The Oestrymnides of his author, beyond which no more northerly locality is mentioned, and which he identifies with the *κασσιτερίδες*, mark in his opinion the north-west limit of Phœnician enterprise.<sup>2</sup> But there are good grounds for doubting the value Müllenhoff places on Avienus as a guide. The late Prof. Wm. Ramsay, of Glasgow University, whose critical judgment on such a subject carries great weight, characterised it as a confused, desultory and withal an unfinished production, unworthy of almost any credit.<sup>3</sup> The incidental notices it gives may be of much value; but it cannot be accepted as conclusive evidence on disputed points.

To enter fully into the debatable statements that might be made on either side of the question would lead us altogether beyond the scope of this paper. It must suffice to inquire, as shortly as possible, whether the date of Ptolemy's information, be this derived from Roman or from Phœnician sources, affords any support to the conclusions already drawn from his Tables and maps as to the situation of the Winged Camp relative to the coast.

It is a remark of the historian Thucydides that the primitive Greek towns were not built on the sea coast, as, if situated there, they would have fallen an easy

<sup>1</sup> *Asiatic Researches* vol. ii, pp. 68, 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Deutsche Altertumskunde*. Erster Band, pp. 92, ff. (1890).

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Wm. Smith's *Dictionary of Gk. and Roman Biography and Mythology*: art. Avienus.



prey to pirates. They were placed at some distance inland on a rock or elevation not easily accessible, and were, in fact, hill-villages. Fortifications, except of the rudest kind, mark a distinct stage of progress towards civilization when hill-villages are succeeded by hill-forts. The practice of other ancient tribes in this respect would not differ from that of the Greeks. Cæsar, in fact, tells us that in his day the towns of the Southern Britons, scattered over the level plains of their country, were but collections of huts erected in some strong position in the woods and surrounded by stockaded defences. It accords with this statement that in Ptolemy's description of the coasts of Albion there is not a single town mentioned. His *Reigionium* may or may not have occupied the site of the modern *Stranraer*, but, even if it did, being at the head of *Loch Ryan* it was hardly an exception. The same may be said of *Rutupiæ* (*Richborough*), which as the chief town of the *Rutupi* was probably removed from an inland site to the coast after the country fell under the power of the Romans; and Ptolemy may either not have known this or not have troubled himself to make any change on what he found in the authority he consulted. Over wide tracts of Northern Albion with its mountains and hills of treeless gneiss, such towns as the natives had would be similar collections of huts protected in earliest times merely by their site, but later, in addition, by a surrounding wall built of uncemented stones. Recent investigations by Dr. Christison have shown how common these hill forts once were in *Peebleshire*, the *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, *Ayrshire*, and the sheltered bays of the more fertile parts of the western coasts. All over the land of the old *Vacomagans* and other Northern tribes, they are still to be found. The purpose they served is clear, though the age of those that now remain may be uncertain. It was to protect a pastoral people against plunder by their neighbours. Exposed promontories along the seaboard of a stormy ocean, situated like *Burghead* at some distance from land fit for pasturage or for cultivation, would be first occupied either by the natives

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland*, N.S. vol. xii, pp. 281-352.  
vol. ix, pp. 13-82; vol. xi, pp. 265-432;



when they began to combine commercial with pastoral and agricultural pursuits under a system of settled government, or else by some intrusive race like the Norsemen. But these daring mariners did not reach our shores till after Ptolemy's day; and we know of no similar race who made hostile descents on them earlier. It will hardly be affirmed that the Vacomagans, if such they were still called, had begun as early as the second century, to establish themselves in defensive positions on exposed parts of the coasts when so shortly before, and until brought under Roman influence, the Southern Britons, who certainly carried on some kind of trade with the Gauls across the channel, were still dwelling in their forest strongholds. And, if it be granted that there is inherent probability in Brehmer's opinion or even in the modified form of the hypothesis given by Dr. Latham, it becomes still more impossible to make such an assertion. For, if the "traffickers" of Tyre were the sources of Ptolemy's information, they would assuredly find our shores destitute of towns exactly as he has represented them. In those distant ages and long after, the towns of the Vacomagans and other northern tribes, must have been like those northern hill-forts the remains of which are still so numerous that, if one is not very exacting in his demands for evidence of the remote antiquity of the ruins, he may find a Bannatia, a Tamia, a Winged Camp, or a Tuesis on almost any suitable height where he chooses to look for it. But to locate any of them on the sea coast is not only to set aside Ptolemy, our sole authority for its former existence, but also to contradict the teachings of archaeology on the history of human progress.

# THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF AUGSBURG AND RATISBON.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 161).

A traveller who passes, as I did, directly from Augsburg to Ratisbon, will on his arrival experience some feeling of disappointment; he will miss the broad Maximilianstrasse, the animated Ludwigsplatz, and the palaces that adorn them. He finds himself in a town half the size of that which he has left, comparatively dull, and, except the Cathedral, presenting scarcely any monument that seems worthy of notice.<sup>1</sup> But first impressions are not always correct; they may be modified by longer stay and deeper thought; and whether the visitor prefers Roman or Mediaeval antiquities, Ratisbon will reward his investigations. With the former we are at present concerned.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1880, Augsburg had a population of 61,408, including 41,038 Roman Catholics, 19,238 Protestants, 1039 Jews; the inhabitants of the suburbs numbered 20,000. See the excellent guide book for the city by Dr. Adolf Buff, Archiviste, p. 6; it is one of the series *Europäische Wanderbilder*, published by Orell Füssli and Co., Zürich. Dr. Buff is also the author of some interesting papers on the development of Art at Augsburg; they appeared in the *Supplements (Beilagen)* to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1887, No. 258 Sept. 17; 259 Sept. 18; 270 Sept. 29; 271 Sept. 30, under the title *Das Augsburger Kunstgewerbe während der letzten drei Jahrhunderte im Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung der Stadt*. We may infer the importance of the subject from a single fact: in the last decade of the seventeenth century, after the Thirty Years' War, 200 master goldsmiths were working in the city.

Regensburg in seiner Vergangenheit und Gegenwart bearbeitet von Hugo Graf von Walderdorff gives the details of the religious denominations: in the year 1875, out of a total population of 31,487 there were 25,119 Roman Catholics, 5,782 Protestants and 565 Jews; one person was returned as Unattached (*Freire-*

*ligiöser*, an uncommon word). The census of 1871 contained two in this category. See pp. 261-263, *Statistik*, § 2 *Bevölkerung*.

<sup>2</sup> I have already made some remarks on the name Ratisbon in my Paper on the Antiquities of the Middle Rhine, Pt. ii, *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. xlvii, p. 384. Walderdorff, *op. cit.*, discusses the subject fully: ii *Geschichtliche Uebersicht*, 1, *Namen der Stadt*, pp. 5-8. The city is said to have been called *Radasbona* in pre-Roman times; if this account is correct, it renders the derivation from *ratis* and *bona* very doubtful. From the Romans the place received the name *Castra Regina* or *Reginum*, i. e. the fortress opposite the mouth of the river Regan which falls into the Danube. In the Antonine Itinerary we find *Regino*, perhaps the form of the word used by the common people, p. 250 edit. Wesseling, p. 115 edit. Parthey and Pinder; it is the next station East of *Abusina hodie Abensberg* or rather *Eining*. For the excavations there see *Eining und die dortigen Römer-Ausgrabungen*, Ein kleiner Wegweiser durch dieselben . . . von Wolfgang Schreiner, 1886, with map, and plan showing *vorrömische Befestigungen*, *vorrömische von den Römern*

In this department the chief objects of interest are the gates of the Roman *castrum* or fortified town. To understand them it is almost necessary to explain the rules which the military architects followed, wherever the locality permitted; and for this purpose I exhibit a plan of the Saalburg, the best example, as far as I know, of their work in Germany.<sup>1</sup>

Under the Empire the *castrum* was rectangular, the front and rear shorter than the sides, and the corners rounded off. Porta Praetoria occupied the centre of the side facing the enemy, and had Porta Decumana directly opposite to it; Portae Principalis dextra and Principalis sinistra were in similar, but not quite the same, positions on the flanks.<sup>2</sup> Via Principalis, the road between them, and Via Quintana parallel to it, divided the camp into three unequal portions: Via Praetoria connected the prae-

adaptirte Befestigungen, Römerstrassen. Reganesbure occurs in A.D. 792, and Reganespuruch in 802, both being evidently variants of Regensburg, but all the modifications cannot be enumerated because there are forty of them.

The mediaeval chroniclers have seven names for this city—among them Tiburnia from the emperor Tiberius, said to be its founder; Hyetopolis, from *ĥeros* rain (Regen), and *polis* a town, which is an absurdetymology; Nabripolis, *vox hybrida*, compounded of the Latin *imber* and the Greek *polis*; Hiapolis and Hiatsopolis were formed by erroneously connecting Hyetopolis with the Latin *hiare*, *hiatus*, and have reference to the drawling speech of the vulgar with open mouth, so that here confusion is worse confounded.

<sup>1</sup> I also exhibited a coin of Galerius, thus described by Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. V, p. 598, No. 29, MAXIMIANVS N.C. Sa tête ou son buste lauré à droite avec la cuirasse, Rev. VIRTVS MILITVM. quatre soldats sacrifiant sur un trépiéd devant la porte d'un camp; à l'exergue, une massue. What Cohen calls a tripod is perhaps an altar. The legend N.C. may be explained by reference to other instances where we have a partial expansion—NOBIL. C. and NOB. CAES. This denarius was probably struck before A.D. 305, when Galerius was declared Augustus. He had three names, Galerius, Valerius, Maximianus; but he is generally called by the first. He attained a bad eminence as a furious enemy of the Christians, and instigated Diocletian's cruel perse-

cution. Lactantius, *Liber de Mortibus Persecutorum*, cap. IX. Alter vero Maximianus . . . omnibus qui fuerunt malis perior. Inerat huic bestiae naturalis barbaries et feritas a Romano sanguine aliena. Cf. cc. X,XXXV and *Index Rerum*, s.v. Galerius, edit. Le Brun et Dufresnoy, 4to, Paris, 1748. Chateaubriand, *Les Martyrs*, Livre IV, une fureur aveugle contre les Chrétiens: Dr. Burton's *History of the Christian Church*, pp. 376—380, 389. We do not see in the coin under consideration the quadrangular form common to the camp of Polybius (*τετραγωνος τοπος*, vi, 27), and that of Hyginus, at least 250 years later; it had been altered to suit the circumference of the material employed. This explanation is better than to suppose that the representation is accurate and realistic, especially as the Romans are known to have adhered to strict rules in their castrametation.

The sacrifice reminds me of a coin struck by the allies during the Marsic or Social War. Micali, *Antichi Monumenti per servire all' opera intitolata L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani* folio, p. xiii, Tav. lviii, fig. xi; text, vol. iv, cap. xviii, p. 277, n. 1. Otto popoli confederati in atto di prestar giuramento si veggono effigiati sulle medaglie Sannitiche. The club in the exergue symbolizes Hercules, who is called *claviger*.

<sup>2</sup> I have said *similar*, because they were not exactly in the centre of the flanks, but nearer to the Porta Praetoria and the side facing the enemy than to the rear (*tergum, aversa castrorum*).

torium (head-quarters) with the gate bearing the same name. Special attention was paid to the fortification of the gates by means of *propugnacula*; these consisted of two oblong towers, semi-circular towards the outside, with a court-yard between them, closed by letting fall a portcullis, so that the enemy could be shut off from his own army, and taken prisoner or slaughtered. By way of illustration I have brought a ground-plan of the Porta Nigra at Trèves, and photographs of the elevation towards the country and towards the city.<sup>1</sup>

Much light has been thrown on the course of the Roman walls by excavations made in laying down the pipes that convey water from the aqueduct begun in 1874.<sup>2</sup> Near the North West corner of the camp stones of colossal size, evidently foundations, were discovered, also an ancient drain into the Danube; considerable remains exist in the cellars of the Bischofshof, and the rounding off at the North East corner is shown by the configuration of the modern streets and houses. This front is about 1500 feet long. In accordance with the usual plan of a Roman camp, as indicated above, the Eastern side is 300 feet longer than the Northern; a large portion of it is visible in the garden of a Roman Catholic association. The back or South wall was built near St. Peter's Thor and the spot where the Jesuits' College formerly stood. On the other hand, the Western wall cannot be so exactly

<sup>1</sup> Our best authorities for the construction of a Roman camp are Polybius and Hyginus. The former describes what he himself had seen in the time of the younger Scipio Africanus, whose friend and companion he was, lib. vi, cc. 27-37, 41, 42. The full title of the work by the latter is Hygini Gromatici (land surveyor, from *groma* a measuring rod) liber de munitionibus castrorum. Lange's edition, 1848, is illustrated by two plans, of which the second will be found very useful, because it shows the details above mentioned and many others besides. To these writers we may add Vegetius, *Epitome Rei Militaris*, lib. i, cc. 21-25, but it must be borne in mind that he lived in the reign of Valentinian II., when the Roman discipline had greatly degenerated. Frontinus has named his book *Strategemation*, whence the reader may expect some information about the mode of fortifying a camp; he will be

disappointed, because the work is little more than a string of anecdotes.

Modern references are given in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, 3rd edition, but not with complete accuracy. Masquelez is cited as one of the chief authors, the fact being that Edm. Saglio wrote the elaborate article *Castra*, *Camps des Grecs*, *Camps des Romains*, pp. 940-959; and Masquelez the comparatively unimportant one, *Castrorum Metator* pp. 962-965, in the great French *Dictionnaire des Antiqq.*, now in course of publication. It is easy to see how the mistake has arisen.

<sup>2</sup> Walderdorff, op. citat., pp. 45-53, IV. *Oertliche Entwicklung*, § 2, Regensburg unter den Römern. See esp. Map facing p. 48, *Zug und Spuren der Römischen Stadtmauer*: the towers and gates are marked, also the limits of the quarter formerly inhabited by Jews.



traced, but it must have been East of, and nearly parallel to, the upper and lower Bachgasse (Brook Street), ending at the Coal Market. From time to time, digging deep, for whatever purpose, led to fresh discoveries, so that, for the most part, the line of the rampart and its mode of construction are now well known. It consisted of large quadrangular stones (*opus quadratum*), both on the inner and outer side, fitted together without cement; the interval was filled up with mortar and any fragments that came ready to hand. The breadth was very unequal, varying from six to nine feet approximately.<sup>1</sup>

I had the advantage of inspecting the *vallum* under the guidance of Dr. Ebner, a local antiquary, who wrote the notice of the Porta Praetoria that appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. For this purpose we visited more than one brewery, which caused me no surprise, because in a beer-drinking German town it would be almost impossible for a continuous wall to escape establishments of this kind.<sup>2</sup>

Count Walderdorff has written an excellent guide-book for Ratisbon, containing much archæological information, generally accurate, but he gives only a meagre account of the Porta Praetoria; for which he is not to blame as his book was published in 1874, or soon afterwards,<sup>3</sup> and it was not till 1885 that the Gate was laid open as we see it now. This discovery transcends all that preceded it, for

<sup>1</sup> Baedeker's map is too small, and deficient in clearness. Plan von Regensburg und Stadtmhof nach offiziellem Material gezeichnet und herausgegeben von Carl Matthes, Lithograph, scale 1:7500, with map of environs (Umgebung) in the corner, is much larger, and sufficient for the ordinary tourist, but it will not satisfy the requirements of the antiquary. At the Museum in St. Ulrich's church I obtained Plan der k. Kreishauptstadt Regensburg und der Stadt Stadtmhof, mit Grundriss der Castra Regina der röm. Civiltadt und den Begräbnissplätzen. The Roman part is coloured red, and thus distinguished from the modern town. The course of the Via militaris Augustana is indicated, and the V. milit. to Serviodurum (Straubing).

<sup>2</sup> In the course of our perambulation we went to the Protestant Schoolhouse, and, penetrating into the cellars, found there large stones which were evidently Roman: Walderdorff, p. 48, sq.; p. 213,

Oeffentliche Gebäude, § 25, Das neue Schulgebäude am Klaren Anger, fig. nro. 85, *Opus quadratum*. Bei seiner Fundamentirung wurde eine Strecke der alten römischen östlichen Stadtmauer blosgelegt . . . Sie besteht . . . aus grossen Quadern von Kalkstein. Part of the wall is visible at the corner of the Fröhliche Türken-Strasse, near the Porta Decumana on the South side of the town; and doubtless much more would have remained standing, if the *castrum* had not been used as a quarry to build mediæval walls. In one instance, a church (St. Stephen's?) was built on the ancient fortification, which, of course, tended to obscure it.

<sup>3</sup> I have assigned 1874 as an approximate date to Walderdorff's book, because in his chronological list of memorable occurrences (*Denkwürdige Begebenheiten*) the last mentioned took place in August of that year.



here a lofty structure (Hochbau), erected at the close of a flourishing period, represents visibly the energy of a conquering race, whereas in other parts of the city only the ground-plan has been ascertained, and architectural fragments brought to light. Moreover, the Porta Praetoria is specially interesting as a fine example of a military gate; it is imposing in its massive strength, and almost devoid of ornament; but this very plainness gives it a peculiar value, because we so rarely meet with the like simplicity, most of the portals that remain from antiquity being decorated and monumental, *e.g.* at Autun, Reims, Pola, and on the East side of Ratisbon itself. Such a style seems most appropriate, when we remember that the Porta Praetoria faced the enemy—the terrible Marcomanni swarming on the opposite bank of the Danube, against whom the Romans found it necessary to arm even their slaves, as they did after the battle of Cannae.<sup>1</sup>

The construction was the same as I have already described in explaining the word *propugnaculum*. Two towers about 11 mètres high, and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in diameter, flanked the gate-way, each at a distance of 6 m. 80 centimètres,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxii, 57 fin., Et aliam formam novi dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit: octo millia juvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos, vellente militare, empti publice armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, quam pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret. xxiii, 32, 35 &c. See Crevier's Index, s.v. Volones (cf. voluntarii sc. milites), and his note on xxiii, 32. Capitolinus furnishes us with a parallel in his biography of Aurelius, for in this case history repeats itself; chap. 21, servos quem ad modum bello Punico factum fuerat ad militiam paravit . . . armavit etiam gladiatores . . . latrones etiam Dalmatiae atque Dardaniae milites fecit, armavit et Domicitas; emit et Germanorum auxilia contra Germanos . . . auctionem rerum auclicarum . . . fecit in foro Divi Trajani. Ibid., chap. 22, Gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni, Varistae, Hermunduri &c. . . . perstitit nec prius recessit, quam omnia bella finiret.

As an illustration I exhibited a bronze coin of Marcus Aurelius with the legend GERMANIA SVBACTA on the reverse. Comp. one given at the end of the Article s.v. in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, vol. i. p. 443a. There

a trophy is represented, composed of military standards and arms, both offensive and defensive; legend IMP VIII COS III DE GERMANIS. The writer, Professor Ramsay, justly remarks concerning the wars of this emperor with the northern nations, "Medals are our only sure guide, and the information afforded by these is necessarily meagre and imperfect:" *ibid.* p. 440b.

The *Marcomanni* were the border or march men: see Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary, s.v. Marches, Margrave, Marquis—esp. the first of these words: compare the German *Mark*, *Markgraf*, &c. Another explanation has been proposed, viz., men of the marsh land; but this seems less probable, because the hard C or K is not accounted for. Usually the word *Marcomanni* is written with a double N, but sometimes the manuscripts have only a single N, of which an example occurs in Statius, where the metre requires the penultima to be short: Silvae iii. 3. 170. (tua clementia, Domitiane), Quae modo Marcomanos post horrida bella vagosque Sauromatas Latio non est dignata triumpho:

quoted by Orelli in his commentary on Tacitus, Germania chap. 42.



PORTA PRAETORIA AT RATISBON.



from it; the latter is 4 m. broad, and 5 m. high. These dimensions I have taken from the Transactions of the Historical Society of Oberpfalz and Regensburg, 1886, 32nd vol., New Series, Report for the year 1885, p. viii.<sup>1</sup>

On both sides the vault recedes into the wall, so that the arch is broader in the upper than in the lower part; and the corner stones of the substructions of the jambs project, like buttresses, about four inches in a diagonal direction—these peculiarities seem intended to ensure additional strength and solidity. The outer surface of the stones has been greatly injured by attempts to bring them into the same plane with the wall of the Episcopal Palace.

At their semi-circular ends the flanking towers are advanced three mètres beyond the line of the *Castrum*; the Eastern rises above the second storey of the modern building adjacent; of the Western much less remains, but sufficient to identify it. In the former case, a well-preserved cornice deserves attention, as the excellent work of the moulding shows a good period; at all events it is far superior to anything of the kind in the Porta Nigra at Trèves, and nearly resembles that on the gates of Autun, which have been attributed by high authorities to the Augustan age.<sup>2</sup> The thickness of the wall between the towers amounts only to 1·30 m., whereas in many parts of the *Castrum* it is 2 m. or more. This difference is easily accounted for on the supposition above-mentioned of a court-yard that would enclose the enemy who had penetrated through the outer gate.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The exact title of the publication mentioned above is Rechenschaftsbericht des historischen Vereines von Oberpfalz und Regensburg für das Jahr 1885, printed at the end of the Transactions (Verhandlungen).

<sup>2</sup> I exhibited a photograph of the Porta Praetoria on a large scale, taken expressly for the meeting of the Archaeological Institute; if it is compared with those of the Portes St. André and d'Arroux at Autun, it will be apparent that they are all of a good period. I have seen reason partly in consequence of a conversation with the late Rev. C. W. King, to change the opinion expressed in my Paper on Autun, Archaeol. Journ., vol. xl., p. 32 sq., and note 2 on p. 32. On the other hand, the work at the

well-known Porta Nigra is quite different, in a coarse style, showing indubitable signs of decadence.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the gates of the *Castrum*, we find Porta foeni; though it has a Latin name, it must not be confounded with Roman remains; in German it is called Heuport, from *Heu* hay—it stood near the house now occupied by Herr Coppenrath, the principal bookseller at Ratisbon, and was probably a gate of the Jews' quarter, formerly covering the space where we now see the Neu Pfarr-Platz, marked by the dotted lines in Walderdorff's Plan, Zug und Spuren der Römischen Stadtmauer; op. citat. p. 48, and cf. p. 64. Similarly Porta Orientalis, Ostenthor, of the Middle Ages—afterwards Schwarze Burghor—could not

It has been well remarked that the best elucidation of our own Romano-British antiquities may be derived from a comparison with similar monuments on the European continent; and for a very good reason, viz., that the latter are for the most part, though not always, of greater importance and better preserved. The present instance is no exception to the general rule. If for a moment we turn away from Ratisbon to the Camp at Silchester, we find that at the great East gate the inward sweep of the wall itself, in a rounded form, does duty for the flanking towers; and on the South side the plan looks, when examined, like a gate within a gate: vide *Archæologia*, vol. xlv, pp. 344-349, and vol. 1, p. 266, with large map of the Roman station at Silchester (folding plate), *Calleva Atrebatum*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Porta decumana* on the South side of the town is near St. Peter's Thor, and North of it. The *Porta principalis sinistra* stood where the *Gesandten Strasse* (Ambassadors' Street) ends in the *Neu Pfarr Platz*, a large open space round the *Neue Pfarr Kirche*.<sup>2</sup> But the *Porta principalis dextra* cannot, like the last two gates, be dismissed with only a passing notice; considered

have been Roman, because that nation never extended their town so far Eastwards; comp. Plan at p. 48 with that at the end of the volume. The same may be said of the *Porta Occidentalis*, or *Porta Rocini*, called in German *Rouzanpurghthor*, *Roselint* or *Ruselinthor*; it stood at the end of the *Ludwigsstrasse*, and was demolished in the year 1830. It was a solid building with a high tower, probably erected in the time of Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria, A.D. 907--937. During this period the town developed in a Westerly direction, and also towards the S.W., where we now see the Church of St. Emmeram, and the Palace of Prince Thurn and Taxis: *Walderdorff*, Index, s.v. *Porta*.

The gates, surmounted by towers, some of which have survived the ravages of time and war, give a peculiar character to Ratisbon; they are the more striking to English eyes, because our insular position makes them less necessary, and therefore more uncommon: *Walderdorff*, p. v, *Verzeichniss der Illustrationen*, Nos. 3, 7, *Ehemaliger Hallerthurm*, &c., esp. No. 6, *Regensburg im siebenzehnten Jahrhundert*.

<sup>1</sup> It is easy to see the excavations at

Silchester in a morning's excursion from London. The visitor can proceed by Railway to Reading, and thence by carriage—a drive through a beautiful country of less than 10 miles—or to Mortimer Road Station on the Basingstoke line, distant from Silchester only 2 or 3 miles. I visited the place in July 1891, and observed that many labourers were employed, and, under careful supervision, were working vigorously. As far as I am informed, the most remarkable object hitherto discovered is a Roman plane, said to be unique in England.

<sup>2</sup> In our own Metropolis an unparalleled prosperity has effaced many relics of former times; so here at Ratisbon the name *Gesandten Strasse* suggests many interesting reminiscences, and leads us to indulge in trains of antiquarian thought. It carries us back to the days when Ratisbon was preferred to other imperial cities, as a place of meeting for the Diet. Here Austria displayed her double-headed eagle, and Venice the lion of St. Mark not a symbol of dominion which we see in Istria and Dalmatia, but an ensign of the envoy of the Republic, just as our Royal Arms are placed over the door of a British Consulate.



from an historical or artistic point of view, it far surpasses all the other remains left by the Romans at Ratisbon. Its position can be clearly defined, as some of the stones (*Quadern*) were visible between the Carmelite Brewery and the Exerzier Platz so late as 1873. In that year several fragments were found, but unquestionably the most important was a part of the attic containing an inscription.<sup>1</sup>

FRATER · DIVI · HADRIANI · NEPOS · DIVI · TRAIANI · P  
TICVS · PONTIFEX · MAXIMVS · TRIB · POTESTATIS · XXXVI · I  
ICVS · GERMANICVS · MAXIMVS · ANTONINI · IMP  
MP · II · COS · II · VALLVM CVM PORTIS ET · TVRRIBVS · FECI  
M · HELVIO · C.....VENTE · DEXTRIANO · LEG · AV

About half of the original has been preserved, and this portion is nearly three mètres long. We learn from it that Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus restored the rampart round Ratisbon with its gates and towers, when M. Helvius Clemens Dextrianus was governor of Augsburg, probably in A.D. 178.<sup>2</sup> Thus our investigation brings us into contact with the "great heathen Emperor and philosopher," with one who presented the unparalleled spectacle of a student seated upon the throne of the world, who yearned and strove after moral perfection

<sup>1</sup> The inscription as it stands, with conjectural additions to complete the sense, is given in the *Ephemerides Epigraphicæ*, which are supplementary to C.I.L., vol. ii, p. 448, No. 1001 (Additamenta ad Corporis Volumen iii., Raetia.

<sup>2</sup> See a Paper by Ohlenschläger in *Actis Acad. Monac.* (Munich) minoribus 1874, p. 219. The writer of the Article in the *Ephemer. Epigr.* remarks *Titulus imperite conceptus erroribus abundat. In tribunicia potestate Marci xxxvi cum erratum sit (nam obiit anno 180 tribunicia potestate xxiv), si est anni 179, scribendum fuit xxxiii.*

Walderdorff thinks that at this time the boundaries of the *Castrum* were extended, and refers to Vienna where there is evidence of an earlier and smaller as well as of a later and larger camp. This view is supported by some appearance of a broad trench from the Neupfarplatz in the direction of the Danube.

The gens *Helvia* was obscure, and I do not find it on coins, either in Cohen's *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, or in the later work of Babelon on the same subject. Of those who bore this appellation the best known are *Helvia*, mother of Seneca, the philosopher, to whom he

addressed the *Consolatio*, and P. Helvius Pertinax, Emperor A.D. 193. Tacitus, *Annals* iii, 21, mentions Helvius Rufus, who saved the life of a fellow citizen, and was presented with a civic crown; Borghesi infers from an Inscription in Muratori, found at Tibur (Tivoli), that he derived thence his cognomen *Civica*. Orelli's note in loco. *Helvidius* is a more illustrious name, and figures prominently in the pages of Tacitus as that of a father and son, whose patriotic heroism the historian delights to honour; see esp. *Hist. lib.* iv, c 5.

Clemens (a word of which the etymology is doubtful) frequently occurs as a *nomen proprium*. De Vit gives examples, i—xi from profane, xii—xvii from ecclesiastical writers, beginning with Philipians, iv, 3, on which Ellicott (Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol) has an excellent note in his Commentary on this Epistle of St. Paul, p. 88 sq.

Dextrianus, on the other hand, is uncommon. It is derived from the gens *Dextria*, and appears on a water pipe (*fistula aquaria*), of lead I presume; *Bullettino Archeol. Municip.* anno 1876, p. 435, Sub cura Caecili Dextriani: De Vit, *Onomasticon*, s.v.

(like St. Paul ἐπεκτεινόμενος, reaching forth<sup>1</sup>) and nearly attained it; who was so firm and elevated, so gentle and sympathetic, that posterity dwells on his name with veneration, nay even with affection. The inscription assists us to picture him to ourselves at the same time making the most heroic efforts to support a declining Empire, and amidst all his anxieties and labours soliloquizing on ethical problems while encamped on the banks of the Danube, for the first book of the Meditations is dated in Quadis, the second at Carnuntum. Marcus not only was here, but in this portal, being dead, seems to speak to us of his own work, which still, at least in part, remains for us to behold and to handle it.<sup>2</sup>

The degrees of relationship, as usual in Imperial records of this kind, are founded on adoption. FRATER, said of M. Aurelius, indicates that he was brother of Verus, both having been adopted by Antoninus Pius. In the same way Aurelius was grandson of Hadrian and great grandson of Trajan, their apotheosis (*consecratio*) being expressed by the epithet DIVVS. On the other hand the third line refers to Commodus, who is described as the son of Antoninus, of course by natural generation.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Again consult Ellicott, note on Phil. iii, 14, τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθάνμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος forgetting the things behind, but stretching out after the things that are in front. No words could better describe the character of Aurelius; though differing in race, religion and surroundings, the Apostle and the Emperor had much in common, as the student of their writings will soon find out for himself: if it had been possible for them to have met, filled with the same aspirations after truth and goodness, they must have heartily fraternized.

<sup>2</sup> He who would understand the Meditations should read them as published by Thos. Gataker, 1652—Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία ιβ' (12 books addressed to himself). This edition contains a long Preface (Praeloquium), with copious marginal notes, Text with references, De M. Vero Aurelio Antonino Imp. Elogia et Judicia, et Annotationes, pp. 1—439, Syllabus Locorum Scripturae Sacrae, quae in Commentario isto vel explicantur vel illustrantur, and general Index Rerum. The unlearned reader will find in Mr. George Long's Translation a good substitute for the original.

Meditations, book i, fin. Τὰ ἐν Κουάδοις πρὸς τῇ Γρανούᾳ (Granua). This river is now called Gran, and joins the Danube near the town of the same name, about half-way between Budapest and Comorn; it is the See of the Primate of all Hungary, said to be the richest prelate in Europe. The Cathedral occupies a commanding position, and if the traveller proceeds by water from Viena to Budapest, its lofty cupola remains for a long time in sight. Some have supposed that Gran is the *Bregetium* (Βρεγαίτιον) of Ptolemy; but this town is more likely to have been near Szöny, a little East of Comorn.

Med. Book ii, fin. Τὰ ἐν Καρνόντη. Aurelius resided here during his wars with the Quadi and Marcomanni. It was an important place under the Romans, and a station for their fleet. This city was destroyed by Attila; it is said to have been on the same site as Petronell, a town on the Danube, West of Presburg, and near the Hungarian frontier. See the article *Carnuntum* in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, where useful references will be found.

<sup>3</sup> For the subject of Adoption consult the Contemporary Review, Aug. 1891, Art. 10, St. Paul and the Roman Law by W. E. Ball, LL.D., pp. 278-292, esp. pp.

This historical treasure was discovered in digging the foundations of the new buildings for the Carmelite brewery. The ancient fortifications were destroyed by the Germans, and soon afterwards restored by the Romans, probably in the reign of Constantius, son of Constantine the Great. They seem to have used any materials that were lying about, and amongst them the inscribed stone.<sup>1</sup> That the Romans made these repairs is proved by the mortar, in which pounded fragments of tiles are mixed; and that it took place at the period named is rendered probable by a coin of Constantius found on the spot.

The total length of the passage through the gate amounted to eleven and-a-half mètres, but the width could not be accurately ascertained, as it was impossible to uncover the archway on both sides. Part of the cornice was found, a corbel, a capital and two portions of shafts of columns, also a stone with a groove in it for the portcullis, so that, without much exercise of the imagination, a restoration of the whole monument might be designed. Over the remains of this gate another was built, called in the earlier part of the Middle Ages Ostenthor, — *Porta orientalis*, and afterwards schwarze Burghthor, probably for the same reason as the *Porta Nigra* at Trier, which was blackened by conflagrations.<sup>2</sup>

The *Prætorium* must have been on the site now occupied by blocks of buildings South of the Dom, and separated from it by the Domstrasse:—the *Via Prætoria* extended thence to the *Bischofshof*. Modern streets

280-283. "St. Paul is the only one of the sacred writers who makes use of the metaphor of adoption." It seems quite reasonable that he should do so, when we consider that he was a Roman citizen, writing to subjects of the Roman Empire. "This metaphor was his translation into the language of Gentile thought of Christ's great doctrine of the New Birth. . . . Rom. viii. 14-16 . . . the Third Person in the Trinity is represented in the character of a witness. The reference is to the legal ceremony of adoption."

Several degrees of this kind of relationship—*filii*, *nepos*, *pronepos*, *abnepos*, *adnepos*—are mentioned in the inscription at Ratisbon as completed by Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 11, 448. These words are for the most part conjectural, but they are warranted by numerous

precedents: Orelli's *Collectio Inscr. Lat.*, Rossini's *Archi Trionfali*.

<sup>1</sup> The preservation of the Inscription is evidently due to its having been built into the wall: Walderdorff, *op. citat.* p. 50, who on the same page gives a transcript without any attempt to supply the words that are wanting.

<sup>2</sup> Baedeker, *Rheinlande*, ed. 1886, p. 290, says "blackened by time," *Aus grossen durch die Zeit geschwänzten Liasblöcken aufgeführt*. But the explanation in the text seems more probable and more in accordance with history. See *Panorama von Trier und seine Umgebungen*, by Johann Leonardy. This author has also written an elaborate history, *Geschichte des Trierischen Landes und Volkes*, one vol. 8vo, pp. 1024.

follow the direction of the Via Principalis and Via Quintana: the former is represented by the Schwarze Bärenstrasse and Dreikronengasse, nearly in a straight line between the Neu Pfarr Platz and the Exerzier Platz; the latter by the Obermünsterstrasse, in which the principal hotel, Grüner Kranz, is situated.

We have abundant proof, both from stamps on bricks and from sepulchral inscriptions, that the third legion, Italica, for a long time garrisoned Ratisbon; Mr. Hirst in his excellent article contributed to the *Athenæum* October 10th, 1885, p. 477, has, inadvertently, I think said the *second* legion. There are nine examples from graves in Dahlem's Catalogue of the Museum in St. Ulrich's Church; a line from one of them must suffice for the present. Page 12, No. 3:—

(d) ONATUS . OPTIO . LEG . III . ITAL . GENER.

I have selected it because it contains the military title *Optio*, a lieutenant, sometimes incorrectly translated adjutant; the term is discussed in my paper on the Antiquities of the Middle Rhine.<sup>1</sup> This legion has a special interest for us, since Cornelius is described in the Acts of the Apostles as a centurion of the band called the Italian.<sup>2</sup> The second cohort of Aquitanians, COH. II. AQ., was stationed here; but, as would appear from the stamps, for a shorter period. Lastly, a stone was found in 1873 with the letters COH. I. C. N. incised on it. Walderdorff says that they are unknown and not deciphered. I am inclined to interpret them as meaning the first cohort of Canathenians, who came from Canatha, a city of the Decapolis, North-East of Palestine, mentioned in St. Matthew's Gospel, iv, 25.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archaeol. Journ., vol. xlvii, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> At first sight it might be supposed that the cohort mentioned in Acts, x, 1, ἑκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπειρῆς τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς, was a part of the Italian legion; but it could not be so, because the latter was not raised till Nero's time: Alford *in loco*, who quotes Gruter, Inscriptt., vol. I, p. 434, Cohors militum Italicorum voluntaria, quæ est in Syria. Cf Tacitus, Hist. I, 59, with the note of Heraeus, *Italica*] vollständig *prima Italica*, von Nero errichtet (Dio LV, 24). For other references in Tacitus v. Orelli's Index at the end of his edition, s.v. Legio, vol II, p. 566.

<sup>3</sup> Walderdorff, *ibid*, p. 52. Canatha in Coele (Hollow) Syria and close to Mount Hermon, is nearly due East of Caesarea Philippi, the furthest place North reached by our Lord in the course of his public ministry: see Arrowsmith, Grammar of Ancient Geography, r, 203, sect. II, § 14. For the Decapolis comp. St. Mark, vii, 31 and S. T. Bloomfield's note. Καὶ πάλιν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῶν ὀρίων Τύρου ἦλθεν διὰ Σιδῶνος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀρίων Δεκαπόλεως. This passage defines the position of the Decapolis better than the one in St. Matthew's Gospel cited above.

Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. v, cap. 18, § 16,



Such specimens of epigraphy may, to the uninitiated, appear to be insignificant details, but they suggest general considerations. How often undesigned coincidences illustrate and corroborate the sacred narrative! How wisely the statesmen of ancient Rome distributed the provincial soldiers over her vast dominions! If the preceding explanation is correct we now find Syrians in the army on the Danube, as on former occasions we have remarked Dalmatians at Mayence (Moguntiacum), and Spaniards (Astures) in the North of Britain.<sup>1</sup>

Close to the camp, which was, as Gibbon says, a fortified city, and on the West side of it, a Roman town grew up; it extended beyond the Dominican Church in the direction of the Weissgerbergraben and Engelburgerstrasse. We may compare it with the Civil Settlements adjoining the *castellum* of the Saalburg, which were in front of the Porta Decumana, on the South side of the fort and away from the enemy—the formidable Chatti. These two frontier-stations, one on the Danube and the other near the Rhine, also had a similar history;

edit. Sillig. Jungitur ei (Judaeae) latere Syriae Decapolitana regio a numero oppidorum, in quo non omnes eadem observant, plurimi tamen Damascani ex epoto rignis annis Chrysorroa fertilem, Philadelphiam . . . Pellam aquis divitem, Galasam, Canatham. Josephus. Bellum Judaicum, i, 19, § 2, συναθροισθέντες εἰς Κάνθα της Κοίλης Συρίας. Ptolemy, lib. v, cap. 15, § 23.

Gustav Wilmanns, Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. ii, p. 424, Index. Canath. Septimia Canotha 2498. Canatheni v. *cohortes*, ibid. p. 590, cohorts 1 Flavia Canathenorum 1630. Κανωθαῖοι ἐπὶ Συρίας 2498 — decurio, βουλευτὴς πόλεως τε 2498. No. 1630 was found at Thamgade, and No. 2498 at Genay, near Lyons—a station marked in the Indicateur des Chemins de Fer. The latter consists of a Latin inscription in four lines and a Greek one in seven lines which are metrical—both relating to the same person—Thaemius Julianus.

For the explanation of the *sigla* relating to the Canathenians I am indebted to the Rechenschaftsbericht des historischen Vereines von Oberpfalz und Regensburg für das Jahr 1885, printed in 1886, pp. iv and vi. There it is stated that tile-stamps of this cohort have been repeatedly found at Ratisbon.

<sup>1</sup> See my paper on Roman Antiquities

of the Middle Rhine, Archæol. Journ., vol. xlvii, pp. 200-202, text and notes. The name of the Astures, who were East of the Callæci (Galicia), is preserved in the modern Asturias; they were divided into the Augustani (Leon) and Transmontani (Asturias) Their capital Asturica, hodie Astorga, was an important town because from it as a centre several roads issued, leading to Portugal, Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza), etc. The ancient walls still remain—at least “enough to give a perfect idea of a Spanish city fortified by the Romans.” Some suppose the name to have been originally Iberian, and to mean a rock-built place. “The Asturias has hitherto given the title of prince to the Spanish heir apparent, which was done in professed imitation of our Prince of Wales.” Ford, Handbook for Travellers in Spain, edit. 1878, pp. 188 sq., and 202-204. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography supplies references to the classical authors.

See also Aloïss Heiss, Description générale des Monnaies antiques de l'Espagne, p. 252, Lancia (Ruines de Lancia), Monnayage celtibérien. In the coins there mentioned the legend seems to vary; pl. xxxii., 1 and 2, Conventus Asturum. For a full discussion of the monnayage certibérien cf. ibid., pp. 3-33.



they were from time to time captured by the Germans and retaken by the Romans<sup>1</sup>

The cemetery, of considerable extent, was situated on both sides of the road from Ratisbon to Kumpfmühl, and near the Railway Station.<sup>2</sup> It began at the Eichorn-gasse, which corresponds with the Western extremity of the civil town. For centuries objects of antiquity were found in this neighbourhood; most of them were dispersed, some are deposited in the Museum at Munich. But the construction of the railroad, 1871-1874, offered opportunities for research far better than any that had previously presented themselves. Accordingly, under the superintendence of Herr Dahlem a complete and scientific investigation was made, which led to important results, especially to observations on the various modes and periods of burial. This gentleman has published an elaborate plan—the best of the kind that I know—showing many particulars, e.g. places where bodies have been cremated, and where they have been interred, the direction in which the heads severally lay, stone sarcophagi, stone coverings over graves, and walls round them, foundations of monuments or Cippi.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Among these civil settlements at the Saalburg were the *Canabæ* (Public-houses—taverns) “at the right and left (or at least the foundations of them), when we descend the Roman road from the fort towards the plain . . . The houses were undoubtedly only built of wood, with walls of clay, and, according to traces found, were covered with slates or thatched with straw.” Cohausen and Jacobi on the Roman Castellum Saalburg, English Translation by Fischer, p. 19. The word *canabæ* does not occur in the historians, but we find it, and also *canabenses* (Publicans) in Inscriptions: Wilmanns, op. citat., vol. ii. p. 151, cap. x., Moesia, no. 2409.

pro salute | IMP. CAE | TRA. HADR |  
AVG. C. VAL | PYD. VET. LE. V | MC. ET.  
M. VLP. LE | ON. PAG. CANABE. E | TVC.  
AEL. AED. D. D | VET. TE. C. R. CONS.  
AD | CANAB. LEG. V. M

Troesmi (Iglitza). Wilmanns gives an expansion of the whole, but I repeat only the part required for our present purpose—magistris Canabensium . . . cives Romani consistentes ad canabas legionis V Macedonicae. Gruter, p. 466, no 7.

C. SEN :: :: O. REGVLIANO. EQ. R.  
DIFFVS | OLEARIO. EX. BAETICA. CYRA-  
TORI. EIVSDEM | CORPORIS. NEGOT. VINARIO.

LVGDVN | IN CANABIS. CONSISTEN.

DIFFVS is evidently the abbreviation of *diffusori*, one employed to rack off oil Comp. Horace, Epistles I, 5, 4 and Interpp. Orelli, no 4077, gives the text somewhat differently, and adds the following note on *Canabæ*—cella vinaria; unde Ital. *cancra*. v. Marini, *Atti*, 2, p. 423.

*Canabæ* is not included in Forcellini's Lexicon or Bailey's Appendix to it (*Auctarium*); the former has *canabulae* but assigns to it meanings different from that mentioned above—*termini quidam, quibus agrorum fines designantur, or canales, per quos aqua deductur*. However consult De Vit's edition of the lexicon as the best authority,

<sup>2</sup> Walderdorff, p. 52 sq. The cemetery extended even beyond this village. The Guide-book for the Royal collection at Munich deserves careful study; it is entitled, Führer durch das Königlich Bayerische National Museum in München, Officielle Ausgabe, Siebente Verbeserte Ausgabe, 1890. Roman Monuments—pp. 12-18, Römersteine, Meilensteine, Ziegelsarg, Thongefässe, Glasgefässe, Votivstein, Mosaik; and p. 100, Thonarbeiten.

<sup>3</sup> I bought at Ratisbon the *Situations Plan, Römischer Begräbnisse an der Via*

Dates of burials are also marked, reckoned by the reigns of Emperors from M. Aurelius and Commodus down to Honorius, the most recent, of course, being those furthest from the old Roman town, just as we may trace them in our own Londinium; these all have the head at the West end of the grave, whereas in the earlier ones it is turned in various directions, sometimes to the North, sometimes to the South. Looking at the plan, we cannot fail to notice the great number of tombs and burning-places densely crowded together on both sides of the *Via militaris Augustana*. Their position may remind us of the sepulchral monuments by the Appian Way, which are mentioned by Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations*, and which travellers know so well.<sup>1</sup> A good illustration of this part of our subject occurs at Strasburg. The Roman cemetery there also is close to the Railway Station. It has been fully described in the *Bulletin de la Société pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques d'Alsace*,

*militaris Augustana bei Regensburg. Auf gedeckt bei dem Baue der Donauthal-und Ostbahn 1870-74 aufgenommen v. J. Dahlem*

The antiquarian traveller will find it very desirable to procure documents of this kind on the spot, where he can avail himself of the assistance of the local *savants* in making his selection. Thus he will not only obtain the best information, but avoid unnecessary trouble and expense.

Dahlem has also written a Catalogue of Antiquities at Ratisbon, *Das mittelalterlich-römische Lapidarium und die vorgeschichtlich-römische Sammlung zu St. Ulrich in Regensburg*, 1887.

<sup>1</sup> Book i, chap. 7, § 13, *An tu egressus porta Capena, quum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulera vides, miseros putas illos?* See the note in Kühner's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 1846, p. 58. There can be no better commentary on Cicero's words than the *Via Appia Illustrata* by Labruzzi. No year of publication appears on the title-page, but the date may be approximately inferred from the dedication to Sir Richard Colt Hoare. The book is a large folio, consisting of twelve plates finely executed: see esp., Nos. 1-10; e.g., No. 4, *Scavo di sepolcri antichi fatto l'anno 1790, nella Vigna Moroni a mano dritta della Via Appia con Iscrizioni antiche ivi esistenti*. But for this road as a street of Tombs, consult a more modern work, Emil Braun, *Ruins and*

*Museums of Rome*, chap. vi. *Ramble to the Tombs on the Via Appia* pp. 50-60, esp. no. 12, p. 57, sq. "An endless number of necropolises gradually arose, which it is impossible to traverse without being reminded of the glory and enduring greatness of one's predecessors." The Tomb of *Cæcilia Metella*, "the wealthiest Roman's wife," is more interesting than any other on this way on account of its historical associations, imposing architecture, and good preservation; its modern name *Capo di Bove* is derived from the bull's heads in the frieze, *ibid*, No. 8, p. 55. Comp. Rheinhard, *Album des Classischen Alterthums*, Pl. 28 (coloured); text, p. 20.

Similarly we have at Pompeii the *Strada dei Sepolcri*; Baedeker, *Italie Méridionale*, p. 139, edit. 1877. *La voie des Tombeaux, la grande route militaire qui conduisait de Capoue à Naples, et de là à Reggio par Herculaneum et Pompéi*. Overbeck, vol. ii, p. 20 sq., fig. 216, *Ansicht der Gräberstrasse*; fig. 217, *Plan der Gräberstrasse*. This street, in the North-Western part of the town, is marked at the upper corner on the right hand side of the large map, which is placed at the end of the second volume—*Plan der Stadt Pompeii, Resultat der Ausgrabungen von 1748-1865*.

C. Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 12, *Cemeteries of Londinium*—"the sites chosen were beyond the city enclosure."

1879-1880, by Canon Straub; his memoir extends from p. 3 to p. 130, and is accompanied by six plates, three plans, and many engravings intercalated in the text.<sup>1</sup>

Other extra-mural graves have been discovered, viz. in front of the Petersthor and the Ostenthor; but it is more remarkable that some vestiges of interments have been observed *within* the Roman Town; this can be accounted for on the supposition that they took place during sieges, when the inhabitants were blockaded by the Germans, and cut off from their usual burial-grounds. Such attacks were doubtless often repeated, till about A.D. 400 the commander of the third legion removed his headquarters higher up the Danube to Vallatum, so as to be protected by the Boundary Wall.<sup>2</sup>

If we pursue our inquiries further on the South side of the city, but still within the limits of a walk, we shall come to hills near the village of Kumpfmühl, which command a fine view of Ratisbon, the valley of the Danube, and the Walhalla on its left bank. Here an important discovery was made in the same year in which

<sup>1</sup> A notice of Canon Straub's Memoir will be found in my Paper on the Middle Rhine, *Archaeol. Journ.* for 1890, vol. xlvii, p. 392, note 2.

The removal from Castra Regina to Vallatum nearly synchronizes with the retirement of the Romans from our own country. These events took place in the reign of Honorius, when Stilicho was conducting the war against Alaric: v. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxx, vol. iv, p. 34, edit. Dr. W. Smith. "The fortresses of the Rhine" (for Valentinian's Embankment v. *Archaeol. Journ.*, xlvii, 398 sq.) "were abandoned. . . . Even the legion which had been stationed to guard the wall of Britain against the Caledonians of the North was hastily recalled." And comp. chap. xxxi, vol. iv, p. 130, edit., Smith, *Revolt of Britain and Armorica*, A.D. 409. Somewhat later, A.D. 446, relief was sought from Aëtius in the famous letter, called the Groans of the Britons, but it was refused them. *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. Index Rerum, Aëtius, ter consul, etc., 11 D, 94 B, 119 B, 705 D, "Gemitus Britannorum." Hume, *History of England*, vol. i, p. 12 sq., London, 1796.

We have evidence of the change of quarters above mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis*, edit. Böcking, tom. ii, cap. xxxiv. *Dux Raetiae*, p. 102\*

[B] [1] *Praefectus Legionis Tertiae Italicae Partis Superioris Castra Regina, nunc Vallato*; ibid. [B] [8] *Praefectus Alae Secundae Valeriae Singularis\* Vallato*; see the Commentary pp. 759\*—763\*sq., 763\*, 791\*, esp. 764\*—766\*, and references to Raiser, *Römischen Alterthümer zu Augsburg und andere Denkwürdigkeiten des Ober-Donau-Kreises*, fascic. iii, p. 61 sqq. Numerous inscriptions relate to the *legio tertia Italica*; cf., Hefner *Das Römische Bayern*, Index s.v., and *ala secunda* ibid. We should bear in mind that the *Notitia* was compiled towards the close of the Roman occupation of Britain; v. cap. xxii, *Vicarius Britanniarum*, vol. i, p. 74\*, edit. Böcking: Wright, *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, c. xii, p. 356.

Vallatum is situated South-West of Abusina (Eining or Abensberg), which is on the South bank of the Danube, and on the road from Reginum (Ratisbon) to Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg): see the Antonine Itinerary, p. 250, edit. Wesseling; p. 115, sq. edit. Parthey and Pinder,

Regino	...	mpm xliiii,
Abusina	...	mpm xx,
Vallato	...	mpm xviii,
Summuntorio	...	mpm xvi,
Augusta Vindelicum	...	mpm xx.

the Porta Praetoria was laid open.<sup>1</sup> Even in the middle of the last century objects had been found in graves that seemed to belong to an earlier period than the Castrum of Marcus Aurelius; and in 1873 besides the military diploma (*tabula honestae missionis*, I presume) of the veteran Sicco, ruins of about twenty dwellings, partly wooden, partly of stone, were brought to light. These facts, together with repeated examples of the stamp on bricks, COH. I. CAN, first cohort of Canathenians, led to the inference that a corps of *milites limitanei* had been quartered here.<sup>2</sup>

But in March 1885 excavations were undertaken in earnest; and on the site where only small habitations had been known, the ground plan of a great edifice soon revealed itself, 54 m. long, 17 m. broad at the West end, and probably 26-30 m. at the East end. The local antiquarian Society purchased the ground, enclosed it with a hedge, and took every precaution to protect the remains of ancient buildings.

At the East end a rectangular fore-court, of which Mr. Hirst gives the dimensions 19½ by 16 mètres surrounded a large reservoir, made water-tight with concrete both on the sides and underneath; at the North-West corner there were channels for water to be admitted and discharged.<sup>3</sup> One of the smaller rooms was warmed only by the hypocaust, another by flues (*tubi*) let into the walls, as well as by the hypocaust, in which twelve rows of pillars supported the floor; in the latter case greater heat was

<sup>1</sup> Rechenschaftsbericht des historischen Vereines von Oberpfalz und Regensburg, 1885, pp. iii-vii.

<sup>2</sup> The writer of the Rechenschaftsbericht speaks of these troops as a settlement of veterans (*Veteranen-Ansiedlung*). The *milites limitanei* guarded the frontiers against the incursions of barbarians. Lampridius, Alexander Severus, cap. 58, *Historiae Augustae Scriptores* VI, Ludg. Batav., 1671, vol. I, p. 1024. Sola quae de hostibus capta sunt, limitaneis ducibus et militibus donavit, ita ut eorum ita essent, si heredes illorum militarent, nec unquam ad privatos pertinerent, dicens, attentius eos militaturos, si etiam sua rura defenderent. Addidit sane his et animalia et servos, ut possent colere quod acceperant: ne per inopiam hominum, vel per

senectutem possidentium desererentur rura vicina barbariae.

On account of its great importance I have quoted this passage *in extenso*. Cf. omn. Isaac Casubon's note; Est igitur hic species quaedam feudi etc. He thinks we may perceive here the origin of the feudal system. We find *limitanei Agri* as well as *Milites* in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. II, p. 368, edit. Beck, Lipsiae, 1837. Codex XI, Tit. LX, (LIX) III Imp. Theodosius et Valentinianus. The phrase *duciani Milites* may be explained by referring to Dux Raetiae,—v. supra.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Athenaeum* Oct. 10, 1885, p. 477. "The archaeological discovery at Ratisbon": to this Article the initials J.H. are appended, i.e., Rev. J. Hirst, a frequent contributor to the *Journal of the Institute*.



evidently required. The flues are like those found at the Saalburg, and the cippi, or low columns on which the *suspensura* rested, are the same as may be seen at Corinium (Cirencester).<sup>1</sup> West of these apartments was the principal hall, an oblong, ending at its Northern extremity in a semicircle (hemicyclium); this part was separated from the rest of the room by pilasters. The *apodyterium* (undressing room), *frigidarium*, *tepidarium*, and *caldarium* have been identified; but I am not aware that they present any features requiring further notice. I exhibit a plan, made according to scale, which Dr. Ebner kindly gave me.

There can be no doubt that the building was erected by the first cohort of Canathenians, as their stamps occur throughout the edifice and in the channels. From evidence of the same kind it is inferred that some alterations of minor importance were made by the first Ala (squadron) of Singulares.<sup>2</sup> The coins found belong to the period between Domitian and M. Aurelius; hence it seems probable that the date of construction should be fixed in the first half of the second century, and that of destruction at the beginning of the latter Emperor's reign, during the Marcoman War referred to above. Terra-cottas and other antiquities correspond in their style with this attribution; they have been incorporated

<sup>1</sup> Buckman and Newmarch, Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, The site of Antient Corinium; chapter on the method of constructing tessellated floors, pp. 62-69, Pl. viii, Pilae, full page engraving, and five woodcuts intercalated in the text; see esp. fig. 5, section of the Pilae in the Room B of a Roman villa, fig. 8, Plan of the Pilae of Room A.

<sup>2</sup> The *Singulares* were of two kinds, 1, *Equites singulares Augusti*, of whom there is a full account in Smith's Dict. of Classical Antiq. 3rd edition, Art. Exercitus, vol. i, p. 795 sq., under the heading, *Non-Roman troops in the Garrison*, i. e. of the City under the Empire. They were a force supplementary to the Praetorians, and were usually recruited from provinces on the Rhine and Danube. Raphael Fabretti has a long article on this subject, Inscriptionum Antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio, folio, Romae, 1699. Equites singulares, cap. V. pp. 354-360, Nos. ix,

and 68-96; p. 355 habemus ex Hygino (§23) . . . gradum militiae constituisse Praetorianae proximum, tum munere custodiae, tum praetenturae viciniâ. The Dict. of Ant. loc. citat. gives abundant references to more recent authorities—Henzen, Sull' Equiti Singolari, Mommsen in the Hermes and Corpus Inscr. Lat. 2, There seem to have been special corps of auxiliary troops, also called *Singulares*, but not immediately connected with the Emperor's service. Tacitus, Histories, iv, 70, Accessit ala singularium, excita olim a Vitellio, deinde in partes Vespasiani transgressa. The historian is here relating the energetic measures taken by the Romans at the beginning of Vespasian's reign to crush the revolt of the Gauls and Germans under Civilis and other leaders, who had profited by the civil war, to excite their own countrymen to throw off a foreign yoke: Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. vi. chap. lviii, esp. pp. 514-517, 8vo. edition.



with the museum at St. Ulrich; amongst them were several strigils (bath-scrapers), a bell, nine keys, finger-rings, one of gold with an intaglio, fibulae, hair-pins, ear-picks, and fragments of glass.<sup>1</sup>

Though neither Augsburg nor Ratisbon is usually considered to be famous for Roman remains, their monuments, comparatively few, afford valuable illustrations of history from the time of the earlier Emperors down to Constantine the Great, and even later. I regret my inability to do justice to a theme so interesting; but I shall feel repaid for the fatigue of travelling and the labour of compiling, if I induce others to share with me the pleasure of looking back to that happy period when the whole civilized world was governed by Trajan the most active, Hadrian the most accomplished, and Aurelius the most philosophic in the long series of Roman Emperors.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Matthes' Plan of Regensburg and Stadthof, St. Ulrich's Church is designated Prähistorische Museum. Two saints of this name are mentioned by the Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, Antverpiae, 1721, vol. 27; mensis Julii, tom. ii, die quarta. S. Udalricus Episcopus et Confessor Augustae Vindelicorum, pp. 73—135, *Commentarius praeuius, vita et miracula*. P. 88 contains two very curious engravings of a cross, on the front of which we see a mitred Bishop leading an army against the Huns, or rather Hungarians, and on the back a representation of the city and churches of Augsburg. On account of the proximity, Augsburg and Ratisbon being both in the kingdom of Bavaria, I suppose the aforesaid church was dedicated to this saint, as was also a conspicuous church at Augsburg, but here in conjunction with St. Afra. See M. Welsch, *Rerum Augustarum lib. vii*, pp. 145—149, and supplement 191—197; and *Vita S. Udalrici, Augustanorum episcopi*, 1595, 4<sup>to</sup>.

It seems not improbable that Saint Ulrich, of Augsburg, was the first subject of canonization. He was enrolled among the saints in the year 993. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, vol. xiii, No. iii, p. 233, Jan. 22, 1891.

For the Ulrichskirche at Augsburg see

the Guide by Dr. Adolf Buff, No. 47, 48 of the Europäische Wanderbilder, pp. 35—39, with engravings of the interior and of the North portal.

Another St. Ulrich occurs, *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 28, July, 10<sup>th</sup> day. S. Udalricus monachus, confessor in Brisgoia Germaniae (Breisgau).

<sup>2</sup> Gregorovius has written an excellent monograph, entitled *Geschichte des römischen Kaisers, Hadrian und seiner Zeit*, Königsberg, 1851, 8<sup>vo</sup>, pp. 282; but he has not spoken of this great Emperor as having contributed to the construction of the Roman boundary-wall in Germany: comp. Mr. Hodgkin's essay, *The Pfahlgraben*, p. 84 sq. Authors often fail in that part of their writings which treats of their own country; so Merle D'Aubigné is comparatively unsuccessful when he relates the history of the Reformation in Switzerland where he lived.

Similarly, philologists in discussing their native language have often proved inferior to foreigners; familiarity of itself does not produce scientific accuracy, and the vernacular seems like an object that must be removed to some distance from the eye that we may obtain a good view of it.

## APPENDIX.

I add a list of authorities for the Antiquities in Southern Germany which, though incomplete, may be of use to inquirers, by bringing under their notice some publications not generally known in England.

Gruter, *Corpus Inscriptionum Romanarum*, 2 vols., fol., indexvi.

*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litt. Regiae Boruss. editum*, Berolini, usually quoted by the initials C.I.L.

*Ephemeris epigraphica*, Supplementary to C.I.L., edited by G. Henzen, J. B. Rossi, Th. Mommsen and G. Wilmanns.

*Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum*, edit. G. Parthey and M. Pinder, 1848.

*Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana*, edit. Conrad Mannert, with Introduction and Index, 1824.

*Die Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutingerische Tafel in den Farben des Originals herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Dr. Konrad Miller*, 1888.

*Notitia Dignitatum et Administrationum, tam civilium quam militarium, in partibus Occidentis*, edit. Böcking, ab A. 1839 usque ad A. 1853, with copious Commentary and Index.

Brambach, *Corp. Inserr. Rhenanarum*, 4to, 1867.

Von Cohausen, *Der Römische Grenzwall in Deutschland, Militärische und technische Beschreibung desselben*, vol. I, Text with a list of publications by the same author at the end; vol II, Atlas of 52 Plates (*Abbildungen*). Eduard Paulus, *Der römische Grenzwall (limes transrhennanus) vom Hohenstaufen bis an den Main, mit einer Karte*, 1863.

Von Raiser, *Der Ober-Donau-Kreis im Königreiche Bayern unter den Römern*, I<sup>te</sup>, II<sup>te</sup>, III<sup>te</sup> Abtheilung.

*Jahrs-Bericht des historischen Vereins im Oberdonau-Kreise.*

*Combinirter Jahrs-Bericht des historischen Vereins für den Regierungs-Bezirk von Schwaben und Neuburg.*

Marci Velseri, *Duumviri Augustani, Rerum Boicarum, Libri quinque una cum Libro sexto, hactenus inedito*, edit., 1777. This book is a history of Bavaria, not of Bohemia (Boii) as might at first be supposed.

Von Hefner, *Das römische Bayern, mit 8 lithographirten Tafeln.*

Von Raiser, *Guntia und das römische Antiquarium zu Augsburg; Urkundliche Geschichte der Stadt Lauingen an der Donau; Die römischen alterthümer zu Augsburg, und andere Denkwürdigkeiten des Ober-Donau-Kreises.*

*Führer durch das Königlich Bayerische National Museum in München*, 1890.

*Württembergische Jahrbücher*, Jahrgang 1835, Erstes Heft. *Die im Königreich Württemberg gefundenen römischen Stein-Inschriften und Bildwerke.* Verzeichnet und erklärt von Dr. Christoph Friedrich Stälin, pp. 1-125.

Von Jaumann, *Colonia Sumlocenne, Rottenburg am Neckar unter den Römern*, 1840. This author cannot be implicitly trusted, either for sculptures or inscriptions.

Dr. Konrad Miller, *Die römischen Begräbnisstätten in Württemberg*, 1884. *Reste aus römischer Zeit in Oberschwaben*, 1889. Separat-Abdruck aus *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*. *Zur Topographie der römischen Kastelle am Limes und Neckar in Württemberg* (Hierzu Taf. 2 & 3), pp. 46-71. *Die Untersuchungen der Römer*

strassen im Grossherzogtum Baden. (Aus der "Karlsruher Zeitung" vom 7 September 1890).

Marci Velseri Matthaei F. Ant. N. Patricii Aug. Vind. Rerum Augustanar. Vindelicar. Libri Octo, MDXCIV. This book was printed at Venice, probably by the younger Aldus.

Herrn Paul von Stetten des jüngern Erläuterungen der in Kupfer gestochenen Vorsteellungen, aus der Geschichte der Reichstadt Augsburg. In historischen Briefen an ein Frauenzimmer (with many curious engravings), 1765.

Von Kaiser, Die Funde an römischen und andern Alterthümern auf dem Rosenau-Berg, zunächst bey Augsburg, in den Jahren 1844 und 1845.

M Mezger, Die Römischen Steindenkmäler, Inschriften und Gefäss—Stempel im Maximilians-Museum zu Augsburg, 1862.

Augsburg von Adolf Buff (Guide-Book). Das Augsburger Kunstgewerbe während der letzten drei Jahrhunderte Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung. Sept. 17, 29; Oct. 13, 1887.

Hugo Graf von Walderdorff, Regensburg in seiner Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.

J. Dahlem, Das mittelalterlich-römische Lapidarium und die vorge-schichtlich-römische Sammlung zu St. Ulrich in Regensburg.

Wolfgang Schreiner, Eining und die dortigen Römer-Ausgrabungen. Ein kleiner Wegweiser durch dieselben.

Christian Heinrich Kleinstäuber, Geschichte und Beschreibung der altberühmten steinernen Brücke zu Regensburg. [Sonderabdruck aus dem xxxiii. Bde. der Verhandlungen des historischen Vereines von Oberpfalz und Regensburg].

Rechenschaftsbericht of the same Society for 1885.

H. K. Kissling, Illustrierter Führer durch die Reichsfestung Ulm und ihre Umgebung.

Friedrich Pressel, Ulm und sein Münster, Festschrift zur Erinnerung an den 30 Juni, 1377.

Aug Beyer und Fr. Pressel, Festgruss zum 25 Juni, 1889. Münster Blätter, folio.

At Ulm we see what appears strange to English eyes—a Cathedral without a Bishop—but the chief ecclesiastical dignitary has the title of *Prälat*. The spire (said to be the highest in the world) completed according to the original design, reflects infinite credit on the small State of Würtemberg. A folding-page engraving of it is appended to the last mentioned work, which contains other plates well executed. Comp. an Article in the Illustrated London News for June 28, 1890, vol. 96 p. 803.

I desire to express my deep obligation, and to offer my hearty thanks to Dr. Buff of Augsburg and the Rev. Dr. Adalbert Ebner of Ratisbon for their kind co-operation in assisting my researches.

## NOTES ON THE HERALDIC EXHIBITION, EDINBURGH, 1891.<sup>1</sup>

By J. BALFOUR PAUL, F.S.A. Scot., *Lyon King of Arms*.

I wish in what I am going to say to point out briefly some of the most interesting exhibits in the collection of articles relating to heraldry which has been temporarily got together in view of the meeting of this Institute. I think such a collection will be found to be not altogether without its use. Archaeologists are of course divided into many classes, but few of them can afford to dispense with some knowledge at least of heraldry. If you wish to study ancient buildings what a flood of light do those achievements, cut on their weather-beaten walls, throw on their history; if you are a charter student what a personal interest do those quaint seals often give to the musty parchments; if you are a grubber amongst old books—and what more engrossing pursuit—with what joy do you come across some ancient MS., its pages commemorative of the deeds of some illustrious race, and resplendent with illuminations fresh as they came from the hand of the patient scribe who gave such loving labour to his task long centuries ago. Or are you an artist interested in studying the effective combination of colour? You will find it a singular fact that whether you look for harmony or contrast in the colours of heraldic emblazonment you will never find a coat that jars on the artistic taste. The rule which prohibits colour being on colour or metal on metal seems a safeguard against all offending combinations. And what more beautiful in the way of heraldic art than those “storied windows richly dight” which we find in our old churches; from generation to generation they have blushed and glowed in the warm sunlight till their colours are mellowed to a softened radiance, and they form one of the most beautiful records of the past. And though we have, I am afraid, lost the art of making that quality of glass which our ancestors possessed, we can still employ heraldic decoration to as great effect in other ways. The art of embroidery is still as popular with our ladies as it ever was, and you can see for yourselves from several specimens in the exhibition what beautiful work may be done with the needle in the ornamentation of textile fabrics.

It is, however, through the art of the illuminator that heraldry appeals most strongly to the popular taste. Persons who know nothing of heraldry as a science, and who are not interested in tracing the descent of a family and exploring its various alliances, can still admire a finely executed blazon, appealing, as it does, to their artistic sense. Look, for instance, at the Grant of Arms to the Tallow Chandlers Company of the City of London. It is one of the oldest, if

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Antiquarian Section at the meeting of the Institute, at Edinburgh, August 14th, 1891.



not the oldest, grant in existence. It is given by John Smart, Garter King of Arms, on 24th September, 1454, thirty years before the present College of Arms was incorporated. Old as it is, or rather, indeed, because it is so old, it is one of the most beautiful specimens of the scribes' art that we possess. The floriation of the mantling and other accessories of the coat of arms are executed with a delicacy of feeling and artistic restraint which we look for in vain in later examples. However useful the art of printing may have proved there is no doubt that from its introduction the decadence of the art of illuminating and writing MS. may be dated. The grants of arms of the next century are tawdry and stiff in comparison with their predecessors, and indeed it may be said that the art of blazoning has never again reached such high artistic excellence as it did in its early days. As we shall have occasion to observe, vigour of a sort was not wanting in some of the heraldic artists of the sixteenth century, but it was vigour unaccompanied by that knowledge of form and instinctive grace which characterized the earlier exponents of the art. In the reign of Charles II. we find no lack of gorgeousness of colouring and elaboration in detail, but the general effect is heavy though rich. A fine example of the blazonry of this period may be seen in the interesting Deed of Recognition by Charles II., of the Royal descent of the Cantelmo family. This family first settled in France, whence they accompanied Charles of Anjou to Naples. They claimed to be descended from Duncan, King of Scotland, but they rather illogically styled themselves at one period of their history *Cantelmo-Stuarts*. They bear as arms a lion rampant surmounted by a label of three points. Personally I have not yet had an opportunity of reading King Charles's recognition, so that I cannot say on what evidence the document proceeded. Apart from historic and family interest, however, it is a good specimen, as I previously remarked, of the style of the period. Another deed, belonging to the same reign, and displaying similar richness of ornamentation, is (No. 242) a commission by the King to Sir James Leslie, Knight of the Golden Spur, to be Ambassador to "the High and Glorious Monarch, the Mighty and Right Noble Prince Abunazar Mutey Ismael Aben Mutania Sherif Mutey Ali, the present Emperor of the Kingdom of Fez Morocco."

But to come back to the earlier illuminations which after all are in every way the more interesting. As regards grants of arms, England easily bears off the palm, both in respect of beauty of design and artistic treatment. In Scotland we have nothing to compare to them. What are probably the two earliest Scottish grants in existence are both exhibited, one to Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, and the other to Lord Maxwell of Herries. They are both rude and untutored in the design, but are not without a certain graphic strength. The same remark applies, though in a less degree, to the early Scottish armorials, a fine collection of which has been got together. It begins with the important and authoritative MS. of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. This, of course, is one of the best known heraldic MS. in existence, as no less than two fac-simile editions of it have been published. While it does not pretend to any very high artistic excellence, it is distinguished by solid and sufficient work; but it is, of course, as a register of arms, executed under the direction of the highest heraldic authority of the time, and sanctioned in the next century by



the Privy Council of Scotland that this armorial commands our attention. There is a curious reference to it in a letter from Thomas Randolph, the English Envoy to the Scottish Court, to Sir William Cecil, dated 5 October, 1561, when, after commending to his correspondent, the bearer of the epistle, David Lindsay, of Rathillet, then Rothesay Herald, youngest brother of Sir David (afterwards himself Lyon in 1568) he continues "To lette hym be the better knowne unto your honour he is brother unto the notable David Lindsaye, Kyunge of Armes. He is hable to procure me the syghte of a book with one word of your honours mouth wherein are all the armes of all the noblemen and barons bothe newe and olde."

The armorials of the last half of the sixteenth century, of which several are exhibited, display a curious similarity of form and treatment. They generally begin by giving the mythical coats of the three Kings of Cologne and personages mentioned both in sacred and profane history. Then come full length representations of the Kings and Queens of Scotland, each clad in a surcoat with their appropriate coat of arms. That of Baliol is peculiar, being always depicted with shattered crown, broken sword and sceptre, and rent surcoat, sometimes also lying on the ground, as if to typify the disgrace he was considered to have brought on the country. The most interesting as well as the most artistic armorial connected with Scotland, however, is that from the Archerfield Library (671), and which is, I believe, for the first time brought under public notice. Its history deserves a word of mention. The first owner of the book of whom we have any record was George Lord Seton, the devoted adherent of Queen Mary, who met her on the shores of Loch Leven, and who was afterwards exiled for adherence to her cause. On his death in 1585 it became the property of his son Robert, afterwards Earl of Winton, and about 1630 it was acquired by James Esplene Marchmont Herald, subsequently passing into the possession of William Nisbet of Dirleton, to whose representative it still belongs. This armorial marks a distinct advance in respect of artistic treatment on anything which had been previously seen. The figures of the Scottish monarchs "are full of variety and individuality, and in all of them there is a manifest aim to adhere with antiquarian accuracy to the costume of the various periods." The faces are evidently intended to be portraits, and agree with the traditional representations of the monarchs. James IV. is depicted with an iron chain round his waist, which, according to tradition, he wore constantly next his skin in expiation of his rebellion against his father, and by means of which his body is said to have been identified after the battle of Flodden. The effigies of James VI. and his Queen are particularly rich and elaborate, a purple canopy being introduced, blazoned with the arms of Scotland impaling Denmark. The page showing the "Habit of a Herald 1500" is curious, the head of the figure being covered with a winged cap, and the right hand holding the serpent-twined caduceus of Mercury. While no doubt the regulation tabard is displayed, I rather think that the entire representation savours more of the allegorical than the historic. The details of the blazoning throughout the remainder of the volume are full of interest to the heraldic student, but I have not time to enter on them here. I can only allude very briefly to two more of the Scottish armorials. One

is that from the Sunderland Hall Library (674), dating from the early part of the reign of James VI. "The execution of the arms in this volume is very distinctive. The shields are strongly outlined in black. The handling is firm and determinative, without being at all delicate or sensitive. The animals are drawn with vigour and spirit but when the human figure is introduced it is expressed in a singularly rude and inadequate fashion." There are various eccentricities of orthography which seem to point to the hand of a foreign painter having been employed. One of the odd features about the volume is the curious variations from the usually accepted arms which occur. In the case of Lord Somerville for instance, Nisbet gives the crest as a wheel or, and upon it a dragon vert spouting fire; here, however, it is given as a frog, while the supporters, usually given as two hounds proper collared gules, are represented under the eccentric guise of two frogs, or, to give them their vernacular Scottish names, "puddocks." Several other examples of similar variations might be mentioned. The other Scottish armorial to which I wish to direct your attention is (No. 678) from Dunvegan Castle. It was once the property of Brodie of Brodie (Lyon King of Arms 1727—1754), whose daughter and heiress married into the family of Macleod of Macleod, in whose possession it still remains. It was at one time supposed to have belonged to, if it was not executed by, Guillaume du Bartas, Ambassador to James VI., a well-known poet, who fought at Ivney, celebrated the battle in his song, and died of wounds received on the field. The ground for this belief was an autograph inscription at the end of the volume, "I 'ay laisse' mes armories a Mons. Scha, en tesmoinage d'amitie, Du Bartas," which has been held as presenting or bequeathing the book to William Schaw, Master of the King's Works, and Chamberlain to the Queen of James VI. A closer investigation of the book, however, shows that this cannot be the case, and the conclusion has been come to, which is probably correct, that the volume is simply a *Liber Amicorum* of a kind quite common in that age, and of which several other specimens may be seen in the exhibition. The inscription referred to has been evidently intended to have been put below a drawing of the arms of Du Bartas, but this has never been executed, the page being blank save for the inscription at its foot and the words "ex arte et marte" (doubtless the Du Bartas motto) at the top. The work itself is a beautiful armorial, the various coats being executed in a brilliant and artistic manner.

I would fain linger over some of the other armorials, both Scottish and English, but time warns me that I must pass to other subjects after a glance at the Foreign Collections of arms. But before doing so I would ask you not to omit seeing the curious armorial (No. 685) belonging to the Lyon Office. It is not an ancient one, only dating from 1707; it is a MS on vellum containing the arms of the nobility of Great Britain. The peculiarity which makes it probably a unique volume consists in all the details of the arms, the charges in the shield, the supporters and the minutest details on them, the crest, &c., being cut out separately and pasted on to the vellum; for instance in the case of Lord Reay's supporters, which are two soldiers, their belts, cartouche boxes, firelocks, epaulettes, and, if I remember rightly, the very buttons are separate pieces of work, and neatly joined together.

## FOREIGN ARMORIALS.

Most of the foreign exhibits will be found in the second room of the exhibition. In the case of the armorials they are represented by fac-simile reproductions. Though I have not seen any of the original MS I cannot believe that their hues are not considerably more subdued and softened than those of the reproductions here exhibited, which exhibit a very decided use of the aniline colours. One of the earliest and most interesting armorials in existence is the Zurich Roll (751). It is believed on good grounds to be a MS of the 14th century, probably executed at Zurich between 1336 and 1347. Simple, vigorous, and quaint in the style of treatment adopted, and effective though thoroughly artistic in its colouring it is an admirable example of a mediæval register of arms. Not less important and much more elaborate, though a century later in date, is the splendid *Armorial de Gelre*, the original of which is now in the Royal Library at Brussels. It has been reproduced *in extenso* by M. Victor Bouton, whose edition may be seen in Case XIV. (1018).

Heynen the author, who was Gelre Herald of the time, had travelled widely and observed narrowly; the result was that he included in his armorial a great variety of arms belonging to the sovereigns, nobles, and Princes of Europe. They are executed in a most masterly and graphic manner; the animals are instinct with life, and the colouring is brilliant and harmonious. From the large number of arms which are represented they are necessarily on a somewhat small scale, but their decorative effect may be easily seen by the enlargements of a few of them which have been made, and which will be found hanging separately on the wall (753). The series of equestrian figures (779—793) representing the Knights of the Golden Fleece, are worthy of notice. They are taken from an armorial in the Arsenal Library in Paris, which has been recently edited by M. Lorédan Larchey. Its date is previous to 1467. It contains a series of seventy four mounted figures, beginning with Philip the Good, founder of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and includes most of the Monarchs, Princes, and Elector Bishops of Europe, each brandishing a short sword, displaying his crest on his helmet, and bearing his full heraldic achievement emblazoned on his surcoat and horse trappings. As a very competent authority remarks, "Later in date than the *Armorial de Gelre*, this MS shows less of delicacy and refined grace; the Flemish influence is more pronouncedly present in its art; but these equestrian figures are full of a quaint 'Gothic gusto' of the very essence of mediævalism, and they enable us to realise with a quite curious vividness the fantastic yet splendid aspect of the knight of the period when fully equipped for the tilting lists, and enable us to study every minutest detail of his armour and weapons." From this point of view a still more extraordinary set of figures are those delineated in the plates (1088) from the tournament book of William, Grand Duke of Bavaria. They show the extravagance and absurd elaboration of the equipment of German Knights and their steeds in the first half of the 16th century, contrasting with the simple and workmanlike armour of our own country; the whole in fact may be designated chivalry gone mad. The only other foreign armorial to which I would allude is that by Conrad von Granenberg, completed at Constance 1483, and recently reproduced in admirable fac-simile. It is one of the most important armorials extant, and is, says

the authority I have quoted above, "thoroughly representative of the period when heraldic delineation and illumination attained its most exuberant richness; in which while the restraint of earlier times was rapidly passing away, it was still informed by a certain dignity and a noble conventionalism." Many most interesting technical points in this armorial appeal to the heraldic student, but I cannot even mention them, and must now pass, after recommending to your attention the three very beautiful MSS lent by Her Majesty the Queen (case xx).

### HISTORICAL EXHIBITS.

Not the least interesting part of the collection we are naming consists of those articles of very diverse kinds which have some definite historical association. Among these may be mentioned the great Cavers Banner, which will be found on the floor of the large case in the first room. This curious relic consists of a flag of thin sage green silk twelve feet long by three wide, bearing certain heraldic devices—the details of which you will find on the catalogue—painted on it. It is said to have been the banner of James, Second Earl of Douglas and Mar, and was carried by his son, Archibald Douglas, of Cavers, at the Battle of Otterburn, 1368. If this is so—and I see no reason to doubt the truth of the tradition—it is one of the oldest flags in existence, and it is in a wonderful state of preservation. Associated with this and belonging to the same time are the "Percy Gauntlets" (71), said to have been attached to Hotspur's lance as a "Gage d'Armour," which Douglas took from him when he overthrew him in single combat before the walls of Newcastle in the year before-mentioned. They are delicate and beautifully embroidered gloves, though more fitted for the boudoir than the camp. Near these you will see another ancient family banner, in the shape of the Bellenden banner (151) anciently carried by the Scotts of Buccleuch, and bearing their arms surmounted by an earl's coronet. Another celebrated old Scottish flag is represented by a photograph, but the original may be seen in the Advocates' Library in this city. It is the standard of the Earl Marshal of Scotland, carried at the Battle of Flodden by Black John Skirving of Plawland Hill, the Standard-bearer. Having been taken prisoner, Skirving concealed the banner about his person, and it remained in the possession of the family till the beginning of this century, when it was presented to the Faculty of Advocates. A fine piece of emblazonment which has an interest for both English and Scots, will be found in case viii. (693) in the actual copy of the Statutes of the Order of the Garter illuminated on vellum, sent by Henry VIII. to James V. of Scotland on his installation as a Knight of the Order, 1535. What is additionally interesting is that there has been discovered the account of expenses for the production of this document, so that we are able to tell exactly what the whole thing cost. Near this you will see what is perhaps the most important exhibit of its kind in the exhibition. This is a Book of Hours of the 13th century, a most exquisite MS, but the chief interest of which consists in having recorded in its calendar against the 26th of April the death of Sir John Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorne, which took place in 1421. The death of his wife Isabella, the heiress of Lorne, is also noted as having occurred on 21st December, 1439. But the interest of the MS does not end here.



Bound up with it, but in the opinion of experts totally unconnected with the volume originally, and certainly nearly a century older, is a series of 23 full page illuminations representing scriptural subjects, and bearing traces of Saxon influence. One of these displays the Roman soldiers watching the tomb of Our Lord; they are four in number, and "clad in complete steel," and their shields are emblazoned with distinct heraldic charges. If we are right in assuming these illuminations to have been produced previous to the end of the 12th century, we have in them some of the very earliest representations of coats of arms, and they show that heraldry had then attained to a more advanced stage than is generally considered to be the case.

While there are many other noteworthy historical documents to be seen in the exhibition, especially several interesting and beautiful documents of Charles V., Philip I., and Philip II. of Spain, I can here only mention two more. One is the protest (388) of the Bohemian nobles against the burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, addressed to the Council of Constance in 1415, and having ninety-nine seals attached. The seals, unfortunately, are worn and rubbed, but the deed is one which will appeal in a special way to the feelings of many. It is the property of the University of Edinburgh, having been bequeathed to it in 1657 by Dr. William Guild, Principal of Kings College, Aberdeen. Another most interesting relic intimately associated with this country is the lovely little gold signet which you will see in case vii. (1167). It was found during some excavations at Kinross in 1829, and from the fact that a horseshoe was found near it it is surmised that its original possessor may have been thrown at the place, and so lost the signet. At first the seal was supposed to be the personal signet of James IV., bearing as it did the Scottish Lion impaling the arms of England for his Queen, Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. A narrower investigation, however, disclosed the presence of the bordure compoy of the Beauforts proclaiming the arms to be those of Joan Beaufort, daughter of John, Earl of Somerset, the English beauty who had captivated the heart of our James I. during his captivity in the south. It is a most perfect specimen of the seal engraving of the period, executed with exquisite refinement, and fresh and bright as on the day it left the hands of the maker. Behind it are two thin semi-circular plates of gold attached to the centre of the back of the seal with a hinge, so as to fall upon it flat, and enable it to be conveniently carried in the pocket. A more interesting almost pathetic relic of a lady who had a bright future before her as the wife of an able and gallant king, but whose after life was spent in pursuing the assassins of her ill-fated husband, it would be difficult to find.

#### PRINTED BOOKS.

But we must hasten on, and I can only indicate to you very briefly before closing a few more of the special features of the collection. Those of you who are collectors of books will find a fair selection of the heraldic works which have been published in this country, and had we had a little more time and space at our disposal I do not think it would have been impossible to have got together a complete collection. I need not do more than mention the names of the Boke of St. Albans and Gerard Leigh's *Accedence of Armorie*, both of which quaint works are well-known to every student of heraldic antiquities. The copy of



Ferne's *Blazon of Gentry*—a work not very readable at best—which will be found in case No. vii. (111A), has an especial interest of its own attaching to it; it is from the Abbotsford Library, and was the property of Sir Walter Scott; a previous owner was Thomas Drysdale, Islay Herald, who had bought the book in 1619, and who seems, Sir Walter says, to have read it with patience and profit till he came to a passage which quotes Scotland and England as “examples of feudatory and sovereign powers.” This assertion set on fire the Scottish blood of Islay Herald, who, forgetting the book had been printed nearly forty years before, and that the author was probably dead, writes on the margin in great wrath and in a half-text hand “He is a traitor and a liar in his throat, and I offer him the combat that says Scotland's Kings were ever feudatory to England.” The *Union of Honour* (119) is worthy of a glance, were it only for the fact that it is the work of one of those genealogists who, like poets, are born, not made. Its author was James Yorke, who is quaintly described by Fuller in his “*Worthies of Lincolnshire*” as “a blacksmith of Lincoln, and an excellent workman in his profession, inasmuch that if Pegasus himself would wear shoes this man alone is fit to make them, contriving them so thin and light as that they would be no burden to him. But he is a servant as well of Apollo as of Vulcan, turning his stidly into a study, having lately set forth a book of heraldry called ‘*The Union of Honour, &c.*,’ and although there be some mistakes (no hand so steady as always to hit the nail on the head), yet it is of singular use and industriously performed, being set forth since 1640.” The collectors will not fail to note Randle Holmes' *Academy of Armory* as probably the rarest book on the subject, not more than fifty copies being known to be in existence. Its contents embrace a vast variety of subjects from Heraldry to the sibyls, grammar, and billiards. A passing mention of a fine hand-coloured edition of the great work of Guillim must close our hasty glance at the printed books, though I must ask you not to forget to look at the works of one whom I consider, if you will pardon what is perhaps national partiality, the best of all the older heraldic writers, I mean Alexander Nisbet.

#### SEALS.

The subject of seals is one which appertains so much to the domain of the specialist that it would be useless to enter on it here in any detail. I can but point out to you the fine series of casts selected from the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, London, by their Assistant Secretary, Mr. St. John Hope, as illustrating the rise, progress, and decline of seal engraving in England. I must not, too, omit to mention the series of Scottish great seals for which we are also indebted to the same Society. The fac-similes of Scottish seals (all of which you will find reproduced in Henry Laing's admirable work) show that Scotland was not behind her neighbours in the middle ages in respect of the art of seal engraving, and is perhaps the clearest and most complete proof that is extant of the artistic vitality of the Scottish nation from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. From the commemoration of one man in his personal signet to that of many in a family tree is a natural enough transition, and I would ask you to turn from the seals and look at two noble pedigrees which hang on the walls. The large one (No. 1) is the “*Genealogie of the most ancient and noble House of Douglas*,” and contains much that

is of interest both to the herald and genealogist. The artist, too, cannot fail to be arrested by the tree of the Campbells of Genurquhy, executed as it was by Jameson, the early Scottish portrait painter, and embellished by portraits, or at least representations of various members of the family, by his hand. The photograph of the Seton Pedigree (5) displays an extraordinary and delicately executed family tree with small portraits of some of the members, together with apes and peacocks interspersed in the foliage of the branches.

A few desultory observations on the miscellaneous objects in the exhibition must close this paper. Let me direct your attention to the splendid series of portraits of Kings of Arms, Heralds, Pursuivants, and writers on Heraldry lent by Mr. Arthur Vicars, of Dublin. Such a collection, amounting to about 100 items, is, I should think, quite unique, and must have taken much time and labour to bring together. The assemblage of Heraldic Playing Cards exhibited on the wall opposite to that where the heralds are, is from the collection of Mr. Clulow, London, who, I believe, has the most famous collection of playing cards in the world. These heraldic cards illustrate the popularity of the science in days gone by, especially on the Continent, there being specimens of French, German, Russian, and Italian packs, as well as English. Scotland, too, can boast of a similar set of cards, which are displayed along one of the shelves in the large glass case. Several sets of these are known to be in existence. One is at Abbotsford, another is or was (because recent inquiries have failed to find it) at Drummond Castle, and the pack which the Committee have been fortunate enough to secure belongs to Miss Crichton, of Musselburgh.

You must not omit to look at the series of sketches illustrating the heraldic features incorporated into the architecture of some of the principal mansions in Scotland. They are the work of Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross, architects, executed for their book on the Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland, a work of which three volumes have been published, and which is now on the eve of completion. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that it is quite the most important book on the subject that has ever been published in Scotland, and both for artistic excellence and accuracy of detail will remain the standard work of its kind.

To those whose tastes incline to the splendour and solemnity of state ceremonial, the collection of the decorations of the various orders of Knighthood, kindly lent us by the Lord Chamberlain, cannot fail to be attractive. It must be confessed that the art of designing collars, badges, and the like has not progressed in recent times. Both the Garter and Thistle collars are much more artistic than those of the more modern orders, but it is a question whether the much simpler and less pretentious collar of SS. (about the origin of which so much has been written—see ‘Notes and Queries’ *passim*) is not as handsome and pleasant to look on as any of them. The row of tabards in the large glass case makes a brilliant display, though in the more modern specimens the colours are somewhat too vivid. The beautiful and elaborate work on them, however, should interest our lady visitors. You will notice one (141) once the property of Bath King of Arms, which was in use before the French fleurs de lys were removed from the Royal ensigns armorial. The Crown of a King of Arms which is shown is quite monumental in its poverty of design and clumsiness of execution.

The stained glass in the exhibition, though small in quantity, is good in quality. There are two glorious old bits (probably German), (1097-98) whose brilliant hues have been mellowed by the touch of ages, till now they are perfect specimens of their kind. A fine panel, too, is that bearing the arms of James VI. and his Queen, showing Scotland impaling Denmark, of date 1600, and Mr. Albert Hartshorne has lent us an interesting piece, representing a traditional incident in the life of Sir Alexander Stewart with a border round it, dated, 1574. The four paintings over the doorway leading to the second room of the exhibition, represent a fine armorial window in the Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate of this city. It is, perhaps the oldest specimen in Scotland of painted glass *in situ*, and though, of course, the glow of the original cannot be reproduced with the brush, the skillful way in which the general effect has been reproduced cannot but be admired.

And now I can only recommend you in a word to look at the beautiful exhibits lent by the authorities at South Kensington, both in metal and needlework—at the artistic display of china which has been got both from private individuals and the Edinburgh Industrial Museum, and at the fine collection of rubbings from the heraldic brasses which have been chosen from a large number which are at the last named institution. Lastly, collectors of book-plates will find a considerable number to study which the Committee have culled from immense collections which have been put at their disposal.

I have in the above imperfect notes endeavoured to point out to you some of the most conspicuous articles in the exhibition. It is only a very hurried survey that we have been able to take, but if the result is to enable you to go to the exhibition with some definite idea of what you are to see, and to see it from a point of view from which, perhaps, you had not considered it before, the paper will not have been written in vain. Though largely archaeological in character, the result will, I hope, prove that heraldry, looked at both from its scientific and artistic sides, is still living and flourishing, displaying, especially within the last few years, renewed energy and vigorous growth.

## SCOTTISH HERALDRY AND GENEALOGY.

To the Editor of the *Archæological Journal*.

Sir,—

Although neither a Scotsman, nor a professional Herald or Genealogist, I have recently spent a morning among the saltires and fesses, and the records of "who begat who," then on view in Auld Reekie, and may perhaps be permitted to congratulate the Archæological Institute on the success of an exhibition which, if not what might have been expected from the ancient manor houses and charter chests of broad Scotland, is nevertheless very creditable to those who proposed and those who carried it into execution. No less a Scot than Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, tells us that length of days to man, and long standing to families, are among the greatest of temporal blessings, and Sir Walter Scott has recorded his opinion that family traditions and genealogical history, studies in themselves insignificant, serve to perpetuate a great deal of what is remarkable in ancient manners, and record many curious and minute facts which could have been preserved and conveyed through no other medium. It has been said of the trunk of an elephant that it could tear down an oak or pick up a pin. In the former of these feats it might be compared to our historians of the last century, but since that time they have availed themselves of the latter power, and the life producing pages of Macaulay owe much of their interest to his familiarity with such information as is to be gleaned in the untrodden paths and by-ways of knowledge, and in collections such as that now under notice.

From this point of view there are many who, with myself, have spent an hour or two very pleasantly, and with much instruction, in the rooms at Edinburgh. The Scottish Lyon never ramped more proudly or in better company, and Achais himself and his tressured descendants, could they have risen from the land of myths or stepped down from the walls of Holyrood might well have been gratified, and would certainly have been instructed by the show. Even the living Lyon, "Rex fecialium," had divested himself of his gorgeous hide, as had other heralds and pursuivants, Bath and Marchmont, Unicorn and Carrick, whose collected "spolia opima" dazzled the eyes of beholders. The sutors of Selkirk have not indeed contributed the birse, but the banner of Buccleugh was there displayed with its trippant stag, the gathering word of Bellendaine, and the crescent and blazing star, so indicative of a moonlight raid. There, too, might be seen the famous pennon from Cavers, blazoned with St. Andrew's cross, and semeé of the bloody heart, as yet uncrowned, together with a truly heraldic lion,



such as the "terra leonum" itself could not produce, so ferocious was his aspect; and near him stood forth the proud "Jamais Arreyre" of the House of Douglas. This, though reputed to have been taken from Hotspur, and immortalized in Border song, is evidently a Douglas pennon, the ensign of James, the second Earl—Earl also of Mar—and was without doubt, carried at Otterborne by the ancestor of its present owner and exhibitor, Douglas of Cavers, who well earned his family motto of "do or die." The national tradition is, however, worthily supported by a pair of gloves—a real Percy relic—said to have been taken by Douglas in single combat with Hotspur before the walls of Newcastle in 1388. They are, without doubt, original, and bear the Percy lion worked in seed pearls, and may have been, as is supposed, a "gage d'amour." Of less antiquity, though scarcely of less interest, is the Royal banner taken and re-taken on the field of Worcester by Edmund Hay, in whose family it still remains. Though not of large size, it is heavy with embossed emblazonry, and must have tried the strength of arm of the bearer. A banner, or rather pennon of the Earls Mareschal, borne on Flodden field, by John Skirving, of Plasoland, is preserved in the Advocates' Library, and it is to be regretted that it is here represented by a photograph only. The value of these evidences of Scottish valour is most enhanced by their preservation in the families of those who won them. The past and the present are thus brought into a most interesting apposition.

Of illuminated pedigrees the collection displays a splendid example of one of the House of Douglas from the "dark grey man" down to 1590, adorned with some hundreds of coats of Arms. The material is either vellum or a very superior kind of parchment, so skilfully put together as almost to cover all the joinings. It is exhibited by the Earl of Home, and is probably a part of the inheritance won in the great Douglas cause. Lord Breadalbane has sent a large pedigree of the Campbells of Glenurehy, with good miniatures of the chiefs of each generation, and there is one dating from 1585, of the Setons of Winton, the real Setons, whose armorial cielings may still be seen at their house near Saltoun. There is also a genealogy of the Royal House, prepared in 1790 under the direction of the Earl of Buchan, founder of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, and one of the Erskines of Pittrodie, "a weel keuned" branch of the house of Mar. There was also a printed pedigree of the Cadells of Banton and one of the MacCrae's of Conera with their branches, from Finlay Dhu Macgilchrist, with their de'il may care motto of "Nec euro nec caroo," and one or two others of families of less note.

The remainder and bulk of the collection, is of a somewhat miscellaneous character. There are various armorial bearings of guilds, corporations, ecclesiastical bodies and dignitaries, kingdoms and principalities, and private persons, some from public halls, courts of justice, churches, castles and dwelling houses, carved in wood or stone, painted, or embroidered. There is also a fine impression of the imperial great seal of Scotland, shewing the lion in the first quarter, the Unicorn supporter, and the jewel of St. Andrew, no unfit emblems of the share taken by Scotland in the united empire. Also a curious bronze door knocker, dated 1572, and bearing the quartered coat of Bruce of Muness in Shetland upon the anvil; drawings from armorial tombstones, a few rubbings, well executed, from monumental brasses, one especially from



the Netherlands of large size and bronzed, some engraved broad-swords and pistols, silver plate, china, linen woven with armorial devices, and one or two suits of armour of known age. Also some horse caparisons very richly emblazoned.

There are also some fine armorial panels from Aberdeen and the abbey church of Dunfermline, and others executed in a rough but most effective style, very suitable for modern use, combining effect with economy of work. There is a large collection of heraldic seals, matrices in iron, silver and gold, and impressions in metal, wax and plaster, some of very early date, and illustrating the first use of armorial bearings, combined arms, and quarterings. The collection of armorial book plates is extensive, but chiefly modern, as indeed is the practice. One very curious one, of quarto size, gives the arms of Scrope of Danby, with 28 quarterings and their fine old bold but modest motto "Devant, si je puis."

There are also some cases of unfolded charters with armorial seals, one being by the nobles of Bohemia with 99 seals. Also patents of titles and dignities, commissions, grants and confirmations of arms. funeral and processional rolls, a tournament roll of the reign of Henry VIII., manuscript books of arms, some from Her Majesty, a number of more or less rare books on heraldry, and a book or two of pedigrees. Also a collection of engraved portraits of Garters and other Heralds, and one or two portrait prints of old Scottish worthies, with the arms of four generations of ancestors included in the wreathed margin. Also a copy of the funeral escutcheon of Robertson of Strowan, shewing the seize quarters, now so rare.

Some of the most valuable, and to the Scottish Genealogist, most interesting parts of the collection consist of the illustrated books of pedigrees and heraldic emblazonments contained in manuscript volumes which were necessarily exhibited in cases, and thus beyond the handling of ordinary visitors. These seem to have been specially due to the public spirit and energy of the Lyon King whose exertions both in the collection and the arrangement of the components of the exhibition cannot be too highly commended. To him, and to the officers of the Scottish Corporation ably seconded by those of the English Institute the success exhibition is to be ascribed.

On the whole it must be admitted that the collection was one of considerable interest, and well deserving the attention which seems to have been bestowed upon it, though it neither was, nor did it pretend to be in any sense a national collection, even of armorial bearings and pedigrees, though it is possible that it may lead the way to something of a broader and deeper character, something really worthy of a nation so great in warlike exploits, and not less great, in these later years, in all the arts of peace.

A real national collection to illustrate the origins, genealogies, heraldry, and general antiquities of Scotland would be of great interest and most attractive, nor is there any country in which the materials for such a collection are more abundant or more conveniently to be obtained. Sir William Napier, in his well-known rebuke to the Secretary at War, reminds him that he is of a name and nation unaccustomed to submit to injuries, and indeed the Scottish character, still pugnacious and self-asserting, was in the old time intensely warlike, and notwithstanding the boast of "shoulder to shoulder," the

clans and great families were almost always at feud with each other. But their conflicts differed materially from those of modern warfare. The use of the broadsword was not consistent with close columns or serried ranks. There was room for the display of personal strength and courage, and in consequence the arms and relics of ancient wars are closely associated with the deeds of individual warriors, and are preserved by their descendants and clansmen with praiseworthy pride and care. Hence a peculiar interest attaches itself to Scottish arms and the old materials of war, to the crests and badges, ensigns and war cries, which they regarded with almost religious devotion, and under which they won many a victory and encountered many a death stroke. Such a collection, to be successful, must be conceived in a broad and liberal spirit, embracing not only armorial ensigns and family genealogies, weapons and accoutrements used by those whom they record, but illustrations drawn from the ancient abbeys, churches, castles and manor houses of the land, jewels, family trophies, charters from the charter chests and muniment rooms of the nobles and old landed gentry, and examples of the ancient implements of the chase, of domestic life, and of legal punishments, not only such as might be inflicted by Lauderdale, or in the presence of a Claverhouse, but such as were in use in most parishes and local councils. Such a collection, too, might be more readily compassed, and its interest, when completed, would be most materially enhanced if it were held, as now, under the same roof with the portraits of Scottish worthies. Such a scheme, meeting with general support, might be made to throw light upon the social, corporate, and ecclesiastical life of Scotland in remote ages, and exhibit to the eye and sense of the beholder the ancient state and gradual and finally rapid development of the national character. Other nations, like those of the Iberian peninsula, have reason to be proud of their ancestral glories, but to Scotland it is especially given to illustrate the history of the past by the light of a not unequal present, and to show that that present, rising gradually from the past, is in arts and arms, in statesmen, in soldiers, in skilful administrators, in sages of the law, in financiers, in poets and historians, critics, political economists, physicians, philosophers, and men distinguished in science and the mechanical arts, in no way inferior to those of her far more wealthy and advantageously-situated neighbour, to whom she has so long been united, to the great and manifest advantage to both countries; preserving, nevertheless, and may she long preserve, her national character and peculiarities.

A collection such as is here contemplated, including objects of incidental and abstract value, must, of course, be undertaken by persons whose rank, position, and character, would be a guarantee for the safe custody of the objects entrusted to them, and for their safe return without expense to their owners.

With such a collection it would also be desirable to provide something more than a mere catalogue or even a handbook; a volume that should provide a sketch of the origins of the nation and of its historic families—Highland and Lowland—those whose names are identified with the history of the country, and many of whom still own their ancestral lands and mansions, and still stand in the fore-front of its society. We should there be told succinctly, but clearly, how far to trust in traditions and records, or to physical or moral peculiarities for

evidence of Irish, Gaelic, Norwegian, Saxon, or Anglo-Roman descent, and how far each has contributed to the making of the Scottish nation. Since the days of Pinkerton and Chalmers much has been done to elucidate and discriminate between the component parts of the nation, but the searching light of modern criticism has only begun to be directed upon the origin and ancestry, clans and great families of the country, who for centuries wielded the power of a proud and warlike aristocracy, but who combined with their pride of place a strong attachment to their native soil.

It would be interesting, while looking at the devices and seals of the Lords of Douglas, to learn whether that greatest of Scottish families sprung autochthonous from Douglas dale or from some Saxon or Norman colonist or conqueror, or from Theobaldus Flandrensis who certainly held land in the dale in the 12th century. And so of the Hamiltons: did they really spring from an obscure Leicestershire hamlet, and whence came their mythical crest and motto? Was the first Wemyss a colonist or a troglodite? When first did the Setons invoke St. Bennet in their punning war cry? in what forest did the Seton-Gordons win their boar's head, and what is the evidence for the descent of the Aberdeen Gordons from the bold archer who pierced the lion heart of Richard, and whose right arm and bow they bear in remembrance of the deed? What is the connection between the Houses of Murray and Douglas, shewn by their stars in common.

Of Murrawe and the Dowglas,  
How that thar begynnyn was;

But in thare arynys bath thai bere  
The sternys set in lyk manere.

A coincidence which has been thought by Scottish heralds to indicate a common origin. An Anglo-Norman descent has been claimed for Bisset and de Bosco, Baliol and Bruce, Campbell and Cumyn, Cheyne and Fleming, Gordon, Grant, and Graham, Herries and Ker, Maule, Maitland, and Melville, Morville and Oliphant, Riddell and Rollo, Seton, Say, and Somerville; Charteris is said to spring from Chartres, Beatoun from Béthune. Of the descent of most of these there can be little doubt, others need a critical enquiry, such as might be briefly entered upon.

Did the Drummonds and Livingstones, and the ancestors of Leslie come, as is said, from Hungary? or Innes from Berowald Flandrensis? Do the Boyds of Kilmarnock, like the royal Stewarts, descend from Alanus Dapifer, and is Eyton's account of Flauld and Macbeth to be accepted? Does Lenox derive from the Saxon Egfrith of Northumberland, Home and the great Earls of Dunbar and March, from Cospatrick, Abernethy from the Norwegian Orm? These are but Lowland difficulties, many of which admit of a tolerably accurate solution.

The origin of the Western clans from Arran to Cape Wrath, Sutherland, and the Moray Firth, is a larger, more difficult, and far more national question. Lord Forbes is thought to spring from the Irish Mac Fírbis, and it was the opinion of Dr. Todd, resting upon admitted Irish records, that their pedigree could be traced to the 5th or 6th century, far beyond that of the Houses of "Bourbon or Nassau" or any other even royal stem. Are the Macdonnells and Mac Donalds, Macleods,

Mackenzies, and MacCrae's "Scoti" from Ireland, or the offspring of Harold Harfagr, those proud Lords of the Isles with their all embracing motto "per mare per terras." These questions may not admit of satisfactory solution, but a slight sketch of the opinions of such critics as Skene or Donald Gregory would add immensely to the interest of the volume, illustrated as it would no doubt be by trophies of the several clans, giving the distinguishing tartans of each, their weapons, their armorial ensigns, their badges, and their war cries.

A man or a family are by no means the safest evidence for their origin, but nevertheless it is well to know what they or the older and more credulous race of heralds put forth on their behalf. Sir Bernard Burke's volumes, which for the most part present each man's account of his ancestry, are not altogether authority, but are nevertheless of great value, and have much advanced the study of genealogy, and it would therefore be well to collect and display all original family pedigrees, many of which are richly illuminated, and very curious.

Scottish charter chests are also numerous and well filled, for the most part with old and singularly well preserved documents, often with heraldic seals, and containing the titles to the estates of their owners. Some have of late been printed, though privately, but a much larger number remain in seclusion. An exhibition would lead to the cataloguing or probably the printing of very many, and in no way could family pedigrees be so fully completed or be so correctly established.

The heraldry of Scotland differs little from that of England, either in its rules or charges, so that Lyon and Garter might converse in their common tongue. It is curious how little Scottish heralds have borrowed from France. Even the fleur-de-lys so common in English coats, is rare in Scotland save as an adornment to the national tressure. The rampant and ruddy Lion, the tressure, the chequered fess, and the saltire or cross of St. Andrew are common, either as marking descent from royalty, or from respect to the patron saint. The tressure flory, counter flory, "First by Achaius borne," is a common form of augmentation, and is seen in the arms, among many others of the Lord Lyon, Seton, Maitland, Charteris, Livingstone, Kellie and Middleton. Napier of Thirlestane, uses the tressure "to wreath his shield."

The stars and crescents of the border families with their "reparabit cornua luna" speak volumes of their moonlight raids, and their familiarity with the "snaffle, spur, and spear," and are found in the arms of the Scotts and Somervilles, Falconers, Kirkaldys, Kinnairds, Arbuthnots, Murrays, Sutherlands, and many other well known names. Indicative of a rieviers life is the spur rowel of Ker, and the winged spur of Johnston. Thirlestan adds spears to his tressure.

—————In fair remembrance won,  
Yon sheaf of spears his crest has borne.  
Hence his high motto stands revealed,  
'Ready ay ready' for the field.

The mottos indeed of many of the Scottish families are redolent of war and deadly feud, and thus reflect the national character and habits. Such are the "Jamais arreyre" of Douglas, the "Hazard yet forward" and "St. Bennet and Set on" of Seyton, "Je suis prest" and "toujours prest" of Lovat and Carmichael, "Nunquam non paratus"



of Johnstone, "Watch Weel" and "Gardez bien" of Halyburton and Eglinton, "This i'll defend" of Macfarlane, "keep tryste" of Bathwele and Sempill. Others relate more directly to the avenging of injuries, as the "No obliviscaris" of Argyle, "I hyde my time" of Loudon, "Oublier no puis" of Colville, "but siccar" of Sutherland. Others prescribe caution, as the "Gang warily" of Drummond, "Touch not the cat but the glove" of the clan Chattan. The "Furth fortune and fill the fetters" of Athol savours strongly of the hope of ransom.

Other devices and mottos are of a purely savage character, such as the "Spaire when thou aes nocht" of Hay of Yester, and the "spare nocht" and "ein do and spare nocht" of Tweeddale and Macgregor, and

—Kirkpatrick's bloody dirk  
Making sure of murders work.

expressed by the dagger crest and the "I mak sicker" of the motto. Scott, too, commemorates the "dagger crest" of Mar, still used by the Erskines. Sinclair contents himself with the single but expressive word "Fight," and Lindsay has the war tent for his crest, and "Astra castra numen lumen" for his motto, and finally there is the summons of Breadalbane, "follow me," and the responsive mottoes of the various Chieftains who owe him their allegiance.

Sometimes the arms and devices preserve the memory of some family exploit mythical or real, as the "I dare" and human effigy of Dalziel, the boar's head and bow hand of Seaton-Gordon and Gordon, the three shields and the yoke with the "serva jugum" of Hay. The tenure horn is said to be still preserved at Penycuik, and is commemorated in the crest of the family, and in their motto of "free for a blast," and Sir Walter Scott has made well known the "Betyde, betyde" of his Bemerside neighbour. An early event in the family of Leslie is commemorated in the belt buckles in their arms, and the "gripfast" and "gin the buckle hyde" of their mottoes.

Neither are "armes parlantes," canting heraldry as it has been called, nor allusive mottoes, unknown in Scottish coats. Such is the Crane of Cranstoun, and of mottoes the "Fare fac" of Farefax, the the "Deeds Schaw" of Cathcart, the broken globe and rainbow and the "At spes non fracta" of Hope, and the cock, the crest of Law, the far-fetched pun being in the Cock-a-leary-law cry of that bird, almost as poor a conceit as the boar pig, (verres), crest of de Vere.

The "Amo" of Buccleugh seems to bear allusion to the females his supporters.

The allusions to the Chase are less common than might have been expected in the sons "woody Caledon." The Foresters indeed bear hunting horns, Lovat a stags head crest, the Macintoshes a wild cat, and the famous caberfae is the emblem of the

#### — Chiefs of Kintail

The stag in whose standard bounds wild in the gale.

Among the objects of interest would be a complete collection of the rare and valuable publications of the Bannetyne, Roxburgh, Spalding and other Clubs, whose books have largely contributed both to the national and family history. Also the works of Innes and Sir W. Fraser, and many other less expensive and less known works of topography and family history, of more or less value.



Various anecdotes exhibiting pride of ancestry and in their armorial bearings might be collected, and would form an appropriate place in the suggested volume. The history of the Innes family whose Dukedom descends in the female line, and whose armorial bearings are probably the earliest to be found in Scotland, was written at the suggestion of the Duke of Roxburgh, a Kerr, though by the distaff only. "I will teach those proud Kerrs," said his Grace, "that I am of as good blood on my father's side as on that of my great grandmother," and the Innes charters at Floors are said to be of very ancient date.

Such an exhibition as is suggested would probably lead to a new and much needed edition of the Peerage of Scotland, and to the completion and correction of the Baronage, left imperfect for nearly a century, much to the discredit of the gentry of Scotland. The materials for these works are now ample, charters and records formerly locked up are now accessible, and would be examined in a far more critical spirit than existed a century ago.

The suggested exhibition, comprehensive in its subjects, and supported, as it would no doubt be, by the whole nation, would afford both amusement and instruction, and would interest not only men like Jonathan Oldbuck and Sir Arthur Wardour, and similiar worthies, now almost extinct, of the Heavysterne and Dryasdust school, but would administer solid and valuable instruction to all interested in Scottish history and manners, costume and environments to the painters and writers of fiction, and fitting subjects for the pen, pencil, or needle, for such of the fair sex as are skilful in design and embroidery.

For such, and so truly national a purpose, the Lyon King, never wanting in patriotism, in union with the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, might send forth a sort of fiery cross through the length and breadth of Scotland, with the certainty that the response would be worthy of the sender and of the subjects sent, and out of it would no doubt spring large additions to the national museum and the portrait gallery, and it would quicken into life various contemplated works of an historic and antiquarian character, and especially the great work on the national portraits—after the example of Lodge,—which a spirited and much respected Edinburgh publisher is known to have long had in preparation.

The writer of this letter sat down to pen a few lines, which, under the attraction of the subject, have expanded to a most unreasonable length. Alas, I fear the same attraction will not be felt by you, Mr. Editor, nor by my readers, if you should admit my not only long, but I fear lengthy, production into your pages.

C.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 4th, 1891.

E. GREEN, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. E. PEACOCK communicated a paper on "Mortars," which was read by Mr. GOSSELIN, and is printed at page 203. During the Middle Ages almost every household possessed a mortar made of bell-metal. They were not unfrequently the subject of bequest. Many are of very beautiful design and are ornamented with heraldic and other devices, appropriate inscriptions, or the name of the maker. Mr. Peacock considered that the legends, such as "*Amor vincit omnia*," were not merely tasteful fancies, but intended to add to the efficacy of the drugs prepared in the vessels. "Mortar" was a term used in the Middle Ages for the cup in which lights were burnt in churches.

Mr. J. L. ANDRÉ read a paper "Notes on Symbolic Animals in English Art and Literature," which is printed at page 210. The author treated the subject under the following heads—beasts, birds, fish, reptiles, and chimerae. Mr. André called attention to many passages in the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which followed with more or less fulness the theories held in the early and Middle Ages as to the characteristics of the animal creation and the moral lessons to be derived from them.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Peacock and to Mr. André.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. Peacock.—A number of examples of Mortars in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. Hartshorne.—A mortar of foreign make inscribed *MARC LE SER ME FECIT 1575*.

By the Rev. W. M. Barnes.—A tracing from one of the east windows in Bradford Peverell Church, Dorset. This represented the Virgin enthroned, holding an orb in the left hand and the right uplifted in benediction. Mr. Barnes communicated the following note:—

"On the north side of the chancel is a two-light window of ancient glass; the medallions of which it is composed are described in the first edition of Hutchins's History of the County as having been in the "East windows of the church with others which have disappeared." From a sketch in the possession of Mr. H. B. Middleton we gather that the window was of the Early English (13th century) period, and from the remark in Hutchins that this glass was in the east windows of the church there is some ground for assuming that the east windows were an

Early English triplet. As styles are often much later in remote places than in and near large towns, it is not too much to assume further that the church was built early in the Decorated period. Now the subjects of the medallions are painted in enamel brown, tinted with yellow stain. The yellow stain was discovered *circa* 1310. That these paintings were made soon after the discovery seems likely from the character of the shading. There is good reason, therefore, for thinking that this window was painted *circa* 1315 when the chancel was built. It seems more likely that they were co-æval with the church, since the subjects relate to the "assumption of the B.V.M." to whom the fabric is dedicated. Of the four medallions one is a modern imitation of the old, one is original. Of the other two the head in one and the feet in the other are modern, and so is the border."

The CHAIRMAN called the attention of the meeting in some detail to the very interesting exhibition of Scandinavian antiquities exhibited in the Rooms of the Institute, collected by Mr. A. Heneage Cocks, during a residence in Northern Europe, and arranged by him for the gratification of the members. The Chairman intimated that the collection would be open to the public during the month of June. A descriptive catalogue, drawn up by Mr. Cocks, was published by the Institute, and general notes upon the collection will be found in the annual report to the members at the Edinburgh Meeting.

July 2nd, 1891.

Chancellor FERGUSON, F.S.A., in the chair.

Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL read some "Notes on Rude Implements from the North Downs," which is printed at page 315.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper on "The Roman Antiquities of Pola and Aquileia," which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*. The chief monuments in the former city were the Temple of Augustus and Roma, the Arch of the Sergii, and the Amphitheatre. The temple is said to have been erected in the year B.C. 19, and specially deserves attention on account of the dedicatory inscription. It forms a striking example of the worship of Augustus, that to a great extent superseded the old polytheism, and thus prepared the world for Christianity. The Arch of the Sergii was erected to commemorate three members of that family, who had held high municipal offices in the colony. The Amphitheatre surpasses many others in position, because it stands on a height near the sea. It is built of stone resembling marble. The exterior is almost perfect. It has been truly remarked that at Aquileia there is not one Roman stone standing upon another, but the soil teems with antiquities bearing witness to the magnificence of a city that in its prosperous days had a population of more than half a million. Many objects recently excavated have been deposited in the local museum established by the Austrian Government; but the classical traveller should, Mr. Lewis added, if possible, procure an introduction that would admit him to the private collection of Signor Gregorutti, who resides at the Villa Papiriana, in Fiumicello, and is well known as the author of "*Le Antiche Lapidi di Aquileja*."

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Spurrell and to Professor Lewis.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. Spurrell.—Neolithic Implements from Bexley, Kent.—Mr. SPURRELL said that he was indebted to Mr. J. Alers Hankey, of Hastings, for the opportunity of exhibiting the four fine flint implements on the table, and for their history. They were found in 1878, when deeply trenching a new kitchen garden at “The Mount,” Upton, Bexley, Kent. The depth at which they were found was about 3 ft. The soil is the pebbly gravel of the neighbourhood generally. At the time of finding them it appears that no person was present who could appreciate the nature of the discovery, and so no further objects of metal, bone, or wood were noticed. The original find consisted of 3 hatchets, polished all over, and 4 “spear heads,” or light axes. The latter were all chipped. They taper from about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an inch in straight lines until they come to the broad end, then they suddenly spread out a little and terminate in a thin round edge. The longest shewn is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in. long, but one which was borrowed from the owner was at least 15 inches long, and differed from the others chiefly in that the widening at the larger end was more marked, and shewed a tendency to curve back somewhat after the manner of hammered bronze. Their age is apparently late. The flint is whitish and even in tint. There is nothing to show that they are not of English make.

By Professor Lewis.—Photographs, &c., in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. J. Hilton.—A Dutch golden wedding memorial in the form of a flat heart-shaped plate of silver, eight inches by six inches, surmounted by a coronet, and weighing nine oz. The heart is engraved with appropriate emblems, and bore in the centre an inscription in Dutch to the effect that it was for an old couple, with the sincere high esteem of all their children and grandchildren. The inscription is composed as a chronogram making the date 1786. There is no family name and armorial bearings, but the shape of the memorial suggests the name of “Hart.” The object bears the Amsterdam hall-mark.

### ANNUAL MEETING AT EDINBURGH.

August 11th to August 18th, 1891

The President and Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland met at noon in the Lecture Hall of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery and received the President of the Meeting, Sir Herbert E. Maxwell, Bart., M.P., the noble President of the Institute, and the following Vice-Presidents of the Meeting, Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections, and members of the Council:—The Rev. Sir T. H. B. Baker, Bart., the Right Rev. the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness, Mr. C. J. Bates, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., Professor E. C. Clark, Mr. W. Jolly, Mr. J. Hilton, Dr. J. Evans (President of the Antiquarian Section), Dr. J. Anderson, Mr. Chancellor Ferguson, Dr. Munro, Dr. T. Hodgkin (President of the Historical Section), Mr. A. Hartshorne, the Right Rev. the Bishop of Carlisle (President of the Architectural Section), Mr. H. J. Blanc, Mr. C. J. Ferguson, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, Mr. W. W. Robertson, and others, including the following delegates:—Mr. L. Dyer, representing the Archæological Institute of America; the Rev. Professor Drennan, Vassar College; M. Gervaise Le Gros. Viscomte de Jersey,



Société Jersiaise; M. Paul Saintenoy and M. Edouard Van der Smissen, Société d' Archéologie de Bruxelles. There were also present a large number of members of the Institute.

Very much to the advantage and convenience of the members an illustrated handbook of General Notes upon the places to be visited, furnished by the different antiquaries who were to act as guides, was drawn up under the editorship of Dr. Dickson.

Having been asked to take the chair and open the proceedings, Lord PERCY said:—It gives me great pleasure to have an opportunity of congratulating you on having achieved a visit to the ancient city of Edinburgh. I am quite sure we all feel not only that we are about to enjoy a most interesting and instructive week, but that the welcome which has been accorded to us, and the preparations and arrangements made for our reception, are such as to make it certain that we shall long remember the Annual Meeting of the Institute in 1891. I come from a part of the country from which visits to Scotland were in former times not unfrequently made. I believe some Northumbrians were at Bannockburn, where I cannot say they succeeded very well. Some of them may have made acquaintance with the Heart of Mid-Lothian, but I do not remember that on any occasion they had any cause to complain of the warmth of their welcome. As I have the honour to be connected, both by blood and affinity, pretty closely with Scotland, it gives me peculiar pleasure to be called upon to head another inroad into Scotland, in happier times, when my followers desire to carry away nothing but that which our hosts are only too willing and too able to give us—gratification and instruction. We shall, I am sure, carry away nothing but that which we are certain to obtain—and that was not always the case with our ancestors—very pleasant memories of the meeting of 1891. And now, in token of our peaceful intentions, I cannot do better than hand over the command of this expedition to the hands of a true Scot, and one well worthy to fill the post. There is no one better able from every point of view—and not least because of his interest in archaeology and the researches he had made into it—to preside over this meeting than Sir Herbert Maxwell. I am sure we feel it extremely kind of him that, in spite of his labours in Parliament during a prolonged session, and of the onerous duties of office, he should, when so many are rushing away to obtain a well earned holiday, have foregone those pleasures which the Twelfth affords and should have come among us. I have great pleasure in asking Sir Herbert Maxwell to take the chair.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL then delivered his Inaugural Address. This is printed at p. 241.

Dr. JOHN EVANS moved a vote of thanks to Sir Herbert Maxwell for his address. He had had the pleasure of knowing Sir Herbert for many years, and he was very glad to see him again enter into the archaeological lists, and deliver such an interesting and valuable address as they had heard. Alluding to the circumstances under which they had met, Dr. Evans said he felt that in offering a vote of thanks to the President of the Meeting he should not be wrong in expressing on behalf of the Institute, and of the English nation at large, their gratitude to Mr. J. R. Findlay for the building he had erected there. He only wished that other instances of similar liberality were more frequent throughout the different parts of the United Kingdom. It was indeed a satisfaction to



him, who for many years had known that collection of antiquities in its former home, to see it now exposed in a manner which did justice to its extent and its value.

After a few words of acknowledgement from Sir H. MAXWELL, the meeting adjourned.

At 2 p.m. the members assembled in front of Holyrood Palace, where they were taken in hand by Mr. W. W. Robertson. The Abbey, now called the Chapel Royal, was first seen and described. From Mr. Robertson's excellent *Notes* we extract the following accounts, premising that Holyrood consists of three portions of widely diverse character, age, and history. Two of them are mere fragments of formerly extensive buildings, the Abbey and the Old Palace; the third is the palace built by Charles II., still nearly intact and not greatly altered since its completion.

I. THE ABBEY.—What is now called the Chapel Royal is the ruined nave of the Abbey Church, and this, with one of the western towers, is all that remains of the buildings of the once wealthy and favoured Abbey of Holyrood. Its history may be thus briefly summarised.

The Abbey was founded by David I. in 1128, and first established at the foot of the Castle rock. The earliest extant charter is undated, but the date is known to be between 1143 and 1147. It has reference to the present site of the Abbey, and it would appear from some of its provisions that the building of a church and houses was then in contemplation.

The date of the buildings has not been clearly ascertained, and in the case of most of what now remains can only be inferred from the building itself. No doubt the greater portion of it belongs to the latter half of the twelfth century, but later additions and alterations can be clearly identified. Thus the 24th Abbot, Archibald Crawford, who held sway from 1457 to 1483, added the buttresses and built the beautiful doorway to the north aisle.

The Abbey was spoiled and plundered by the English in 1322 and burned by an English army in 1385. The Earl of Hertford burned it in 1544, and in 1547, after the battle of Pinkie, the English army "pluct of the lead" from the roof of the church and otherwise despoiled it. The monks were dispersed at this time, and the abbot being a boy, Robert Stuart, a son of James V., no general reparation seems to have been attempted. The buildings became more and more ruinous, and in 1570, when the commendator, Adam Bothwell, was arraigned before the General Assembly, one of the charges against him was "that all the said kirkis (*i.e.*, the twenty-seven churches of the abbey) for the maist pairt are decayit, and some made sheepfolds and some sa ruinous that nane dare enter them for fear of falling, specially Halyrudhous." He replied, that "he was bot of late come to the benefice, . . . but the Abbey kirk of Halyrudhous hath been thir twintie years bygane ruinous, . . . bot with thair consent and help of ane established authoritie, he wes purposed to provide the means that the superfluous ruinous pairts, to wit, the queir and croce kirk might be disposed to faithfull men to repair the remanent sufficiently."

The reduced church thus deprived of its "superfluous pairts," continued in use, and in 1633 Charles I. made repairs upon the nave and introduced the quaint tracery in the windows above the western doorway. The erection of the new palace by Charles II. led to the demoli-

tion of one of the western towers ; but the crowning misfortune occurred in 1768, when the roof of the church fell in and reduced it to its present ruinous state.

This interesting fragment of the old Abbey Church is 127 feet by 59 feet within the walls and the following are worthy of special attention :—

The remains of the cloisters on the South side, the Norman doorway leading thence to the south aisle of the nave, the plain Norman window above, and the introduction of rudimentary tracery and the pointed arch in the windows as the work proceeds westward.

The building up of the great arch of the central crossing and the eastern end of the aisles, with fragments of the old masonry (*c.* 1550)

Abbot Crawford's work (*c.* 1460) on the exterior of the north side of the building, contrasting strikingly with the robust twelfth century work to which it is attached.

The fine transitional work of the latter part of the twelfth century in the interior, particularly the nave arcade, the wall arcading in the aisles, and the interlacing arches of the latter.

At the west front, the beautiful "first-pointed," or Early English doorway, and the quaint tracery of Charles I.

II. THE OLD PALACE.—While as yet there was no royal residence at Holyrood, the Abbey was often visited by royalty. The proximity of Edinburgh to the Border must often have made the security of the Castle more desirable than the comparative freedom of the Abbey, but Robert III. occasionally visited the Abbey. So did also James I., and in 1416 his queen gave birth there to twin sons, Alexander, who died, and James, afterwards James II. This latter prince was not only born but crowned, married, and buried in the Abbey. By the time of James III. Edinburgh had become the acknowledged capital, and the monastery of Holyrood the usual residence of the sovereigns, and the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts show that the royal family were no longer occasional visitors, but actual residents there.

It was James IV. who began to build the Royal Palace of Holyroodhouse. The Lord High Treasurer's Accounts for 1501 have perished, but many entries in those of 1502 show the work in full progress. It was very considerable, and went on for many years, and on 18th July 1505 we have a payment for "compleiting of the Tour in Halyrudhous." There can hardly be a doubt that this refers to the present north-west tower, which has been commonly attributed to James V. James IV. continued to reside chiefly here, and to expend sums of money on the work, till near his death.

James V., when he came of age, continued the work, but the extent of his work has been overestimated. Charles I., in 1633, executed works of repair, and among these were the oak ceilings in Queen Mary's apartments. Either to this date, or to 1641, the date of Charles' last visit, must be referred the beautiful sun-dial to be seen in the gardens, and commonly spoke of as Queen Mary's sun-dial.

The Palace at this time was a building of considerable extent, and possibly included some of the monastic buildings of the old Abbey. Five courts are spoken of, but Gordon of Rothiemay's plan shows but three—one on the site of the present quadrangle, and two further south, with extensive detached buildings to the east.

In 1650 Cromwell's soldiers burned this palace "except a lyttel."

That "lyttel" must have included the north-west tower, which was incorporated in the new palace built by Charles II., and is practically all that now remains of the older palace.

It is the part first seen by the visitor approaching the palace from the Canongate, and is a plain but effective example of Scottish domestic architecture, a four-storey building 70 ft. by 35 ft., with circular turrets at the angles 18 ft. in diameter. The first and second floors are interesting as the apartments of Darnley and Queen Mary, and the oak ceilings of the latter were executed by Charles I.

Traces may be seen on the side of the Abbey Court-House, on the right as the palace is approached from the Canongate, of the "for werk" or "for entree," erected in 1503, latterly known as the Abbey Port. It was a vaulted porch with apartments over it, is illustrated in Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, and was taken down shortly after 1750.

III. THE NEW PALACE.—By far the greater part of the Palace as it now stands was erected for Charles II. by Robert Mylne, one of a long line of famous masons, from designs by Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie and Kinross, the King's surveyor.

The foundation of the building is recorded on the north-west pier of the piazza in the inscription—

FNV BE RO MYLNE MM 1 JUL 1671.

As has been already stated, the erection of this building involved the demolition of one of the Western towers of the Abbey Church, and of all that remained of the older palace and the monastic buildings, save only the great tower of James IV. The retention of this tower to some extent governed the design for the western front of the Palace, and, while regretting what was so ruthlessly swept away, it is impossible to withhold one word of praise to Sir William Bruce for the skill with which he incorporated this mediæval tower in a symmetrical building which satisfied the academic requirements of his own time, and even at the present day is recognised as a skilful and satisfactory architectural composition.

The King took a great personal interest in the design and arrangements of the new palace, and his ideas, if carried out, would have gone far to deprive it of every point of merit which it possesses. He wished the western front between the two great towers not to be covered "with platform at the second storie, but would have it heightened to a third storie, as all the inner court is, and sklaited with skaily as the rest of the court is to be, by which means a whole storie will be gained, only with the expense of heightening ane aisler wall." He also proposed to dispense with the pilasters, cornices, &c., in the quadrangle, and make the walls of plain ashler, or even of "rough work, with handsome moulderings for the windows, and table divisions for the stories."

Fortunately neither of these stipulations was given effect to. The west front is two storeys high, and the great advantage of this architecturally, whether viewed from the outside, or whether the effect on the courtyard is considered, scarcely needs to be pointed out.

The new Palace is a rectangular building about 200 feet by 180 feet, containing a quadrangle about 90 feet square. In design it is British Palladian of the period, but with a lightness and grace which seem to convey some reminiscence of the Scoto-French alliance, and with little

freaks of fancy in the detail which one would look for in vain in the sober south in that prosaic age.

The principal apartments are on the first floor, and occupy three sides of the Palace. The Picture Gallery on the north side, 150 feet long, connects on the one hand with the tower of James IV., and on the other with the suites of apartments on the east and south side of the Palace. In these, among other points worthy of notice, will be observed the wood-carving, the beautiful hand-wrought plaster ceilings, and the tapestry and Dutch tiles.

In conducting the members over this historic spot Mr. Robertson gave a succinct and interesting description, alluding, as far as time would permit, to the historical associations of the place. By the permission of Her Majesty the Queen the royal apartments, containing some very good Empire furniture, were allowed to be inspected. The last objects seen were the sun dial in the garden, and, just across the road, Queen Mary's Bath-House, an interesting little building almost circular in plan with a bath below and a room, probably for dressing, above.

At 8 p.m. Dr. JOHN EVANS opened the Antiquarian Section, in the Lecture Hall of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and delivered his Address on the Progress of Archæology. This is printed at p. 251. A cordial vote of thanks was proposed by Dr. MUNRO, and seconded by Lord PERCY.

The Bishop of BARROW-IN-FURNESS read a paper by Mrs. Ware on "The Seals of the Bishops of Carlisle." Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Chancellor FERGUSON, and the Rev. A. S. PORTER took part in a discussion which followed. The PRESIDENT proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Ware, whose paper is printed at p. 341, and the meeting separated.

Wednesday, August 12th.

At 10 a.m. the members went by rail to Linlithgow. After seeing the spot where the Regent Murray was shot by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, Mr. D. Macgibbon conducted the party to the great church of St. Michael. This, as Mr. Macgibbon pointed out in his *Notes*, is a characteristic example of the ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland of the 15th century. Scottish architecture, both military and ecclesiastic, was almost identical with that of England up to the time of Edward I., but after the War of Independence it followed a distinct course of its own, both as regards churches and castles. Few churches of large size were undertaken; those of Linlithgow and Stirling being the most important. The other churches built during the period were usually small collegiate establishments, endowed by private liberality. These churches do not possess, like those in France and England, very distinctive features of the various phases of the later Gothic architecture, but rather form, from A.D. 1400 till the Reformation, a local style, which has been called the Second Painted period of Scottish architecture.

St. Michael's exhibits most of the element of that style. The plan is cruciform, having north and south transepts, a choir with an apsidal termination, and a nave with a tower in the centre of the west front. The tower was originally terminated with an open crown like that of St. Giles', Edinburgh. About 1821, in consequence of the crown being in a dangerous condition, it was removed, and the present turrets, &c., substituted.



Among the items that particularly called for attention were the semi-hexagonal east end, no doubt derived from France, and forming an awkward adjunct to the square end; the stumpy and useful buttresses, with their numerous set-offs; and the south porch with its picturesque oriel. The general features that struck the English visitors were the crow-stepped gables, usually associated out of Scotland with domestic work, and the prevalence of the round arch, which never having died out in Scotland, as it did in England, formed in Caledonia a continuous link between the Romanesque of the Norman and the Roman of the Renaissance. In the course of his observations Mr. Macgibbon said it was doubtful whether any part of the church was earlier than 1424, and that woodwork for it was in progress as late as 1536.

From the church to the Palace of Linlithgow was but a step. Here the party was taken charge of by Mr. T. Ross, Mr. Macgibbon's learned colleague in that fine work "*The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland.*" We cannot do better than give Mr. Ross's *Notes*.

There was a royal residence at Linlithgow in the time of David I., 1124-53. In 1301-2 Edward I. resided here three months. He extended the Castle and made it a "*Pele mekill and stark.*" It remained in the hands of the English till 1313, and was then taken and demolished by Bruce. In 1350 David II. caused it to be repaired. In 1424 the town, church, and castle suffered by fire. The following year the work of building a new palace was begun by James I., and continued till 1451. The west side, it is believed, was the part then erected, and perhaps the north, afterwards rebuilt by James VI. In 1467 the works were resumed and continued for four years. Between 1488 and 1496 the south side appears to have been in course of erection, as is shown by extant accounts for timber for the roof of the chapel, and for other outlays, which show that work at this period was being actively carried on. These operations bring us down to the time of James IV. James V. was born in the Palace in 1512. He made important alterations, and probably brought the building to a state of completion. The original entrance was by a passage through the east side leading into the courtyard, the doorway being at a considerable height above the ground outside, and apparently for greater convenience he changed the entrance to the south side, building the low stunted porch and the corridor along the courtyard side of this range, and thus making the rooms here quite dark. In connection with this change of entrance he also built the outer gateway which stands immediately to the west of the Church tower. The fountain in the centre of the courtyard is believed to have been erected by him. Probably the palace stood as now described, when in 1539 James brought here his Queen, Mary of Guise, who is reported to have said that she "*had never seen a more princely palace.*" In 1607, the north side of the palace, then in a ruinous state, "*fell in,*" and in 1617 James VI. gave orders for the rebuilding of the whole of this side. The work was in progress in 1620, as appears from that date being carved on the central staircase.

Cromwell garrisoned the palace after the battle of Dunbar in 1650, and kept possession of it till 1659. Henceforward it appears to have been the occasional residence of the Earls of Linlithgow, its official keepers, some of the rooms in the west quarter being used for the



business of the burgh and the country. The last scene of all took place in 1746, when a company of Royal troops, lodged here the day after the battle of Falkirk, either accidentally or by design set fire to the building, and reduced it to the condition in which we now find it.

The palace is nearly square on plan, and measures 157 feet from north to south, by 148 feet from east to west, with a central courtyard 90 feet by 87 feet. The ancient entrance in the east side passes under the great hall; it was reached by a drawbridge, and was strongly defended with a portcullis and three doors, and appears to have had a hoarding above. The present entrance through the south front is not so imposing.

On the ground floor the buildings of the south side, beginning at the east end, contain stables, bakery, guard-room, &c., and wine cellars along the west, with well room and kitchens at the north-east corner. Four angle turret stairs and one central similar stair run from the ground to the various upper floors.

The principal rooms are on the first floor. The east side contains the great hall, 100 feet long by 30 feet wide, with the screens and the buttery at the north end and a private room at the other. Adjoining on the south front is the chapel and ante-room. Along the west side is the dining-room and the drawing-room. In the latter Queen Mary was born on the 7th December 1542. In the north-west angle is the royal bed-room, with a fine oratory adjoining. The north building is a double tenement, and contains the banqueting hall, 73 feet long by 16 feet overlooking the loch, with various bed-rooms towards the courtyard.

The floors of the upper storeys are nearly all gone, but the stairs still give access to the battlements, which run all round the building, and are continued higher, so as to form watch-towers. The turret-room at the top of the north-west stair, called "Queen Margaret's Bower," is worthy of a visit.

The exterior of the Palace is massive and stern, relieved at intervals by interesting pieces of detail, such as are grouped beside the eastern entrance, and the oriel at the oratory of the north front. The fronts facing the courtyard are all of different designs and of great interest. Special attention may be drawn to the east entrance, with its fine niches (now empty), and angel figures bearing scrolls, all included under a richly cusped arch. In many of the rooms there remains much beautiful stone work, such as the splendid fireplace of the great hall, and other fireplaces of lesser size in other apartments. The chapel, with its lofty windows and numerous niches, is extremely interesting.

Under Mr. Ross's obliging and friendly guidance the whole of the palace and its many interesting features were seen, the inspection of an almost roofless structure being, however, unfortunately somewhat marred by the untoward state of the weather.

Leaving Linlithgow by rail at 1.0, Stirling was the next point. After luncheon at the Golden Lion the church was visited. Here Mr. G. Washington Browne was an excellent cicerone. From his *Notes* we obtain the following account:—

The Church consists of nave and choir, with a space between, which may have formed transepts, but which has been so modernised as to destroy all trace of its original form. Both nave and choir have side aisles; the east end of the choir terminates with the polygonal apse (an

irregular semi-octagon) of frequent occurrence in 16th century churches in Scotland; the tower is at the west end of the nave, its north and south walls prolonging the line of the nave arcades.

The nave and choir are of different dates. They were divided by a partition wall erected in 1656, and are now separated by a corridor, vestries, &c., into East and West churches. The choir was erected in the early years of the 16th century, say 1507-23. From the Register of Dunfermline Abbey we learn that on 3rd May 1507 indentures were made between the abbot and convent of the abbey, and the provost, bailies, council, and community of the burgh of Stirling, "in maner and forme eftir following, that is to say that the saidis provest, ballies, counsale, and communitie of the said burgh has takin upon hand to big and compleitlie edifye and end ane gud and sufficient queyr conformand to the body of the peroch kirk of the said burgh or bettir, and sall deliver to the saidis abbot and convent, the said body of thair peroch kirk of Striveling frely to remane with thame as ane queir ay and quhill the said queyr now to be biggit be fullye completit and endit; for the quhill bigging of the said queyr to be biggit and compleitlie endit be the saidis provest, balyeis, counsale, and communitie of the said burgh of Striveling." The abbot and convent on their part undertook to contribute the sum of 200 pounds Scots, and to furnish the ornaments for the high altar; and further, to pay 40 shillings yearly towards the upholding of the same; and in the Stirling burgh records, under date 27th April 1523, is entered the deliverance of "the somme of xl pundis in pairt of payment of ane mair somme for tenyr to the queir of the kirk of the said burgh."

The walls are of dressed stone, inside and outside; the side aisles are groined in stone, and covered with a flat roof, above which rises the clerestory. The central aisle of the choir has an oak roof, the timbers of which are hidden by modern lining, and the apse is covered with a ribbed stone vault of pointed section, and roofed externally with stone flags.

The windows of aisles and apse are tall, and filled with tracery, all modern, except the two side windows of the apse, which retain the original stone. The eastern end of the choir, with the apse, forms a very effective piece of architecture, especially from the outside, where the falling ground gives additional height to the walls of this part of the church.

The date of the nave, which is earlier than the choir, can be determined with nearly the same accuracy. It is obviously a 15th century building, though the massive cylindrical piers of the arcade, and the semicircular headed windows of the clerestory over, might seem at first sight to claim a much greater antiquity. The details, alike of mouldings and carvings, are clearly not of early date, and similar cylindrical piers are found in the nave of Dunkeld Cathedral, the foundations of which were laid in 1406. In the Chamberlain's account for the year 5th July 1413 to 27th June 1414, occurs the following entry:—"The Chamberlain discharges himself of the issues of an ayre (an itinerant court) held at Stirling, because it was granted to the work of the parish church which had been burnt." References, in the register of Dunfermline Abbey show that a church existed in Stirling from an early period in the 12th century, and it probably occupied the site of the present parish

church, but from the entry last quoted it is evident that building, or a successor of it, was burnt, and the parish church was being re-built in 1413-14. This date coincides with the style of the present nave, and the cylindrical piers find their counterpart in their contemporaries at Dunkeld.

The nave is five bays long; the side aisles are vaulted in stone, the central aisle has an oak roof under which an imitation groined ceiling in plaster has been introduced and should be removed.

The church was dedicated to the Holy Cross, and references are found in pre-Reformation times to no fewer than nineteen altars besides the high altar, viz.—St Lawrence, St James, St Thomas, Holy Bluid, St Katherine, Our Lady, St Luke, St Matthew, St Michael, St Ninian, St John the Baptist, St Mary, St Andrew, St Salvator, St Stephen, St Anne, the Virgin, SS. Peter and Paul, and the Trinity. The consecration crosses are to be seen incised on walls and piers both in nave and choir; and in connection with the dedication of the church to the Holy Cross or Holy Rood, it is interesting to notice upon the surface of hundreds of stones, both outside and inside the nave, the incision of five minute circles arranged to form the points and intersection of the arms of small crosses, varying in size from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches downwards.

Beyond the walls of the nave aisle, on the north side, were two chapels which have been identified as the Laird of Garden's aisle and Duncan Paterson's aisle. The latter is traditionally known as Queen's Margaret's chapel, said to have been erected by King James IV. in honour of his queen. The style of its architecture coincides with the period, and the rose and thistle carved upon the arch leading into the chapel give colourable support to this tradition. Beyond the south aisle wall, in the east-most bay, was Bowey's aisle or the Puir's aisle, afterwards the Earl of Stirling's aisle; and projecting from the second bay, from the west end on south side, was a porch or "bouroek." The jambs of an earlier door are still to be seen built up under the cill of existing window in this bay. The tracery in all the windows of the nave was inserted about 1820, and at the same time the western door through the tower was wholly destroyed by being partially built up and partly demolished to lower the cill of the window over it.

The tower to the level of the ridge of the nave roof seems contemporary with the nave. At this level the stone employed changes, but the architecture does not indicate a long interval of time between the lower and the upper stages. A water table built into the east wall of the tower indicates an intention of raising the nave roof some 8 feet, but this has never been carried out. The tower contains four bells, one of pre-Reformation date.

At Stirling Castle Mr. Ross again took the party in hand and gave a capital description of this historic and picturesque spot. From his *Notes* we gather that, in a military point of view, Stirling Castle has always been one of the most important fortresses in Scotland—forming, as it does, the key of the passage by land between south and north. Its history is thus mixed up with the general history of the country throughout.

The foreworks of the Castle consist of a moat, defended by batteries. That on the east side commanding the town is said to have been erected by Mary of Lorraine, and the other, connected with the outer gate, was erected by Queen Anne, and bears her initials. Beyond these

is the entrance gateway, with its two drum towers, probably the work of James III. (1460-88). It contains a central passage and two narrow side passages, all three having a portecullis and folding gates. The towers, which contain the guard rooms, are now greatly reduced in height, having originally been finished in the style of the gateway at Falkland, and the towers at the north-west corner of Holyrood. The curtain wall, continuing westwards from the gateway, abuts upon a square keep-like tower, which probably formed the angle tower of the Castle wall before the large building adjoining it (the Palace) was built.

Inside the outer gateway is the lower courtyard, with the Palace on the left hand, and the great hall in front; and beyond these is the inner courtyard, from which the hall enters.

The general design of the hall corresponds with that of the English halls of the period (James III.), having two fine oriels at the dais end, roofed with groined vaulting. The hall itself had an open timber roof, which was removed at the beginning of this century, when the building was reduced to the disgraceful state in which we now see it,—enough of its detail is, however, left in its two beautiful oriels, and its deeply recessed windows, to enable us to say that this must have been one of the grandest castle halls in Scotland. It measures 125 feet long by 36 feet 6 inches wide. It has a vaulted underfloor, containing kitchen, offices, and guard-rooms.

The PALACE forms a complete square of about 122 feet by 108 feet, with a central courtyard. The entrance is from the north-west angle of the inner courtyard, and leads into a corridor running along the west side. The first room on the north side was probably a reception room leading to the audience chamber, with the King's private rooms beyond.

The corridor conducts to a suite of rooms running along the south side, which appear to have been the more private reception rooms of the Palace. These apartments were all of them richly decorated with wood carvings, which were taken down in 1777. Some remains, however, of these decorations, known as the "Stirling Heads," are preserved in the Smith Institute in Stirling, and in the Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, and one or two are in private hands.

The basement floor is arched, and contains the kitchen and offices along the south side. The upper floor contains many good rooms lighted by dormer windows, on some of which is the date 1557, with the initials M. R., which may refer either to Queen Mary herself, or to her mother, who was then Regent.

The exterior of the palace is fantastic, and is probably the earliest example showing the influence of the Renaissance style in Scotland. It is adorned with baluster-shaped columns supporting grotesque figures carved in rude imitation of antique models. Some of those on the south side are worthy of attention as representing soldiers of the period. One appears bending a bow, and another taking aim.

The date at which the erection of the Palace was begun is marked by an entry in the Accounts of the Lord Treasurer, recording a payment on 8th June 1496 to Walter Merlyoune, mason, on occasion of making the contract "for bigging of the Kinge's hous," and the accounts contain many payments to successive masters of work in relation to this building. The date 1557, already referred to, shows that it was long in being completed, and probably the tradition that it was erected by James V. is substantially correct.



The north side of the inner courtyard is the Chapel, erected by James VI. in 1594. Its exterior is very plain, and the interior has been entirely destroyed. A chapel existed here in the 12th century, which appears to have been rebuilt early in the 15th.

Edinburgh was again reached at 6.30.

At 8.30 Dr. Hodgkin opened the Historical Section in the Lecture Hall of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and delivered his Address. This is printed at p. 263. In proposing a warm vote of thanks to Dr. Hodgkin for his most interesting address, Sir Herbert Maxwell confessed that in the sentences of his exordium there was considerable matter not only for reflection, but, possibly, on another occasion, it would admit of argument; but he thought that at the present time, to use a homely Scotch saying, they might "let that flee stick to the wa'," the wall on this occasion being that of Antoninus. They would all admit that there was much food for thought in the address, and for it they owed Dr. Hodgkin a deep debt of gratitude.

This was seconded by Professor Clark, who alluded to the work of the archaeologist and historian being indispensable to one another, and of the substantial unity that existed between them. Dr. Hodgkin had referred in almost pathetic terms to the labour of the historian. He fancied he had made special reference in so doing to some experiences of his own. But he thought they might say of him, what Voltaire said of himself, "Remember what books I have read in order to save you reading them, and be thankful."

Mr. L. Dyer, read "Notes on the Vitruvian Account of the Greek Stage," Dr. Evans proposed and Professor Clark seconded a vote of thanks to Mr. Dyer.

In the Antiquarian Section, Dr. Evans in the Chair, Mr. Hartshorne read a paper, fully illustrated, on "The Sword Belts of the Middle Ages." This is printed at p. 320. A vote of thanks to Mr. Hartshorne, having been proposed by the Chairman, the meeting adjourned.

Thursday, August 13th.

At 9.30 a.m., the General Annual Meeting of Members of the Institute was held at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery

Mr. Gosselin read the following Report for the past year :—

#### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1890-91.

In bringing before the members of the Institute the forty-eighth Annual Report, the Council has great satisfaction in reporting the interest taken by the Public in the Scandinavian Exhibition, which was open in the rooms of the Institute during the months of June and July. The entire collection belonged to Mr. A. Heneage Cocks, the well-known explorer in the north of Europe, and was the result of years of labour in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Lapland, Finland, and Iceland. From his extensive knowledge of the history, language, folk-lore, and archaeology of the Scandinavian peoples, Mr. Cocks had been able to form his collection in a judicious manner, and, when the exhibition had been decided on, he arranged it on a scientific plan. A descriptive catalogue, compiled by Mr. Cocks, was published by the Institute. Soon after issue a second edition was demanded. The collection contained specimens of anti-quarian interest of the prehistoric and early historic times of Norway and



Denmark. There were flint implements of the kitchen-middens, swords, battle-axes, knives, and spear-heads of the iron age; and beads, bone-ornaments, fibulae, and weapons of the Viking days.

Among the later exhibits, the most remarkable were, the *Prim Stav* calendars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the majority of them the year was divided into two portions. The winter half commencing on the 14th of October, St. Callistus' day, which was always represented by a "mit," or mitten, to show that the cold weather was approaching. The summer beginning on the 4th of April, St. Tiburtius' day, represented by a budding tree, to give the welcome intelligence that summer was at hand. The tapestry counterpanes and sledge cushions of the seventeenth century were specially worthy of attention. The subjects of the former for the most part were taken from scripture history. Though crude and sometimes grotesque in design, the colouring and general effect was extremely good. Some of the sledge cushions showed a remarkably eastern feeling both in colour and pattern. There were several carved wooden hand mangles of the eighteenth century, with most fantastic ornamentations, a deed box, dated 1714, with runic inscriptions, punch-bowls, beer troughs and other articles of household use, chiefly of the eighteenth century.

From Iceland, there were carved horn spoons, silver *vira-virki*, and other similar ornaments. Some modern specimens from Lapland, such as horn knife-handles with reindeer incised thereon, were chiefly interesting from an ethnological point of view, but scarcely came within the realms of archaeology. The Council ventures to hope that this exhibition will be succeeded by others of a similar character.

The Honorary Treasurer is able to report an improved condition in the finances of the Institute, as compared with some preceding statements. Although a gradual improvement was apparent on the successive recent annual accounts, the process was too slow to satisfy the Council; the appeal to members for special aid as advocated by the Council in the last year's report, and approved of at the last annual meeting (at Gloucester), brought donations from 73 members, amounting to £263 10s., a sum sufficient to effect the desired adjustment between income and expenditure. The result is shown by the account now presented and by the balance in hand of £101 12s. at the end of the year 1890, after discharging all liabilities as closely as is possible, in this or any other Society to which the term "a going concern" is financially applicable. This is a satisfactory condition at the end of the year, when all ordinary income has been expended and the coming year has not yet commenced to bear fruit. The Council is not unmindful of the fact that the ordinary income from annual subscriptions is still sufficient only for ordinary expenditure, and they again appeal to all members to increase our list by seeking for candidates for new membership, who may possess tastes and learning conducive to the purposes of the Institute.

Subscriptions in arrear are always a cause of anxiety, and a constant effort is made to keep them within manageable bounds. The present amount overdue is below the average, and it would be gratifying to the Council that, through the punctuality of members, such "average" should totally disappear.

The Council refers with pleasure to the honour paid to the Institute by the formation of the Edinburgh Heraldic Exhibition, under the

direction of Mr. J. Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, Mr. J. M. Gray, Curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and other influential Scotch Archaeologists. A London Committee was formed in the early part of this year, and met from time to time at the rooms of the Institute, to arrange for the transmission of objects from England and abroad. Among the more interesting specimens exhibited are "The Genealogie of the Most Ancient and Noble House of Douglas," lent by the Earl of Home. "The Royal Standard taken at the battle of Worcester," lent by Mr. W. J. Hay; "The Bellendaine Banner," or ancient banner of the Buccleuch Family, lent by the Duke of Buccleuch; "Letters Patent by King Philip IV. of Spain, conferring the Order of the Golden Fleece, dated 27th October, 1627, on Archibald Campbell, 7th Earl of Argyll," lent by M. Le Comte de Limburg Stirum; "Letters of Procuratory by Renaud, Count of Gueldre and Lord of Lembourg, and Margaret his wife, daughter of Guy, Count of Flanders, giving authority to the said Guy and Isabel his wife, to receive the dower of the said Margaret, due by reason of her marriage with her deceased husband Alexander, son of Alexander III., King of Scots, dated at Namur, 1286," lent by the University of Edinburgh; Fac-similes of Scottish Seals, lent by Mr. J. M. Gray, the Society of Antiquaries of London and others. A folio volume, "Sir David Lindesay of the Mount, his Heraldry," temp. James V., lent by the Faculty of Advocates; a Thirteenth Century MS. book of Hours, lent by the Marquess of Bute; the Statutes of the Order of the Garter, illuminated on vellum, sent by Henry VIII. to James V., lent by the Board of Manufactures; the Insignia of the various Orders of Knighthood; the Gold Matrix of the Privy Seal of Joan, daughter of John, Earl of Somerset and wife of James I., lent by Mr. Williamson; the Muster Roll of Armaments, made in France in the time of Edward III., from the Windsor Castle Library; a large collection of various objects from the South Kensington Museum; and portraits of Heralds lent by Mr. A. Vicars.

In consequence of suggestions from members of the Institute, the Council desires to ascertain whether the Meeting would sanction the alteration of the price of Ladies' Tickets from 10s. 6d. to £1 1s. 0d. The matter having been favourably considered by the Council is now referred to the Annual Meeting for decision. In accordance with a Resolution passed by the Council, it recommends that the day of the Ordinary General Meetings in London, be changed from Thursday to Friday.

The Council has much pleasure in announcing that during the past year several distinguished Americans have been elected members of the Institute, on the nomination of the Rev. W. C. Winslow, of Boston. The increasing interest taken by the citizens of the great Republic in antiquarian pursuits, may be viewed with much satisfaction.

The Council desires to express its thanks to those antiquaries who have come to this country as delegates from the learned institutions to which they belong and are taking part in our proceedings, namely:—Louis Dyer, Esq., of the Archaeological Institute of America, The Rev. Professor M. J. Drennan, of Vassar College, U.S.A; M. Gervaise le Gros, Viscomte de Jersey, of the Société Jersiaise; M. Paul Saintenoy, and M. Edward Vander Smissen of the Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles.

The Council hopes that the presence of these delegates will form a precedent for future occasions, and will be the means of bringing about a closer connexion between the Institute and other societies having similar tastes and objects in view.

The library of the Institute has been largely increased during the year, by several valuable publications, and also by the gift of many volumes of State Papers and Calendars, published under H. M. Record Commission. The library has now been carefully re-arranged by Mr. E. C. Hulme, to whom the Council would offer its best thanks.

The following members of the governing body retire by rotation :— Vice-President Mr. G. T. Clark, and the following members of the Council—Mr. Knill, Mr. Justice Pinhey, Dr. Taylor, Prof. E. C. Clark, Mr. A. Hartshorne, and Mr. T. H. Baylis. The Council would recommend the appointment of Sir John Maclean as an Hon. V.P., the election of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite and the Hon. H. A. Dillon as Vice Presidents, that of Mr. G. T. Clark, Mr. S. Knill, Mr. Justice Pinhey, Dr. Taylor, Professor E. C. Clark, Mr. A. Hartshorne, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., The Rev. R. M. Blakiston, and the Rev. Greville I. Chester to the vacant places on the Council, and that of Mr. G. M. Hughes as Junior Hon. Auditor.

Mr. Gosselin then read the Balance Sheet (printed at p. 285).

In moving the adoption of the Report, Lord Percy congratulated the Institute on the success of the Edinburgh meeting. Under the auspices of a distinguished society they had been welcomed with the greatest cordiality and no pains had been spared to make their stay in Scotland a pleasant one; the Heraldic Exhibition having been arranged for their gratification was of itself a mark of the high position the Institute held in the antiquarian world. As to their satisfactory financial condition it was due to an exceptional effort and he trusted it might lead to the establishment of a permanent balance. This was seconded by Dr. Cox and carried unanimously.

With regard to the question of raising the price of the ladies' tickets, the general opinion was that it would be an unwise and ungracious act, and a motion which had been duly proposed and seconded was, by leave, withdrawn.

The question of altering the day of the Monthly Meetings from Thursday to Friday, in consequence of the former day clashing with the meetings of the Executive of the Society of Antiquaries, was considered. By the obliging co-operation of the President of the Society of Antiquaries it appeared probably that the difficulty might be surmounted without changing the day. It was therefore agreed that the matter be referred back to the Council of the Institute for conference and arrangement.

As to the place of meeting in 1892, Mr. Gosselin laid before the meeting the invitation that had been received from Cambridge. The Rev. Greville I. Chester spoke in favour of a meeting in Ireland, and proposed a motion that Dublin be visited in 1892. Chancellor Ferguson and Professor Clark pointed out that the preliminaries had already been arranged for a meeting in Cambridge, and that the preparations for and elaborations necessary for such visits took considerable time. Dr. Cox spoke in favour of a visit to Ireland, and alluded to the great increase of interest in archæology that had taken place in the sister kingdom of late

years. He was glad that the subject had been brought forward, and if Mr. Chester would put his motion, "that it was desirable that Ireland be visited at an early date," he would have great pleasure in seconding it.

Mr. HARTSUORNE spoke of the desirability of a second meeting in London. The Institute came of age in the metropolis under most brilliant auspices, and he hoped it might celebrate its Jubilee there.

On the motion of Professor CLARK, seconded by Mr. BAYLIS, the invitation from Cambridge was unanimously accepted. Professor Clark, speaking generally of the prospects of a second meeting in Cambridge, assured the members of a very cordial welcome on the banks of the Cam.

Mr. GREVILLE CHESTER's motion, "That it was desirable that Ireland be visited by the Institute at an early date," was now put. This was supported by Mr. HILTON and the Rev. J. HIRST, and carried.

The following new members were elected:—Mr. Cadwallader J. Bates, proposed by Earl Percy; the Rev. S. E. Bartleet, proposed by Mr. Hartsuorne.

At 11 a.m. the Bishop of Carlisle opened the Architectural Section and delivered his address. This is printed at p. 274.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Bishop of Carlisle and took occasion to say that, with respect to the question of dealing with Westminster Abbey, the Commissioners were absolutely unanimous on one point—namely, that of leaving the building alone as it had come down to us. One point about buildings still in use might be put very shortly, and that was that in altering a building the restorers must alter it for their own use. The real mischief had been, not that the restorers had been trying to make the buildings more fit for use, but that they had been putting them back into some past condition which did not make them more useful than before.

Dr. ANDERSON, in seconding the vote, said he was sure that the Bishop's words would give the greatest encouragement to all who were engaged in restorative work, and would tend to soften much of the bitter criticism that was poured out on the heads of unfortunate architects. One view he would like to press was that the restoration of buildings as we now understood it was entirely a thing of the present day. He was sure that if a Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings had existed in the old days it would have had a very rough time of it. Architects in those days did not preserve. He was afraid they destroyed a great deal.

Dr. Cox expressed the hope that the result of the drawn battle between the Commissioners in regard to Westminster Abbey would be that for many years the Abbey would be spared as it was. He emphasised the great danger that would result from a call upon the nation to vote any great amount of money towards the building of a new chapel. The result would be a sort of popular control which would ruin very much of the sacred halo that is now attached to the building.

The Rev. W. S. CALVERLEY read a capital paper on "Pre-Norman Crosses at St. Wilfrid's Church, Halton, Lancashire." This was followed by "Caledonian Campanology," by Dr. Raven, which, in the author's absence, was read by Dr. Cox. Votes of thanks were passed to the authors of these papers.

Professor CLARK expressed the feeling of many of those present when he spoke of the extreme beauty and completeness of the collection of



rubblings, or rather drawings, which were hung round the walls of the Lecture Hall; he understood they were the work of a lady and hoped they might be favoured with some explanation of the manner in which these admirable drawings had been prepared.

MR. A. CARMICHAEL stated that the rubblings which had been made direct from the stones, and related chiefly to the islands and highlands of Scotland, were the work of Miss M'Lagan, of Stirling, a lady upwards of eighty years of age who had paid much attention to the subject.

The BISHOP OF CARLISLE endorsed the remarks of Professor Clark and spoke of the drawings as the most beautiful of the kind he had ever seen. The meeting then adjourned.

The Historical Section met at noon in the Lecture Hall of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, Dr. Hodgkin in the chair. Dr. Macdonald read a paper, "Is Burghead on the Moray Firth the winged camp of Ptolemy?" This is printed at p. 361. A discussion followed in which the President of the Section, Mr. Jolly, and Mr. Dyer took part, supporting Dr. Macdonald's conclusions. Mr. Peacock, communicated a paper, "St. Helen, the Mother of Constantine." This is printed at p. 354. Mr. G. M. Hughes contributed a paper "On the Roman Station of Vindonum" which for want of time was not read.

At 2 p.m. the members assembled at St. Giles's Cathedral, where they were met by Mr. G. Henderson. In the course of the description which he was kind enough to give, Mr. Henderson spoke of the early history of the church, its destruction by the English in 1384, and subsequent rebuilding during the next hundred years, and the various alterations which had been made to the fabric up to the early part of the sixteenth century, when the building attained its greatest dimensions. The changes that were carried out at the Reformation in 1560, when the church was formed by partitions into several places of worship, did not, however, destroy all antiquity, and the speaker pointed out many fine features of the fifteenth century work still remaining intact. Chief among these were the Albany Chapel, a building of great beauty, the groining of the nave aisles, the choir and its aisles, and the Preston aisle and chapel of St. John. The two eastern bays of the church, belonging to the extension of 1460, exhibit much richness of work, and the capitals of the pillars have much interest from the series of shields in their foliage. In 1829 large sums were expended in alterations and modernising and it was not until 1872 that efforts were made to bring back the church to something like its original state. By the munificence of Dr. William Chambers the work was finally completed in 1883, and the building reopened three days after his lamented death. Certainly the present appearance of St. Giles has great dignity and solemnity; the spacious plan, with its three rows of columns, lends itself to this, but it must be confessed that the stripping of the plaster from rough stone vaulting, which, like that at Tewkesbury, was never meant to be exposed, is a disastrous process, causing a distracting effect.

From the Cathedral the members passed over to the Parliament House, a noble hall forty feet in breadth with a hammer beam roof. This was erected about 1640, and here sat the three Estates as one chamber. Under the courteous guidance of Mr. Balfour Paul, Lion King of Arms, the visitors both saw and heard much that was interesting; the modern painted windows, of considerable size and merit, are with much propriety



made to represent the institutions of the Court of Session by James V. in 1532; this is the great south window; others contain respectively the arms of the Lords President of the Court of Session, those of the Lords Justice Clerk, those of the Deans of Faculty, and those of the Lords Advocate. The members went from the Parliament House to the famous Advocates' Library, founded by "Bloody Mackenzie," the finest collection of books in Scotland, and one of the five "privileged" libraries in the United Kingdom. Another great library, also entered from the Parliament House, is that of the Writers to Her Majesty's Signet. This was long under the care of a late highly distinguished member of the Institute, Dr. Laing. The dome of the upper hall of this fine collection is painted by Thomas Stothard, with his usual feebleness.

Edinburgh Castle—Edwin's stronghold—was the next point. Here the members were met by Mr. Hippolite J. Blanc, who soon proved himself a most able guide, taking his party forward step by step, and giving as he did so a most clear and concise description of the different parts of the castle as they came under observation, and supplying in many cases the dates of the various portions. As was to be expected in a castle which has always been in use, much of the earlier work was shown to have given place to modern arrangements; indeed, as early as under David II., in the middle of the fourteenth century, the whole place seems to have been largely remodelled. Nevertheless, there was no difficulty in following the changes or alterations which Mr. Blanc commented upon, the Gate Tower of David II. being a particularly interesting feature. The Great Hall of 1434, lately re-discovered—having been lost sight of for about two hundred years by conversion and sub-division necessary for the purposes of a garrison hospital, was visited. By the munificence of the late Mr. William Nelson, and the skill of Mr. Blanc, the building has now been brought back to something like its original condition. Before leaving the precincts of the castle the Scottish Regalia was seen, and the highly interesting early Norman Chapel, or Oratory of St. Margaret,—all that remains of that distant period. The building consists of a choir, and an apse circular inside and square without, the internal dimensions of the whole being thirty-two feet by fifteen feet. It was, no doubt, built before the death of Queen Margaret in 1093, and is, therefore, one of the earliest complete ecclesiastical edifices of expressed character in the northern parts of our islands.

Leaving the Castle, a visit was paid, under the friendly guidance of Mr. Blanc, to George Heriot's Hospital School, a quadrangular building of a collegiate character. The most noteworthy architectural features now are the wonderful variety in the carved decorations of the windows—about two hundred in number—within the quadrangle. The exigencies of modern requirements have brought about many alterations within the building, but the great dining room, fifty-eight feet long, remains as originally built. The Chapel, of the same dimensions, was "beautified" early in the present century.

A brilliant *Conversazione* was given in the evening by the President, Vice-Presidents and Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery and Museum of Antiquities. The members of the Institute, and the large company assembled, were received by Sir Herbert and Lady Maxwell in the name of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and welcomed by Lord Lothian, the

President of the Society, in a most pleasant speech, in the course of which he alluded in graceful terms to the generosity of Mr. Findlay in providing so noble a home for Scottish Antiquities.

LORD PERCY having responded on behalf of the Institute, Mr. FINDLAY thanked Lord Lothian not only for coming to open the Museum on this occasion, but for the numerous services he had rendered to the Antiquaries of Scotland, and for his exertions on behalf of the Museum. Referring with diffidence to the kind remarks which had been made about himself, Mr. Findlay said how glad he was to have been of the slightest aid in promoting the objects of the Society. It only remained for him to ask Lord Lothian, in accordance with what he understood was a mysterious point of orthodoxy with regard to the opening of an archaeological museum in Scotland, to call for a blast upon the bagpipes. These musical honours having been duly carried out, the large assemblage dispersed itself about the spacious museum and portrait galleries. Light refreshments were supplied with true Scottish hospitality, while the band and pipers of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders carried out a charming programme of music in the Lower Hall.

Friday, August 11th.

The members left Edinburgh at 9.35 for St. Andrews. Here they were met by Mr. D. Hay Fleming, who conducted them through the West Port, a late fifteenth century work, renovated and altered in 1843. Mr. FLEMING pointed out that, although there were gates to the outlets, the city were never walled. The only remains of the Church of the Black Friars was shown to be the north transept with an apsidal end, and in the parish church, which is grievously marred by paint and cumbered by pews, the monument of the "self-seeking pusher and dodger," Archbishop Sharpe, murdered by the Presbyterian party in 1679, appeared the most interesting feature. Of the College of St. Salvator founded by Bishop Kennedy, who died in 1456, the tower and chapel remain. The latter contains the highly interesting tomb of the founder, and, close to it, the Sacrament House for reservation, which was described by Mr. Micklethwaite. In the College is preserved the beautiful silver mace, parcel-gilt and made, as one of the inscriptions states, by "John Mair, Goldsmith and Vallottee of Chamer till the Lord Dauphin in 1461." It is about four feet long, and is said to have been found, with two others, two centuries ago in the tomb of Bishop Kennedy, or, rather, in a vault below it.

After luncheon at the Royal Hotel, the perambulation was resumed by an inspection of the ruined chapel of St. Leonard's College. Certain changes in the wall at the east end, wrongly attributed to an arrangement for leper priests—for whom there was a hospital in the neighbourhood, and where would also have been a special chapel for such unfortunates—was well explained by Dr. Cox. From hence the lofty ruins of the cathedral were approached through the "Pends." Mr. Fleming gave a good historical description. It was shown that no written evidence has yet been discovered to indicate how or when this great church fell, but both fire and tempest, not to mention bad construction, had much to do with it. The interest attaching to the tower and chapel of St. Rule was of a different kind. Here Mr.

Micklethwaite called attention to the plan, the ashlar work, the windows splaying equally inside and out, the long capitals, the great height of the tower, and the sloping jambs of the archways, as strongly marking a pre-Norman period; he thought it was not later than the middle of the eleventh century; with this conclusion both Mr. Hartshorne and Dr. Cox agreed. Before leaving the cathedral attention was called by Mr. Calverley to the shafts of two sculptured crosses, each about eight feet long, which had been built lengthwise about two feet below the surface, into the face of the wall at the east end of the choir. These valuable remains had evidently been taken as building stones by the thirteenth century workmen. Dr. Evans proposed, and Mr. Calverley seconded, a proposition that the Board of Works be requested to give permission for these stones to be carefully withdrawn. It should be recorded that this cheering discovery had been brought about by some slight digging that had been made on the spot, at the instance of Mr. Hutchison of Broughty Ferry. The Kirk Hill, believed to be the site of an early Celtic church, is noteworthy at the present day for the remains of a thirteenth century church, of which the foundations were laid bare in 1860. A visit was now paid to the Castle, which was described by Mr. Fleming. Originally built by Bishop Roger, about 1200, it has suffered many vicissitudes, having been frequently demolished and rebuilt. It served for four centuries as the Episcopal Palace. An inspection of the "bottle dungeon," and of a real "subterranean passage," brought the long day's work to an end.

At 8.45 the Historical Section met in the Lecture Hall of the Society of Antiquaries, Dr. Hodgkin occupying the chair. Mr. C. J. Bates read a paper on "The Demarcation of Scotland and Northumberland." On the motion of Lord Percy, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Bates, whose paper will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

The Antiquarian Section met in the Lecture Hall, under the presidency of Dr. Evans. Mr. J. Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, read a paper,— "Notes on the Heraldic Exhibition," which is printed at p. 416. Mr. E. Green followed with an admirable summary of a memoir on "The Union Jack;" the paper is printed at p. 295. On the motion of the Bishop of Carlisle, votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Paul and Mr. Green. This concluded the work in the sections.

Saturday, August 15th.

At 10 a.m., the members went by rail to Glasgow, proceeding at once to the Cathedral. Here they were met by Mr John Honeyman, who gave an account of the remarkable plan, and the history of the church. We extract the following from Mr. Honeyman's *Notes* :—

The peculiarity of the site, which slopes rapidly towards the east, where in former times a stream called the Molendinar flowed, has led to an arrangement which is not to be met elsewhere in this country, viz, the construction of a double church—a lower and an upper—of the same dimensions, extending from the transept eastward. The lower church has been erroneously called a crypt, but the term is inapplicable, the floor of the church being considerably above the level of the ground outside. Moreover, as the Archbishop of Glasgow some time ago pointed out, in none of the ancient documents extant is the word crypt used, but always the phrase lower church. At the west end, steps lead up to

porches at each end of the transept, which have access also from the upper church, and towards the east end of the church there are north and south doors, that towards the south having a very elegant small porch. The lower church was used as a church distinct from the upper down to the beginning of the present century, and is the part of the Cathedral so graphically described by Sir Walter Scott in *Rob Roy*. At the north-east corner of the lower church a richly moulded and sculptured doorway gives access to the chapter-house, which here occupies a very unusual position. This probably accounts for the circumstance that till within the last few years it was not identified as the chapter-house, which was generally supposed to be the apartment immediately over this, now admitted by those best able to judge to be the sacristy. The raised and canopied seat for the dean on the east side, with the inscription over it in which the word *capitulum* occurs, seems conclusive of the purpose for which this lower apartment was intended, while the spacious *ambreys* in the room above help to identify it as the sacristy. A turret staircase here affords easy communication between the two rooms and between the lower and upper churches at the east end.

To give height to the lower church, the floor of the choir, which is immediately over it, is raised considerably (3 feet) above the level of the floor of the nave, which again is slightly raised above the level of the ground at the extreme west end of the building. The transept is short and does not project beyond the side aisles at either side; but on the south side an addition seems to have been contemplated, which, however, has only been carried up a little above the level of the choir floor. This building, known as Blackader's Aisle, was erected about 1490, and is a remarkable illustration of the difference between Scottish and English architecture of that period. What it was designed for it is now difficult to imagine, but its length seems to forbid the idea that it was ever intended to be an addition to the transept. On the north side near the transept a low building projects northwards, which has been "restored" in such a way as to convey the idea that it formed part of the church. It appears rather to be the only remaining portion of the buildings formerly occupied by those immediately engaged in the services of the church. All that is to be seen inside is a plain barrel vault, such as almost invariably covers the basement floor of ancient Scottish domestic buildings, and a staircase in the wall was recently discovered giving access to the upper floors.

Like every other Cathedral, that of Glasgow displays examples of many different styles of architecture. But is exceptional in this respect, that here a persistent effort has been made to modify and blend the discordant elements of the various successive styles, so as to preserve simplicity and harmony of general effect. These efforts have been to a large extent successful, and at first sight most people would suppose that the whole building had been erected before the middle of the thirteenth century, whereas there is a considerable difference between the ages of the choir and nave. The chapter-house, which looks quite as old as the church, is really 200 years later, while there is a still greater difference between the age of the choir and that of Blackader's aisle, which, to most visitors, exhibits no features suggestive of any such difference. It is indeed only by a careful examination of the details of the different parts of the structure that the characteristic differences which guide us to their age can be detected,



Mr. Honeyman gave a general description of the cathedral, showing where the changes in style are most noticeable and tracing its architectural history from Transition times, a matter of no little difficulty, on account of the absence of any documentary guides, the overlapping of the works of the different periods, and what appeared to have been the suspension of work in order to carry on that of the choir, the result being that the former portion, although begun probably as early as in the beginning of the thirteenth was not carried out in its clerestory stage until about the middle of the fourteenth century. This portion of the cathedral furnishes a chapter of great interest for the comparative archeologist.

Referring to the most striking architectural features of the building, Mr. Honeywood, in his *Notes*, says of the lower church :—

Here the details are exceedingly elegant and harmonious, and duly tempered in their contours to suit the subdued and for the most part reflected light which found its way into every corner before the place was ruined by the introduction of stained glass. The great charm of the general effect, however, is due to the skilful disposition of the piers supporting the floor of the choir. Considering the limited area of the church, the variety thus produced both in the grouping of the piers and the groining of the vaults is extraordinary, and yet the arrangements, when laid down upon a plan, is seen to be at once simple and symmetrical. Further variety is produced by the treatment of the east end, which displays a clever device for resisting the thrust of the vaulting without buttresses of great projection. The plan of the east end, both of the lower and the upper church, is very peculiar, and so far as I know, unlike any other to be found either in England or Scotland. It consists of a double aisle of four bays running from north to south across the east end of the choir. In both churches each bay in the eastmost of the two aisles was occupied as a chapel, the westmost of the two aisles remaining free as an ambulatory connecting the side aisles of the choir. In the upper church the double aisle is divided by elegant shafts carrying the vaulted roof; but in the lower church the chapels are divided by solid walls with responds towards the westmost aisle, thus forming the abutments above referred to without interfering with the use of the building. The solid walls have been pierced by coupled trefoil headed openings of rich design, each forming a piscina and credence table for the altar adjoining.

Concerning the choir, Mr. Honeyman remarks :—

The most striking architectural feature is undoubtedly the peculiar arrangement of the east end. It will be noticed at once from the circumstance that it necessitated the placing of a pier in the centre of the gable, so carrying round the main arcading of the choir as well as the aisles; while above this we have another peculiarity,—a group of *four* lancets instead of the more common grouping of three or five. Unfortunately the sense of security gained by the introduction of the internal buttresses below (already referred to) seems to have tempted the architect to provide too little abutment for his arches above, with the lamentable result that the walls, especially at the south-east corner, have been thrown considerably off the perpendicular, and seriously rent and disfigured, a source of danger to the structure for which it is now extremely difficult to find an effectual remedy. The exact state of



matters, however, has been carefully noted by H.M. Office of Works, so that any change can be at once detected. It will be observed that the plate tracery of the side aisles of the choir is of a very unusual character. It seems like the very first attempt at tracery of any kind, and it is evident that some progress had been made before the bay second from the transept on the south side was filled in.

After luncheon at the North British Hotel, the members went by rail to Croy, for the inspection of the Wall of Antoninus. Here they joined another and a smaller party, headed by the noble President and guided by Mr. W. Jolly, which had left Edinburgh by the 9.10 a.m. train for Bonnybridge, where they were conducted over the Excavations by Mr. Jolly, and inspected a restoration of the wall in that neighbourhood. The whole party now joining, the wall, which occupies a splendid position along a series of heights, was traversed to Dullatur Station under the enthusiastic and admirable guidance of Mr. Jolly, who may best speak for himself in the following *Notes on the Wall of Antoninus*:—

The first attempt by the Romans to provide for the permanent protection of their newly acquired territory in Britain, was made by Agricola, who erected a line of Forts between the Bodotria and the Glotta, the Forth and the Clyde, in A.D. 81, five years before the great battle of Mons Grampius, in the region to the north of these forts. Their exact position is matter of dispute, and can probably never be determined; but most agree that they were generally in the line of the subsequent Wall, in which it is thought they were more or less incorporated. The next defence erected was the great Wall across the southern isthmus, between the Tyne and the Solway, executed by Hadrian, in A.D. 120; the district between that barrier and Agricola's forts being for the time abandoned. The Caledonians in this partially subdued country causing trouble, they were more thoroughly subdued in the reign of Antoninus Pius. His general, Lollius Urbicus, by command of the Emperor, in A.D. 139, erected an earthen rampart across the northern isthmus, between the Forth and Clyde, now generally known as the Wall of Antoninus, who, however, never entered Britain. The Caledonians still continued so restless that the Emperor Severus came in person with two sons, A.D. 208 to complete their subjugation; and for this purpose "made a Wall from sea to sea." By some, this work is referred to the English Wall entirely; by others, chiefly Dr Skene, it is held to mean strengthening the Scottish Wall, and digging the ditch on its north side, which Dr Bruce, on the other hand, holds to have been carried out by Urbicus.

The Roman portion of Caledonia had a varied history, but the province between the two Walls remained more or less under their sway. The northern Wall was at various times renewed, and kept in more or less repair, down to their abandonment of the Scottish territory, somewhere about A.D. 400; a legion having been sent hither to garrison it for the last time in A.D. 396. The final withdrawal of Rome from Britain is generally fixed at A.D. 410.

The Antonine Wall extends from Bridgeness, near Bo'ness, on the Forth, to Chapel Hill, near Old Kilpatrick, a little east of Bowling, on the Clyde. Its eastern termination, long doubtful, was settled by the discovery, in 1868, of the finest of the legionary tablets, which is now in the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum. Its

western termination has been disputed, the opinion that it reached Dunglass Castle being now altogether abandoned, and Chapel Hill generally held. Its length is given by Generals Roy and Stuart at 27 miles, though it has been stated at some 10 miles more. It occupies a splendid position, along a series of heights, always overlooking low ground to the north, and commanding extensive views all along its course. It was an admirable line for defensive purposes, which could have been laid down under the circumstances only by most capable military engineers. Its general direction is from Bridgeness, on the east, by Polmont, Falkirk, Bonnybridge, Castlecary, Dullatur, Croy Hill, Barr Hill, Kirkintilloch, Cadder, Bearsden, Garscadden, and Duntocher, to Old Kilpatrick, on the west. At more or less regular intervals, under two miles apart, Stationary Camps existed along its course, there being some sixteen in all. These were generally rectangular in shape, enclosed by ramparts and ditches, the *vallum* and ditch of the Wall itself generally forming their northern boundary. The most of these stations of the Roman troops have been sadly obliterated, even since Roy's survey in 1755, the best preserved being Rough Castle, near Bonnybridge. Many are now represented only by mounds and hollows, and by well-known squared freestone, often variously carved, the most common ornamentation being the diamond or "herring-net" pattern; such stones are well seen in the dikes on Croy Hill and Barr Hill. Other Roman remains have from time to time been discovered, in the form of legionary tablets, altars, tombstones, statues, sculptured stones, Samian ware, coins, and the foundations of buildings of different kinds.

The Wall itself consisted of a *Vallum* or rampart, and a *fosse* or ditch on its north side, always separated from each other by a level space, or *berm*. To the south of the Wall, more or less parallel to it, and at varying distances, according to the nature of the ground, ran the great road or Military Way that formed the medium of communication between its Stations themselves, and southwards to the great Roman world. To ascertain, as accurately as can now be done, the structure and dimensions of these different portions of this great barrier, the Glasgow Archæological Society recently instituted explorations in parts where they have been less disturbed, chiefly across Croy Hill and Barr Hill, near Kilsyth, and at Greenhill, Bonnybridge, and Rough Castle; and it purposes carrying out similar excavations elsewhere along its course, and publishing, in a separate volume, the results thus obtained. These have already been interesting and important, and will, no doubt, lead to more trustworthy conclusions regarding the nature and purpose of this great Roman work than have been possible under previous unsystematic and partial investigations. Sections, several of them deep and extensive, have been dug right from the *military way*, through the *vallum*, along the *berm*, across the *ditch*, and through the mounds that exist along its northern face. These have been surveyed and laid down accurately to scale; sketches and photographs have been made; and full notes taken of all that has been done—under the superintendence of a committee appointed by the Society, whose members and others interested have, from time to time, made excursions to examine the excavations. The results thus obtained may here be briefly stated.

In the centre of the mound that represents the *vallum*, there has everywhere been revealed a stone structure, mentioned also by former

writers, consisting of straight lined, well laid out kerbs, generally 14 feet apart, with a well packed bottoming of rough stones between them. Over this structure, there exists a series of layers, of varying thickness, consisting of fine earths with comparatively few stones, and these all small. The layers show well-marked lines of different colours, the most conspicuous being certain darker lines, of vegetable matter. They are all carefully deposited and packed above each other; and are not, in anywise, a heterogenous mass such as would have been thrown from the ditch, as had always been previously conceived and stated, some of the materials used having been brought, in certain cases, from a distance.

Various considerations lead to the conclusion that the *vallum* was originally constructed of turf, the vegetation of which now appears in these darker lines that run from side to side, and that it was laid down carefully upon a stone base some fourteen feet broad. That the *vallum* was originally of this width is proved by various considerations, the chief of which is the existence of stone conduits, which run across it at its base and terminate *at the kerbs on each side*. So that the earthy materials that now lie beyond the kerbs on each side would seem to be the result of the gradual decadence of the superincumbent turf wall, and the accumulations of centuries of waste.

The height of the *vallum* is now matter for conjecture more than of direct proof. The principle would seem to be a sound one which would determine it by the consideration that the Roman soldier, keeping guard on its top, should be able to see uninterruptedly to the bottom of the ditch, across the *berm*; for no efficient military engineer would provide an ambush for his enemy in the ditch that he had dug to protect his wall. The shape of the top of the *vallum* would appear to be now quite lost, and is only conjecturable from general Roman custom in such works. Careful attempts have been made, in many of the sections where the original outline of the ditch seemed best preserved, to determine the exact slope of the *scarp* and *counter-scarp* of the fosse, that is the south and north faces of the ditch, as well as the original depth and contour of the ditch itself; with the result that the slope on each side seems to have been generally much the same, the width of the ditch at top some 40 feet, and the depth about 14, the ditch itself probably terminating in a sharp angle at bottom.

Excavations have also been carried out in the mounds that run along the ditch on its northern face, to ascertain with certainty their composition and character. These show that the materials dug from the ditch had invariably been conveyed to the north side, and they rise directly from its outer angle, without any intervening platform. The mounds consist of a heterogeneous accumulation of clays and earths, the upper portion being the inverted counterpart of those occurring in the ditch; the original surface of the ground before their deposit being, in several cases, quite clearly shown by a distinct line of colour. The work of excavation had probably been done by means of baskets, as depicted on Trajan's column and elsewhere; and the greater part of the materials had generally been carried over to the further or north face of the mounds, and spread out more abundantly there.

The Military Way remains pretty well intact opposite the parts of the wall excavated, and its composition has been well exposed in several places. It is not bounded with kerb stones like the *vallum*, but consists of a series of layers, the lowest being always of larger rough stones for drainage, and the upper of smaller. The topmost layer in several places

is well paved with larger stones, the upper surface of which shows the marks of traffic, in their worn, rounded faces, the under being angular—some parts in Bonnymuir Wood and on Croy Hill exhibiting these characteristics very well.

The exploration of the existing Camps, of which Rough Castle is now the only remaining example that has been left in any state of preservation, will require special care and much digging, and should be systematically pursued. A beginning has already been made in this great double camp, which is an example of a subsidiary camp added to the original square camp, during some temporary accession of troops. The sections have exposed large and important structures of stone in both the ramparts and interior, which will be fully exposed, and carefully noted and described. Meantime, this special work is being left over for the present, till the exploration of the *vallum* and its appendages has been completed.

Dullatur Station was reached about five o'clock, and while waiting for the train short speeches were made in recognition of the importance of the investigations which had been made, and acknowledging in this connection the efforts of the Glasgow Archaeological Society and the assistance of Mr. Alexander Whitelaw of Gartshore and his factor, Mr. Park. A warm vote of thanks was also given to Mr. Jolly for his admirable services in conducting the party. The members returned to Edinburgh at 6.25.

Monday, August 17th.

At 10 a.m., the members drove to Rosslyn. The well-known collegiate Church of St. Matthew was first visited, and described by Mr. Ross. It is only necessary to say that this ornate structure was begun by William Lord Sinclair, third Earl of Orkney who succeeded about 1417. He was a great builder of houses and planter of orchards, "but," says father Hay, "his adge creeping on him, made him consider how he had spent his time past, and how to spend that which was to come. Therfor, to the end he might not seem altogether unthankfull to God for the benefites he received from Him, it came in his minde to build a house for God's service, of most curious worke, the which, that it might be done with greater glory and splendor, he caused artificers to be brought from other regions and forraigne kingdomes, and caused dayly to be abundance of all kinde of workemen present, as masons, carpenters, smiths, barrowmen, and quarriers, with others, for it is remembered, that for the space of thirty-four years before, he never wanted great numbers of such workmen." He died about 1484, while the choir was still unfinished, and Sir Oliver, his eldest son of the second marriage, finished it as far as it now stands.

A striking feature of the church is the rich and beautiful colour which the outside has acquired by age.

Rosslyn Castle next visited, and described by Mr. Ross, is a small fortress of different periods ranging from the end of the fourteenth century. It owes much to its strength of position over-hanging the Esk. Adjoining the remaining wall of the strong tower is the remarkably buttressed wall of the chapel. A series of eight wedge-shaped buttresses two feet apart and rounded on their faces project about five feet and run straight up. An interesting though late part of the Castle is the range



of buildings on the south-east, in five storeys, of which three are built against the face of the rock. It is a complete house of the end of the sixteenth century, with a tower attached, the three lower storeys being vaulted.

After luncheon at Rosslyn the journey was continued to Borthwick. The parish church was first inspected. Here an interesting tomb with effigies of a man in armour and his wife was the chief object of attraction. Mr. Hartshorne described the effigies, pointing out that the sword belt of the knight indicated a date just after the middle of the fifteenth century, and no doubt the figure represented that William de Borthwic who had license from James I. in 1430, "Construendi castrum in illo loco qui vulgariter le Mot de Lochorwort . . . ac in eodem castro et fortalicio Constabularium, Janitorem custodesque necessarios et optimos pro sua voluntate providendi, removendi, et omnia alia que ad securitatem et fortificationem dicti castri necessari fuerint faciendi." The loose mail skirting within the man's helm was spoken of as a contrivance for the protection of the neck seldom expressed in monumental effigies, and of which, as far as the speaker knew, no original example had come down to us, though some of the salads and baviars of the period fortunately had survived.

Borthwick Castle, a very imposing fortress, has been so well treated of by Messrs. Mac Gibbon and Ross that we can hardly do better on this occasion than reproduce the description of it which Mr. Ross was good enough to furnish to the *Note Book* compiled for the meeting, premising, however, that the Peel of Borthwick fortunately came, some years ago, under the unerring hand of Mr. Clark, and that an able amount of it may be found in vol. i of his collected articles on Mediæval Military Architecture.

Mr. Ross says:—This, the largest of our Scottish keeps, remains in a good state of preservation. It stands on the point of a narrow elevated bank, which slopes steeply down to a stream flowing round it on three sides. The inclosing walls built along the bank are now greatly reduced in height, and in some places have altogether disappeared, but enough remains to indicate the extent of the courtyard which stretches east and west about 240 feet in length, with a breadth of about 120 feet. The angles of the curtains are defended by towers, that which adjoins the gateway on the south-west corner being circular—35 feet in diameter—and is of great strength, the walls being 12 feet thick. The gatehouse had a drawbridge and outer gate, as well as a portcullis in the inner archway. The keep is situated near the west end of the courtyard, and is of a peculiar plan. It consists of a great oblong building, lying north and south, with two towers projecting on the west front, separated by a narrow interval, the whole structure forming nearly a square on plan of about 75 feet. It rises unbroken to a height of about 85 feet to the top of the parapet, which is carried on a bold projecting corbel course continued all round the building, except on the east side, where it was destroyed by Cromwell's guns, and has been rebuilt flush with the wall below.

In the interior the main building is kept distinct from the towers. It has three vaults, and contains three great storeys. The upper and under storeys have been subdivided by wooden floors. The



towers contain two vaults, one at the level of the floor of the great hall, and above this there have been six stories in each. The upper vault in each of the three divisions carries the stone roofs, which are seen rising above the parapet.

The main entrance to the keep is at the level of the floor of the hall on the north side, and was reached by a stair leading to the parapet of the outer wall, from which a bridge was thrown across to the doorway. Beneath this there is another doorway leading to the basement floor, which is about six feet below the courtyard level, and is, in the main building, divided into three cellars. In the north tower was the dungeon, divided into two floors, with a garderobe entering from the upper one. The south tower contains the well, and has a low ceiling, there being a vaulted entresol above.

The great hall is a splendid apartment. In the picturesque language of Nisbet (the herald), "it is so large and high of the roof, that a man on horseback may turn a spear in it with all the ease imaginable." Its dimensions are about 50 feet 8 inches by 23 feet 6 inches, and 29 feet high. It has a noble fireplace at the south end, the screens being at the north end adjoining the principal entrance, and over the screens was situated the minstrels' gallery.

The kitchen in the north tower has three windows, an immense fireplace, and the usual stone sink and drain. The south tower has one room with several mural closets.

Two stairs starting from the hall give access to the different floors, and to the battlements. One of these, in the south-east corner, leading from the screens, was no doubt the common stair used by the domestics and the garrison. It gave access to the musicians' gallery, and to a passage in the wall leading to another stair communicating with the tier of rooms over the kitchen (except one to be afterwards mentioned) and with the roof.

The floor over the hall was occupied by the private room and the chapel. The former communicates with a handsome apartment in the north wing, which has a hooded fireplace, and was evidently meant for a principal or guest's bedroom. This is the room which the stair in the north wing passes by, without communicating with it. The section shows the remarkable manner in which one of the walls of this room and the two below it are affected by the slope of the inner wall of the kitchen chimney.

The chapel measures about 19 feet by 23 feet, and is lighted by two windows to the south, and one to the east. The latter, which forms a recess in the wall about 8 feet wide and 7 feet deep, contains a piscina and locker.

The two upper floors were no doubt bedrooms, that in the loft of the vault being used probably by the garrison who manned the roof.

Owing to the circumstance that the walls of the castle, which vary in thickness from about ten to fourteen feet, are carried undiminished to the top, there was a wide space between the roofs and the parapet available for working the defences of the Castle.

The date of the erection of Borthwick Castle is ascertained from a charter in the Register of the Great Seal, dated 2nd June, 1430, whereby King James I. granted to William de Borthwic of Borthwic special licence to build a castle in the place known as the Mote of Lochorwart

in the shire of Edinburgh, and to fortify the same, surrounding it with walls and ditches, strengthening it with gates of brass or iron, and erecting battlements (*ornamenta defensiva*) on the top, with power also to place therein a constable, janitor and watchman.

From Borthwick some of the party traversed the fields to Creighton Castle, which was also described by Mr. Ross. In his *Notes* he says:—

This Castle has long been abandoned, but is still in a good state of preservation. Our topographical writers have recognised in it an example of a castle growing from a small pele tower to its present dimensions; but curiously enough, they have identified the pele with the lofty north-west tower, while in reality it occupies the centre of the east side. It is of the usual oblong form, measuring about 46 feet 6 inches by 33 feet 8 inches, and has been vaulted on the lower and upper floors.

The entrance to the ground floor on the north side is now concealed by a later addition. From it a stair in the wall led to the upper floor of the vault in the basement, and to the Massiemore referred to by Sir Walter Scott in the fourth canto of *Marmion*.

The great hall, which had no communication with the under floors, was reached by a high door immediately over the door just referred to.

The kitchen is very peculiar, being an entresol formed in the haunch of the vault of the basement immediately above the dungeon. It is reached from the hall by a descending stair in the north wall, and measures about 12 feet by 7.

Adjoining the principal entrance a newel stair leads to the upper floors and the battlements. It is probable that this small keep had a barmekin or courtyard, inclosed with high walls, and that portions of these are incorporated in the outer walls of the existing castle.

The first extension of the castle was on the south and west sides, and comprised new halls and kitchens, with various cellars on the ground floor, except the supposed original tower, which is the only unvaulted portion of the castle. The entrance was from the south, by an archway passing under the hall and into the courtyard, where an outer staircase led to the upper floors. This general arrangement corresponds with other great castles of the fifteenth century, such as Doune and Tantallon; and many of the details of this part greatly resemble those found in many of the collegiate churches about this period.

At the entrance to the hall on the first floor there is an inner lobby and service room, with a hatch giving access to the cellar beneath. The lobby and service room are separated from the hall by a stone wall, which occupies the place of the "screens."

The upper hall appears (as we shall afterwards see) to have been used as a private dining room, and has had a communication with the old hall of the pele. Both of these halls have had several architectural features of considerable richness and interest.

The kitchens are on the west side and have been slightly altered when the last additions were made to the castle. From the ground floor a passage leads to a narrow postern, and from a point near it, a stair leads to the kitchen on the first floor, which measures about 22 feet square. One half of the space is occupied by the fireplace, which is cut off by two arches resting on a central pillar. On the second floor above this kitchen there is another, which was used in connection with the upper hall or private dining room. The communication between them was by means of a

wooden hoarding, projecting into the courtyard, the object of which was to get past the room in the north west corner, which was evidently a private one.

The second extension took place along the north side, probably at the end of the sixteenth century. After this addition Crichton stood a complete square castle, with an interior courtyard, having splendid suites of rooms, with large accommodation most conveniently arranged. This addition shows the influence of the Renaissance. The open piazza, with arches resting on slight columns, is the finest example we have of this previously unknown feature in our castles, and, with the faceted wall above, forms the most striking feature of the building.

The bakery is on the south-east side, and contains a large oven in a projecting tower. The first floor has a large reception-room and drawing-room, with a private room adjoining, with various closets. At the time of this last extension the southern entrance was closed and a new one constructed adjoining the keep.

Crichton Castle well illustrates the progress in the refinement in manners and ideas of domestic comfort during the two or three centuries it was in course of building.

We have no definite information regarding the date of any part of the Castle. The original keep was probably erected about the end of the fourteenth century, when John Crichton received from Robert III. a grant of the barony of Crichton. The family was a comparatively obscure one till after the death of James I., in 1437. James II. was then an infant, and the Parliament, dreading the power of the house of Douglas, instead of selecting prominent noblemen to offices of trust, which would have been resented by the Douglasses, made Sir William Crichton, grandson of the abovementioned John, Chancellor of the kingdom, and an equally obscure nobleman, Sir Alexander Livingston, was appointed guardian of the prince. The Chancellor displayed extraordinary ability during the remaining eighteen years of his life, and it is almost certain that it was he who built the first extension of the castle on the south and west sides. With the second of his successors, William, Lord Crichton, the family connection with the barony ceased. Having taken part in the conspiracy for dethroning James III. in 1483-4, he incurred forfeiture; and the barony, after being for a short time in the hands of Sir John Ramsay, was bestowed, in 1488, by James IV., on Patrick Hepburn, Lord Hailes, who was at the same time created Earl of Bothwell. His great-grandson James, the notorious fourth Earl of Bothwell, made Crichton Castle his principal residence. On his forfeiture Crichton was bestowed by James VI. on his own kinsman Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, who was, Sir Walter Scott says (summing up the characters of the previous possessors of the barony) "as unscrupulously ambitious as Chancellor Crichton, as profligate as his grandson, as treacherous as Ramsay, and as turbulent, traitorous, and seditious as all the Hepburns of Bothwell." He fled the country in 1594, and died in obscurity abroad.

A monogram over one of the pillars, composed of the letters M·D·S; entwined round an anchor, being the initials of his own name and that of his wife Margaret Douglas, combined with the symbol of his office as High Admiral, points to him as the builder of this part of the Castle, and thus fixes the date of it as between 1581 and 1591.

The members returned to Edinburgh at 7.15.

The general concluding meeting took place in the National Portrait Gallery at 9. The Rev. Sir Talbot Baker occupied the chair, and spoke at some length upon the care which Scotchmen had bestowed upon their ancient monuments. He was glad of the opportunity, in this respect, to intimate, as had that day been pointed out to them on the spot, that the condition of Borthwick Castle was in a highly unsatisfactory state as regards the growth of vegetation upon its roofs; this certainly was an exceptional case, and Sir Talbot hoped that by now calling attention to the matter something by way of remedy might be done. He had, indeed, heard that one gentleman had offered £100 towards the preservation of this noble monument, and more especially of its roofs. Continuing, the speaker alluded to the satisfaction it had been to them to see how ardently their friends on the northern side of the Border pursued the study of archæology. He had the honour to propose a vote of thanks to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who had made so many and such successful exertions for their gratification, and to couple with it the names of Sir Herbert Maxwell and Dr. Munro. In alluding to the former, Sir Talbot recalled his admirable Inaugural Address, while of Dr. Munro, whose researches into the subject of Lake Dwellings were so well-known, he especially offered him the thanks of the members of the Institute for his exertions in connection with the *Conversazione* in that beautiful building; the remembrance of that graceful reception would long remain in their hearts. The motion was carried with acclamation.

Professor CLARK moved a vote of thanks to readers of papers in the sections, to those gentlemen who had so ably conducted them over the different places of interest which they had visited, and to their friends of the Glasgow Archæological Society for the liberal and enterprising manner in which they had shown them the line of the Roman Wall and laid its details open for their inspection. This was carried with much applause.

On the motion of Mr. E. GREEN, the delegates from foreign Societies were cordially thanked for their presence at the meeting.

The following new members were elected:—

Sir Herbert E. Maxwell, Bart., proposed by Mr. Hartshorne.

Mr. A. Scott Gatty (*York Herald*), proposed by the Rev. Greville I. Chester.

Mr. G. Dobbie, proposed by Mr. H. Gosselin, seconded by Mr. Hartshorne.

Dr. A. H. F. Barbour, proposed by Dr. Hodgkin, seconded by Sir Talbot Baker.

In reference to the state of Borthwick Castle, Mr. HARTSHORNE proposed the following resolution:—

“That the members of the Royal Archæological Institute have seen with alarm the amount of vegetation on the top of the tower of Borthwick, and would venture to suggest that steps be taken without delay to remove a growing evil that is tending so rapidly to the destruction of this historic monument.”

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE said that in agreeing to a motion of that kind they did not mean to imply that the Scottish antiquaries were not able to look after their own affairs. He was certain that they were perfectly



able to do so, but the mere accident of their visit had called attention to the fact that this most interesting monument was in a dangerous condition owing to the vegetation which was growing over it. He was glad to second the motion, and he thought the mere fact of their adopting it was quite sufficient to call attention to the matter, and ensure that it would be properly attended to. He thought it was quite within their business to call attention to this sort of thing. He knew nothing as to the ownership of the castle, but that it was in an extremely dangerous state he thought was certain; for the present he suggested that strangers should not be allowed to go to the top of the building.

Dr. Cox strongly supported the resolution, and spoke of the destructive nature of the vegetations in question, amounting, indeed, in some places to actual trees deeply rooted into the roof and adjoining walls.

Dr. JOSEPH ANDERSON was disposed at first to think that the matter being rather an architectural than an archæological one, might be safely remitted to a few of the gentlemen who had conducted the Institute during the week; he believed, however, now, that the carrying this motion would have much weight and be likely to produce a more speedy result than any action which the local Society might take.<sup>1</sup>

The resolution was, therefore, put and carried unanimously, and a vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the Edinburgh meeting to an end.

On Tuesday, August 18th, a considerable number of members and visitors went by rail to Dunfermline. Arriving at 10.50, they proceeded to the Abbey, where they were met by Mr. G. Robertson, who undertook to conduct the party. We gather from his *Notes* that the Church of the Holy Trinity or Abbey Church of Dunfermline was

<sup>1</sup> From a letter in the *Scotsman* of Aug. 19, 1891, it appeared that the quantity of vegetation on, and consequent dangerous condition of Borthwick Tower had already engaged the attention of the Edinburgh Architectural Association so long ago as in May, 1885. The Council of that Society very properly considered its preservation as a matter of national importance, and so much were they impressed (as Mr. T. Fairbairn, the Honorary Secretary, says in the letter alluded to) that it was the duty of the public to assist, that they offered a fund which they then had at their disposal "as a contribution towards the cost of such precautions as were necessary for preserving the building." Another correspondent, writing the same day under the initials "J. C.," says that he has "long deplored the neglect of this fine old ruin," and has "read with much interest the motion adopted by the Archæological Institute in reference to it." He quotes the following passage from Scott's *Provincial Antiquities*,

written in 1818, respecting the castle:—"That the work of actual destruction, and even the slow progress of decay, should be arrested by timely and reverential attention is what the historical antiquary will doubtless expect from a family possessing so proud a memorial of the grandeur of their ancestors. And it is with pleasure we conclude this imperfect article on one of the most beautiful and entire specimens of castle architecture in Scotland with expressing our conviction that it is now in the hands of a proprietor equally interested in its preservation, and disposed to attend to it."

To this we may add a wish that after the main mischief has been arrested, attention may be directed towards effectually wiring up the window—a matter of no great expense—and rigidly excluding the numerous colony of Jackdaws that have taken possession of the castle and filled it with much that might with advantage be dispersed over the neighbouring land.



founded by Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, his Queen, immediately after their marriage, which took place in 1070. At the accession of Alexander I. the western part of the Church, aisles, gable, and towers were still unbuilt; but the work went on gradually, according to the custom of the time, and the structure was at length completed by David I., and dedicated in 1150. That building, of which a large part still remains in good preservation, consisted of six bays with side aisles, but without transepts, and terminated in an apse at the east end, the total width being 55 feet and the length about 106 feet.

At the east end of the Church, in front of the high altar, a considerable space was set apart as the burial-place of the kings. The remains of the founder, who died at Alnwick and was buried at Tynemouth, were in 1115 conveyed thence, and reinterred here in the presence of Alexander I. Queen Margaret was buried in front of the Rood Altar, which stood in the third bay of the south aisle.

About the year 1216 it was found necessary to enlarge the Church. The apse was removed, and the building was extended eastwards with transepts, choir, and Lady chapel. Of this entire eastern extension nothing now remains except a fragment of the Lady Chapel.<sup>1</sup>

Continuing our extracts from Mr. Robertson's *Notes*, he goes on to say that the eastern section of the Church was destroyed at the Reformation. When the ruins of it were removed in 1818, preparatory to the erection of the new Parish Church, a tomb was opened up which was believed to be that of King Robert Bruce. Its position was in the centre of the choir, and is now marked by a fine brass.

The upper part of the west front of the Church appears to have been rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The heavy buttresses on the north and south side were added, perhaps not all at one time, in the end of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century. One of them bears the date 1620, another 1675. The steeple is of the seventeenth century.

Of the Monastery the early history is obscure. It is not known with certainty who were its original occupants. David I. remodelled the original foundation as a Benedictine Abbey, placing in it twelve monks of that Order from Canterbury, with their former prior as abbot, and bestowed upon it large endowments. In 1303, when the Abbey was burned by Edward I., leaving only the Church and a few dwellings for the monks, it had grown to such wealth and magnificence that, as Matthew of Westminster tells us, it covered a space of three ploughlands and contained buildings so stately and extensive that three kings and their trains might, without inconvenience, have been accommodated in it at one time. Slowly recovering from this disaster, it was again burned by Richard II. in 1385, and after a second restoration was finally reduced to ruin on the 28th March 1561. The fragment which remains is the south wall of the refectory and the west gable.

<sup>1</sup> It may here be recorded that on the completion of the Lady Chapel, the remains of Queen Margaret were removed there from before the Rood Altar and enclosed in a new sepulchre. A great slab of marble still remains, called the shrine of St. Margaret, and upon it are the depressions marking the places of four pillars which supported the slab

bearing the shrine containing the remains of the Queen, which were thus above ground and not below; the pilgrims and worshippers would therefore bow themselves beneath the shrine itself. This discovery was happily made on this occasion by Mr. Micklethwaite, and explained by him.

Close at hand are the ruins of the Palace, picturesquely situated on the side of a wooded ravine. To the west, within private grounds, are the remains of Canmore's Tower, but only a small part of the wall is preserved. The fragment of the Palace which remains includes part of the hall and of other apartments, and shows traces of many changes which have been made in the building from time to time.

The members drove after luncheon to Dalmeny Church, which was well described by Mr. Blanc, who spoke of it as "a singularly entire example of early work, the date of erection assigned to it being 1107." It would perhaps not be considered so early in England.

Under the valuable auspices of Mr. Blanc, a visit was made to Craigmillar Castle. This is a good example of a Pele, dating from the last quarter of the fourteenth century, now surrounded by buildings of the early sixteenth and seventeenth centuries forming a court. This brought the day's work to an end.

On Wednesday morning, August 19th, a general inspection was made of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, under the learned guidance of Dr. Anderson, whose notes on this valuable collection will certainly be read with interest:—

The Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, recently removed to the east wing of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery Buildings, is arranged in three divisions—the Historic on the ground floor, the Prehistoric on the first floor, and the Comparative or Foreign Collections on the second floor.

In the recent section on the ground floor, are collections illustrative of old domestic life, lighting appliances, spinning and weaving, tools, implements, and articles of obsolete use or archaic types. Among these the most noticeable are the home-made pottery from the Island of Lewis in the Hebrides, querns for grinding oatmeal and malt, baking stones for toasting oatcakes before a fire on the hearth, kegs of butter dug out of bogs, tinder-boxes with flint and steel, *peer men* or home-made candlesticks for burning resinous splinters of bog-fir instead of candles, *earles* or long wooden candlesticks for home-made tallow candles, *crusies* or oil lamps of wrought iron or tin for burning rush or cotton wicks, and the stone moulds in which the wrought iron *crusies* were made. A case of spinning and weaving implements shows the primitive modes of hand spinning by spindle and distaff, and the different varieties of spinning wheels, tape looms, and hand machines for making fringes. There is also a collection of tirling pins in use before door-knockers, and door locks made wholly of wood, with wooden keys, common to quite recent times in the Highlands and Islands. Among agricultural implements is the one-stilted plough, used till quite recently in Shetland; the *cashrom* or crooked foot plough, a kind of compromise between a plough and a spade, still used in the Hebrides; and spades of wood shod with iron. There are also instruments of punishment or torture: The Maiden or Scottish beheading machine, the stocks from the Canongate Tolbooth, the joughs, a stool of repentance and gown of sackcloth, thumbikins and branks. In the military section, besides the usual mediæval weapons and armour, there are types peculiar to Scotland, such as Lochaber axes; broadswords with basket hilts and Andrea Ferrara blades; shields or targes of wood and leather worked in Celtic patterns, and ornamented with studs and bosses of brass; dirks with wooden handles

carved with interlaced work; plaid or shoulder brooches of brass, engraved with figures of animals, foliage, and interlaced patterns, and of silver inlaid with similar patterns in *niello*; powder-horns elaborately engraved with Celtic patterns; steel pistols, chiefly made in Doune, Perthshire, and beautifully ornamented with scroll patterns, engraved or inlaid with silver; and purse or sporran-clasps of brass. Here too are specimens of the old Scottish harp, one most elaborately carved, bagpipes, and other musical instruments. In ivory carving there is a portion of the find of twelfth-century chessmen from the Island of Lewis, and a beautiful casket of stained ivory covered with interlaced patterns. The section of early Christian monuments includes many examples of the unexplained symbols peculiar to Scotland, and casts of the Kildalton cross in the earlier style of Celtic ornamentation, and the Cambleton cross in the latter foliaceous style. Among the relics of the Roman occupation, of southern Scotland are a series of altars, two milestones, and the fine slab from Carriden on the Forth, erected by the Second Legion to commemorate the construction by them of four thousand paces of the Wall of Antoninus, between the Forth and Clyde.

In the prehistoric section, on the first floor, a noticeable feature is the extent and variety of the collections obtained by systematic examination of special localities, such as the Culbin Sands in Morayshire, which have yielded a collection of articles over 15,000 in number, consisting chiefly of arrow-heads, scrapers, knives, saws, &c., of flint; hammer-stones, stone discs (peculiar to this locality), rubbing-stones, glass beads and buckles; belt clasps, fasteners, needles, pins, and other small articles of bronze and brass. There is a similar collection of about 10,000 objects from Glenluce Sands in Wigtonshire, and a smaller collection from Golspie Links, in Sutherland. The prehistoric methods of flint working are illustrated by collections of hammer-stones, anvil-stones, flint nodules split up and partially worked, cores and flakes chiefly from Aberdeenshire. The general collection of flint arrow-heads from different districts in Scotland shows nearly a thousand specimens. Among the polished stone axes, which number over 400, there are some of almost unexampled beauty in yellow and white flint and jadeite. The section of perforated hammers and hammer-axes also presents some very finely-finished examples, and many of exceptionally large size. Of types of stone implements peculiar to Scotland there are the ornamented stone balls; the thin, flat, oval and highly polished knives of porphyry; the elongated knife-blades of schist; and the series of rudely-chipped implements from Shetland. The Sepulchral Pottery from burials of the stone and Bronze Ages, also forms a very remarkable collection. The series of bronze weapons and implements contains some unique examples and rare varieties. A notable feature of this section is the series of bronze hords, and the great bronze caldrons which belong to a later period, as indicated by the hords of scrap-iron, broken weapons, and tools of iron found in them. The Iron Age collections include a variety of objects in bronze, the most remarkable of which are a series of massive armlets, which are peculiar to Scotland, and horse trappings decorated with enamel, and with the peculiar style of ornament, chased or in relief, which is known as "Late Celtic." The series of collections from the Brochs—round towers of uncemented masonry, having their chambers, galleries, and stairs in the thickness of the wall, as shown in the model of the Broch

of Mousa—is very extensive, while those from the Scottish lake-dwellings, cave-dwellings, and kitchen-middens also present many peculiar features. From Viking grave-mounds, chiefly in the Northern and Western Isles, there are a number of relics of Scandinavian character—swords, spears, and implements of iron of various kinds, oval bowl-shaped brooches, glass beads and silver ornaments, such as brooches, bracelets, &c., one find of these from Skaill, Orkney, exceeding 16 lbs. in weight. In this find, and in another of the same period from Storr, Skye, there are a number of Anglo-Saxon and Cufic coins of the tenth century. Among the gold and silver ornaments are examples of the golden diadems and torcs of the later Bronze Age, silver torcs and armlets of the Iron Age, and penannular brooches of the early Christian period, chief among which are the Cadboll brooches found in Sutherland, and the Hunterston brooch found near Largs in Ayrshire, which rivals the famous Tara brooch in the beauty and delicacy of its elaborate decoration. The crosier and bell of St. Fillan and other ecclesiastical relics of the early Celtic Church are also worthy of special notice.

In the comparative section, on the second floor, there are collections of prehistoric antiquities from various countries, including a large American collection; collections of Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Indian antiquities, and a considerable collection of savage weapons.

The Heraldic Exhibition was subsequently seen under the direction of Mr. J. M. Gray, and a visit to the Museum of Science and Art, and the National Picture Gallery, in the afternoon, brought the extra days of the Edinburgh Meeting to a most successful end.



## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

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ROCKINGHAM CASTLE AND THE WATSONS. By C. WISE. London : Elliott Stock, 62, Paternoster Row ; Kettering: W. E. and J. Goss, 1891.

An ancient castle, a forest, and a family seated there for three centuries, and closely connected with the local history, are materials of which ample and skilful use has been made in the volume, the title of which we have transcribed, and which will be read with advantage by the topographer, the genealogist, and the student of family history.

The enquiries of the Historical Commission, while they have shown the existence, at the seats of the older nobles and landed proprietors, of records and correspondence bearing largely upon the history of the country, have been less prolific in documents of a more private character, such as title deeds, conveyances of lands, early manorial court rolls, local inquisitions, and testamentary papers. It is true the special business of the Commissioners was rather with documents of a public than those of a private character, though they have usually noticed these latter, though briefly, and thus some indication of their existence has been afforded. In Scotland the reverse of this is the case. There the charter chests and muniment room of the historic families, not only of the peers, but of the "Barones minores" answering to our greater squires and to the lesser nobles of the continent are largely occupied with charters and grants, both from the Crown and from individuals, with retours, services of heirship and enfeoffments, and these have been of late years drawn forth and printed by the Spalding and other Scottish societies, besides which, still more recently, the chiefs of many of the greater families, of Douglas, Scott, Grant, Home, Fraser, Wemyss, and the like, the Campbells of Cawdor, and the Roses of Kilravock, have printed family histories, under the superintendence of Sir W. Fraser and Cosmo Innes, works of a very creditable character, though, unfortunately, being privately printed, not very readily accessible.

It is curious that in a country for so many centuries torn by intestine evils, and exposed to savage and vindictive invasions, so large a number of family records, and from periods so early, should be preserved, while in England, where death feuds were almost unknown, and where invasions have generally been at the instance and with the support of domestic factions, the materials for family history should be less abundant, and what there are should have been to a far less extent made use of. But such certainly is the case, and until recently English family history was confined to such works as Cleveland's House of Courtenay, Percival's House of Yvery, Lord Braybrooke's House of Nevill, and very recently and of a far higher character, the history of the House of Percy.

For these reasons the Rockingham volume, like that of Mr. Wykeham



Martin on Ledes Castle and the Fairfaxes, has an especial value, besides which being printed for sale, though scarcely for profit, it is readily accessible.

The earthworks which are still seen at Rockingham and especially the mound bearing a fragment of the ancient keep, have been thought to show that this was the site of a Burh, such as the descendents of Hastings made frequent in Normandy, and such as exist in great numbers in every part of England, on the borders and in the accessible parts of Wales, and upon and to some extent within the Scottish border. Not a few of these Burhs with their defensive work in timber were taken possession of and held by the Conqueror; nor was it till after his death and even after that of his son, that it was found convenient to replace the palisades and log houses with structures of stone, the citadels of which, known as shell keeps, in many cases remain, and are seldom, if ever, earlier than the late Norman period of architecture. The keep of Rockingham appears to have been, as was usual, polygonal in plan, and of very considerable diameter. It appears also that it formed, as at Berkhamstead, a part of the outer defences of the Castle, the walls of which abuted upon it, and thus included a small portion of its circumference.

Rockingham, however, though a Saxon Burh, like Warwick and Leicester, had the advantage of being connected with a forest, and so was at once appropriated by the Conqueror, as great in sport as in war, and became, from the first, a royal fortress, and at least fourteen manors were attached to it by the tenure of castle guard—a tenure by no means unknown to the Saxons—and which in this, as in other instances, were probably only confirmed by the new lord. Although there is no record of William's visit to Rockingham, works must have been speedily commenced there, for thirty years after the conquest the castle was selected as a fitting place for the holding a great council of the realm, for the discussion of a question then of primary importance, how far obedience to the Papal seat was consistent with allegiance to a temporal sovereign, or practically whether the recognition of Urban by Anselm was consistent with fidelity to the Crown of England. It was here that one of the greatest of English Prelates, unsupported by his suffragans, withstood alone the most violent and one of the least scrupulous of English sovereigns. The assembly was a full one, and included men of the highest rank, and that Rockingham should have been selected shews the importance of the place, and that the accommodation within and around the castle must even then have been considerable. This was in 1095, only thirty years after the conquest.

That the Conqueror visited Rockingham is probable rather than certain, but both castle and garrison figure in the accounts of the two Henries and Stephen; constables and baliffs, men of rank and trust, were appointed, and the military tenants were summoned strictly to their duties. Certain lands also were held by the provision of a barbed arrow when the King visited the forest. Cœur de Lion was here, with his brother Lion, William of Scotland, in 1194. John hunted much in the forest, and was a frequent visitor at the castle down nearly to his death.

Early in the reign of Henry the III, the Earl of Albemarle (de Fortibus), being constable, turned traitor, and held the castle against the King in person, and was starved out. The accounts shew large

repairs, consequent upon the siege. Under Edward the 1st, a new hall was erected, of which the walls are supposed to be still standing. Large additions seem to have been made to the lodgings, and the accounts shew that women were employed upon the earthworks with shovels and barrows, and at excellent wages. Edward spent more time here, and here were confined certain Scots, taken at Dunbar, in 1294. Under the lax rule of Edward the II, encroachments were allowed upon the Forest. Edward the III was occasionally here, and is recorded to have heard mass in the Castle chapel. Nevertheless under his firm rule the castle declined in military value, and so continued until in the reign of Henry the VII, when it was so dilapidated, that when the King came to hunt he occupied a lodge in the forest, traces of which are still pointed out.

While the castle of Rockingham was falling into decay, the family of its future masters, was rising into importance. A monumental brass at Lyddington in Rutland, records the death of a Captain Edward Watson, Surveyor General to the Bishop of Lincoln, and a man of family and landed possessions. His son, another Edward obtained from Philip and Mary and Elizabeth by leases and grants at Rockingham what became a considerable estate, and to this the family removed, and decided to occupy the castle as their residence.

Edward Watson who thus became the founder of the house of Rockingham, seem to have shewn considerable taste in his conversion of the more than half ruined castle into a handsome and important residence. His work still remains, and beneath the date of 1579, is carved upon a beam the becoming sentence. -

The house shall be preserved and never will decay,  
Where the Almighty God is honoured and served day by day.

The Keep was much too far gone to be restored, but he incorporated the Edwardian walls into the new dwelling house, and preserved the ancient gate house with its grand drum towers and a most respectable curtain wall extending from the gatehouse to the mound of the keep. The general result, much augmented by his descendants, still remains in the shape of a large and most comfortable residence, combining some leading military features with the domestic architecture of the 16th century, in a manner pleasing, if not harmonious, from the contrast, and the gardens with pleached walks and ancient yew hedges are in keeping with the building.

The Watsons, thus established, speedily allied themselves to the Montagus, Digbys, Brookes, Palmers, and Throgmortons, then amongst the chief of the gentry of the adjacent counties, culminating in matches with Bertie and Mannors and Strafford, then ennobled, until Lewis Watson, third in descent from the Founder, was created Baron of Rockingham, whose grandson Lewis, having married a Sondes heiress, became Viscount Sondes and Earl of Rockingham, honours which failed in the person of the third Earl in 1745-6, while the Barony continued in the descendants of a younger son of the second Baron, by the heiress of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. Their descendant, who bore the name of Watson-Wentworth, became the sixth Baron, and although he does not appear ever to have possessed the estate, was created Marquess of Rockingham, a title which, with the Barony, expired in the person of the second and well-known Marquess, on whose death the Wentworth estates passed with his sister

to the Fitz-Williams, while Rockingham castle continued to the descendants of Margaret, fourth daughter of the third Baron Rockingham, who married Lord Monson. Their second son, Lewis Monson-Watson, obtained a re-creation of the title of Sondes, and was ancestor of the present Earl Sondes, of Kent. The estate of Rockingham was, however, settled upon Lewis Thomas Watson-Monson, a younger son of the second Lord Sondes, who bore the name of Watson only, and was father of the present owner of the castle, to which he has made moderate but most judicious additions, and to whose ancestral piety and liberality, aided by the industry of Mr. Wise, the public are indebted for the present valuable contribution to the topography and family history of the Midland counties.

Thus much of the ancient castle and of the establishment there of its present lords. Their possession, however, has not been altogether of a peaceable character. Its Lord, at the breaking out of the war between Charles and his subjects, was Sir Lewis Watson, who was allied by blood or marriage to the Lords of Eresby and Belvoir, and to the Montagus, and was thus closely connected to both parties in the strife. At the first he joined neither side, and was distrusted, and speedily attacked by both. The result of Edgehill, and the intense activity of Prince Rupert gave the Royalists a temporary ascendancy in the Midlands, which it was thought might induce Sir Lewis to declare for that side. Anticipating this, Lord Grey of Groby with his cavalry dashed into the valley of the Welland, took, plundered, and held the castle, threw up earthworks, traces of which remain, cut down the trees for barriers, levelled the outbuildings, and otherwise did much injury to the castle and the adjacent church.

While this was in progress Sir Lewis and brother, who had lodged their plate and valuables with his brother-in-law, the Earl of Rutland, were taken by the Royalists, and imprisoned at Belvoir Castle under a charge of disaffection to the King. Sir Lewis, whose sympathies seem to have been with Royalty, succeeded, though with difficulty, in making his peace, and finally was created in 1644 Baron Rockingham. Naturally, therefore, when the Parliament got the upper hand the castle, in 1646, in common with other fortified houses, was ordered to be "slighted," which was effected by the pulling down of the keep and the filling up of the ditches. Sir Lewis was treated with lenity. He had the choice between leaving the country or compounding. He chose the latter, and returning his rental at £4,000 he was fined at about one year's income. This, however, upon a charge of an incorrect return, was raised to about £5,000, and he was allowed to return to the castle, where he made his will in 1647. He died in 1652.

The volume is also copiously illustrated by a considerable number of judiciously selected and well executed plates, of which six are from early family portraits, one by Holbein; others represent the gatehouse and other remains of the old parts of the castle, and others the present dwelling with its many and picturesque gables and tower, and the Yew Walk, the special distinction of the ancient garden. Perhaps the most curious of the illustrations are two plans, one shewing the portion of the keep mound with reference to the body of the castle, and another points out in great detail the manner in which the mound was fortified during the siege of 1644.

Since that period the titular vicissitudes of the family, already descri-

bed, shew them to have been prosperous. From sire to son they have filled a foremost position in the counties in which lies their property. Their share of the old Forest is in legal documents dignified by the title of a "Shire." Time, if sometimes a destroyer, is sometimes also, as in this case, the greatest of improvers. Trees, not inferior to those ruthlessly cut down two centuries and a half ago, are scattered gracefully about the slopes; the earthworks, covered with a mantle of turf, shew nothing harsh or unpleasant in their outlines, and the whole demesne, with its bold military entrance, its ancient hall, its Tudor and Jacobean outlines, and the swelling mound of its former keep, presents a happy combination of the past with the present, of the years of war and of the centuries of peace, such as is not infrequent in rural England, especially in her midland Counties.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF INCISED SLABS ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE. By the Rev. W. F. CREENY, M.A., F.S.A. Printed for the Author Norwich, 1891.

We had the pleasure, seven years ago, of noticing "A Book of Fac-similes of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe" (See Journal, vol. xlii, p. 123), by Mr. Creeny, and we reserved at that time a hope that an antiquary of his vigour and enthusiasm might some day bend himself to the far greater labour than that book implied, namely, the bringing out of a work on the Incised Slabs on the Continent, "*les pierres tombales gravées au trait*," which have been as much disregarded there as in England. The reason for this neglect is the very natural one—even among antiquaries—that they are most of them very difficult to copy, and always require much time and care, involving, indeed, a good deal of ingenuity in deciding, often, perhaps, on the spur of the moment, at a hurried visit, how to deal with them in the most satisfactory way with the view of acquiring a faithful copy.

It may be premised that Incised Slabs cannot always be rubbed with heel-ball. Some have to be traced with the pencil, their incised lines being filled up level with the surface with lead or mastic; others, again, will only surrender a satisfactory fac-simile presentment under a treatment of stone dust rubbed upon the paper with the hand, and probably in some obstinate cases it may be found that a fresh grass rubbing is better than none at all.

However, in the book before us there is not much question of degrees of excellence; all the plates are good, and Mr. Creeny very properly tells us in what way the rubbings, or tracings, were handled by him before they were ready for the photo-lithographic process which has been employed in the work. It was, no doubt, necessary to blot out with a black brush "all the numerous little holes and roughnesses on the surface of the stone, so that only the incised lines might appear white." In the hands of a rubber *quelconque* one might have demurred as to such a manipulation, but Mr. Creeny knows so well what he is after, and is so conversant with armour and costume, that we think there can be no fear on this score; moreover, the plates themselves stand as his *pièces justificatives*, and we congratulate him at once upon the care with which he has performed his very delicate task.

We intimated, when noticing the "Monumental Brasses" that rather a series of hand-books than a review could adequately deal



with the materials set forth in that book, and being confronted by the same *embarras de richesse* in the volume now before us, we must again content ourselves with calling attention only to the more important figures; and our task is made the more difficult because Mr. Creeny has been so generous that instead of "between fifty and sixty illustrations," as promised in the original prospectus, we have as many as seventy-one to choose from.

First, then, in order of date, comes the blue Tournay stone slab of St. Piat holding the tonsured crown of his head in his hands. But we take it that the date, "*circa* 1150," is an impossible one for this figure. The architecture of the canopy, the treatment of the features and hair, and the character of the drapery are much more advanced, suggesting a style and date of at least fifty years later. The effigy of Bishop Jocelyn de Bailul at Salisbury, who is known with certainty to have died in 1184, and that of Abbot Benedict at Peterborough, died 1193, may with advantage be compared to the figure of St. Piat, and it is quite conceivable—taking one detail with another—that the figure of the Saint is as late as 1225. His remains or relics are known to have been at Seclin in 1143, and it is probable that the tomb was put up at a later time to assist in attracting pilgrims to St. Piat's shrine.

We could have wished that Mr. Creeny had rubbed the original slab of Bishop Barthelémy de Vir, died 1158, which appears to be still in existence at Foigny. The print before us was obtained from a rubbing of a "faithful copy of the original monument in the ancient cathedral of Foigny," presented to Laon by the Count de Merode in 1843. This, again, is a monumental slab, not of the time of De Vir, but nearly a hundred years later, and as to its being a faithful copy of a mediæval monument we have great doubt.

The slab of Anton de Loncin "*circa* 1160" is interesting, not only as the earliest incised slab in Belgium, and representing a man in a hauberk, surcote, and cylindrical helm, and carrying a spear, but also as giving an early example of heraldry in the shield which he holds—vair, a chevron—two early charges. In the consideration of the question as to when heraldry first assumed a definite character this figure must form an important item. It appears to be of the end rather than of the middle of the twelfth century. Other instances of the cylindrical helm are given in the plate of a Bellingen, *circa* 1200, and of "Georgius miles de Nevreleies," dated 1262. The three examples show the gradual rise of this particular head-piece, from that of the time of King Richard, to the helm of the period of Henry III. with the hinged aventail, the successor of the nasal of the eleventh century, the forerunner of the vizor of the fourteenth, and the characteristic feature of the later cylindrical helms.

It will be recollected that only seven instances of cylindrical helms have been noticed upon effigies in England, and we are not sure that any actual examples in iron exist entirely free from suspicion, though there are several claimants.

Not less remarkable than the representations of helms of early character in Mr. Creeny's book are the incised figures with ailettes. Of these puzzling attributes of armed men we have no less than seven instances, ranging from 1262 to the early part of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The six first are clearly dated



examples, the seventh, with Mr. Greeny's leave, we must put rather before 1318 than *circa* 1330.

The figure of Georgius de Nevreleies, dated 1262, has the additional interest of exhibiting what must be the earliest example of an ailette with which antiquaries are acquainted. But the odd thing is—in two senses—that Georgius only wears a single ailette, in front of the right shoulder. It is a figure that would furnish ample text for a dissertation upon the military costume of this precise period. Nenkinus de Gothem, miles, 1296, wears large plain aillettes placed diagonally in front of the shoulders, and Humbier Corbeare, chevalier, 1298, has still larger ones, blazoned vair, like his shield, and set nearly upright in the same position. In the figure of Arnulphus de Gothem, armiger, 1307, who wears no spurs—like Sir Walter Treylli, 1290, at Woodford, Northamptonshire—a very rare omission, the aillettes are charged, as is the shield, with a rose, and reach a preposterous size, from the ear to the bend of the arm. Lambiers Dabeies, “chevaliers,” 1312, has his aillettes upright and somewhat reduced; they bear his arms,—semée of fleurs de lis, a label; Raes de Greis, “chlr,” 1318, wears them in good proportion, shown a trifle in perspective, and charged barry of six; and the aillettes of Renier de Malève, the latest of the series, and the figure which we propose to date before 1318, are quite plain.

In considering these valuable and varied representations of the foreign aillettes, it may be observed that they are all shown as worn in front of the shoulders, not one is behind like those on the figures of Septvans, Bacon, Trumpington, and the few other examples from English monuments, and only in the cases of the aillettes of Raes de Greis and Renier de Malève does there seem any tendency to wear them on the sides of the shoulders, a custom so well exemplified in the familiar figure of Sir Geoffrey Louterell. As to how these decorations were fixed, and of what material they were made, there is no fresh evidence to be obtained from the foreign examples. We tend to a belief that the side of the shoulder was the proper position for aillettes, and that difficulty in representing them both in monumental effigy and engraved slab, has brought about the perplexing variety in their situations. The eight armed men in the windows of the choir of Tewkesbury all wear aillettes on the back of the shoulders. This is significant because it may be supposed that the glass painters could have shown them in perspective if it had been necessary. We agree with the French antiquaries that “il est difficile d'en expliquer l'usage,” but it seems very doubtful, as regards the large sized aillettes, that they could ever have been of much use as objects of defence. It was impossible to fasten them on firmly enough to prevent their being knocked off at once in action, indeed, the more they approach to the size of the fifteenth century pallet the more they would have served the purpose of protection.

We may not quit the seven military figures which have brought about this digression without calling attention to the very high character of their armour and costume, and the rare excellence of the canopies over those of Raes de Greis and Renier de Malève. With the exception of the earliest example, they all carry their shields on the left thigh, after the French fashion; and their value is much enhanced by the names and dates being distinctly engraved upon the slabs, a

practice so rarely observed as regards effigies of this period in England. Such little bits of concentrated family history have a value which it is impossible to overestimate. For instance, part of the "scripture of declaration" of Raes de Greis tells us in beautiful Lombardic lettering:—*Ilh : ala : oute : meir : en : Aere : et : porta : le : standar : a : Waronk : avek : le : duc : Jehan : et : trepassa : en : lan : de : grasche : m. ccc : xviii : le vigile : saint : Thomas : piis : por : sarme : et : por : son : boin : signovr : le : dvc : Iehan : The bon signeur Iehan died in 1294 from the effect of wounds given him by Pierre de Beaufremont in the lists held in honour of the marriage of Henry, Count de Bar. The standard bearer survived his leader twenty-four years, and retained so kindly a remembrance of him that he asks on his tomb for prayers for the Duke's soul,—a picturesque and chivalrous incident.*

In tracking the men with the helms and the ailettes we feel that we have moved far more rapidly than the subjects demanded, but the space of a review is unfortunately limited, and we must now proceed to touch upon some highly interesting incised slabs which we had passed over.

The remarkable memorial of Asscheric van der Couderborch, not, we think, so early as 1250, must be unique. Upon the allure of a battlemented tower stands a cross-bow man in hauberk and surcote, with his arbalest,—an early representation of this ancient weapon, and a warder in the same costume, winding a horn and wielding a falchion. A great part of this curious picture is shown in red lines, quite fresh and perfect, after a lengthy burial in the watery grave of a sluice gate at Cuypgat, near Ghent, from which it was happily rescued a few years ago.

The slab of Thibauz Rupez, about 1260, has the incised lines filled in with lead, an early instance of this mode of treatment. A man is shown riding forth upon a horse; the falcon is upon his left hand, indicating, we venture to think, rather his high social position than the inferior occupation of a falconer, as Mr. Greeny suggests; the falcon, like the sword, was the distinctive mark of a gentleman. It is, perhaps, not generally known that the village of Falconswaerd near Herzogenbosh, or Bois le Duc, was famous for its falconers. Up to the early part of the present century this spot supplied the useful servants of an ancient and distinguished amusement to its patrons in England, and many princes on the continent. Harold, in the Bayeux Tapestry carries a falcon, and it may be recalled that in Orcagna's fresco at Pisa, "the Triumph of Death," the gentleman on a white horse, said to be Castruccio, the Lord of Lucca, is girt with a sword and has a falcon on his wrist. In the same fresco falcons are also borne by ladies and followers. The French of the inscription to Rupez is rather crude; we suggest that the words—*sitesmoigne : on : veraiment : q'l : sot : bien : son : define-ment : signify*, "this witnesses truly that he made a good end." It is a memorial of the greatest interest.

The monument of Hues Libergiers, the architect of St. Nicaise, "*qvi commensa ceste eglise an lan de lincarnation MCC. & XX·IX. le Mardi de Paqves & trespasa lan de lincarnation MCC·LX·III*" formerly lay in the beautiful church—"le diadème de la cité"—at Reims, which was destroyed in 1798. The memorial is a refined and graceful composition. There seems good reason for believing that

Libergiers created new plans for the cathedral at Reims, which had been destroyed by fire in 1210. His pupil Robert de Coney survived his master forty-eight years, and carried on that great work until his death in 1311. Thus we have the names of two distinguished thirteenth century architects, the portraiture of the elder bearing a church in his hand, and the chef-d'œuvre of both still remaining in its majesty.

We refer to the slab of Lifranshoms de Hollehule, 1269, merely to point out how hazardous it may occasionally prove for even the most careful man to "touch up;" but Mr. Creeny is very candid. "Dominus Eustatius miles" would certainly have smiled at the seventeenth century heraldry.

The memorial of "Frater Willelmus," dated 1272, is a rare portrait of a bare-footed Franciscan, which was rescued from the watery obscurity of a canal sluice. Not less valuable is the figure of Brocardus de Charpignie, miles, about 1270, who wears a chapel or iron hat, and a protection over the chest, which we believe to be a surcote laced on the shoulders—no doubt in a very unusual way, for the monument comes from Cyprus—rather than a plastron, which was worn under and not over the hauberk. The ponderous shield covers the lower part of the body, and consequently hides the rest of the surcote.

More interesting still—perhaps the most interesting in the book—is the figure of "Frere Gerars," from Villers-le-Temple, dated 1273. This is of precisely the same time as the only hitherto recognised effigy of a Knight Templar, that of John de Dreux, formerly existing at Yved de Braine, near Soissons, engraved by Montfaucon. The example before us differs from it in no important particular, but must be considered as the most authentic representation of the costume of that celebrated Order that we have, and antiquaries should be very grateful to Mr. Creeny for bringing it to light.

We have in England a limited number of diminutive effigies; they appear to amount to not more than fourteen (see *Journal*, vol. xlv, p. 168). The author gives us an instance, from a rubbing supplied to him, in the figure of the child Ystasses Doyssen, dated 1324, who wears a gown diapered with doves; the face has a decidedly modern character.

From the Cathedral of Chalons-sur-Marne, a building singularly rich in monumental slabs, we have the refined memorial of a mother, Eudeline de Chaubrant, and her two daughters—one in the garb of a religious, the other a woman of the world—who, according to the inscription, died respectively in 1328, 1313, and 1338. The ladies stand under canopies of which the spandrels are filled with very rich geometrical tracery; in the upper part of the slab are two angels admirably drawn, offering incense, a third holds up three incorruptible crowns, while the Deity bears the three demi figures of the redeemed souls in a napkin. At the foot of the slab are three compartments; that in the middle represents a hearse covered with a pall embroidered with lions and eagles, with tall tapers at the head and foot. This is a valuable representation of one of the most picturesque passages in a mediæval funeral. On the right and left are six hooded figures in attitudes of grief, four of them carrying books.

Wilheme Wilkar, died 1379, wears a standard of mail, the earliest example with which we are acquainted. A short ample-sleeved surcote

is laced up the front to the waist, and then comes a breast-plate which we would gladly, if we could, recognize as a *plastron de fer*,—but it cannot be. These and other details constitute a military costume of much interest; the *surcote* is a variety of this garment we have never seen before. Conrad von Bickenbach, died 1393 at Roellfeld, near Aschaffenburg, shows the same coat in a more advanced form.

The clumsy work on the slab of Bishop Nicholaus, 1391, from Linköping, Sweden, indicates that we have passed for the moment out of the artistic world. The monument of an Abbot from Jumièges, supposed to be about 1400, is an early instance of the canopy thrown into perspective, and is noteworthy from the choir of angels in it, graceful figures making melody upon musical instruments.

We cannot pass over the admirable figures of Johan and Arnolt de Parfondrien, 1400 and 1413, Knights Hospitallers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Each wears a standard of mail, and has a short sleeveless *surcote* bearing the white cross flory of the Order on the left breast. The only effigy in England in the full habit of a Hospitaller is that of Sir Thomas Tresham at Rushton, Northamptonshire. As Lord Prior of the Order, re-erected by Mary in 1557, but abolished in the following year, he is shown wearing the mantle. There is a large number of inlaid and incised sepulchral slabs of Knights Hospitallers on the floor of the church of St. John in Malta. It may be hoped, now that Mr. Creeny has called attention to these interesting Belgian examples, that the monument may be rescued from its pitiable surroundings.

With further regard to the cross born by these two figures, we believe there is an erroneous impression that it was not worn by the Knights Hospitallers until after their establishment at Malta in 1530. It would appear from the illustrations in question that the cross worn in the fifteenth century was simply that of eight points, distinctively so called, which was not known as the Maltese cross until after the establishment of the Order in the island.

The incised slab of Bishop Bartali, died 1444, from the storied floor of Siena Cathedral, is a typical example of an Italian monument, with not a trace of Gothic about it. As is so usual in Italy the name of the artist is known.

Katherine van Nethenen, the Beguine sister, who died in 1459, is shown in her picturesque garb. The minute work, which the hard grey stone made possible of execution to the mason, is just such as a lattener of the period would have done in brass, but it may be doubted whether either artist could have successfully taken the other's place. Many particulars tend to indicate that the artisans of the brasses were rarely the same as those who worked on the slabs; in this view we are at variance with Mr. Creeny. The designs would naturally have much in common, ruled to a certain extent by the nature of the different materials upon which they were to be reproduced, but we doubt whether the lattener or the mason could have so modified his manipulation as to have worked upon both with equal ease and feeling.

For want of space we have hardly been able to touch upon the numerous examples of ecclesiastical and civil habits, and feminine costume, which are scattered throughout the book, and we do no more than simply mention the archaic rudeness of the slabs of different kinds from Gotland. The specialists will not fail to notice the different modes of treating the



stony surfaces for the faces, hands, &c., from "Ma Dame Perone" of 1247, downwards; they will also recognise the intermediate step between the "flat" and bas-relief, the scarcity of the evangelistic symbols, and the frequent appearance of the *Manus Dei*. Certainly the variety and freshness of the subjects illustrated will attract a wide circle of persons interested in the habits and costumes of the past.

We must not omit to allude to the special value a book of this kind has in giving us, as it does, the large proportion of fifty dated examples out of seventy-one illustrations. And if we have somewhat lingered over special examples in our very limited survey of this wide field of study, our reason is a good one—good enough, at least, for antiquaries—namely, that we are not likely to see another collection of examples of such rare interest and value. The fortunate owners of Mr. Greeny's volume will turn it again and again, and whether they are students of history, of armour, of costume, or of architecture, they will alike cherish a feeling of the highest gratitude to the industrious author who has worked so successfully in this almost untrodden foreign ground.      A. H.

THE ANTIQUITIES AND CURIOSITIES OF THE EXCHEQUER. By HUBERT HALL, F.S.A. of H.M. Public Record Office, Author of A HISTORY OF THE CUSTOMS REVENUE, SOCIETY IN THE ELIZABETHAN AGE, &c., with illustrations by Ralph Nevill, F.S.A., and a Preface by Sir John Lubbock, Bart, F.R.S., F.S.A. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster-row, 1891.

This is the first volume of a New Series of Books—The Camden Library—commenced by that enterprising publisher, Mr. Elliot Stock, and promises to be as satisfactory as the other series of the same class, issued by the same publisher, have proved.

Madox, the Author of the *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer*, and a great authority on the subject, whose work has now become scarce and costly, says, that from the Conquest down to the time of King John the King's Court of Exchequer formed a sort of subaltern to the *Curia Regis*, and, together with the Treasury and the latter, was held in the King's Palace. The origin of the name "Exchequer" is buried in the obscurity of the darkest antiquity. This was the case even as early as the time of the author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, a very early record frequently quoted by Mr. Hall. The original is recorded in the Red Book of the Exchequer, known as the *Liber Rubens*, and has been printed by Madox.

Madox entered very fully into the derivation of the word "Exchequer," and says: Perhaps the most likely derivation of it is from *scaccus*, or *seacum*, a chess-board, or *ludus scaccorum* the game of chess. because a chequered cloth, figured with squares like a chess-board, was anciently laid on the table on which the money [paid into the Exchequer] was computed. Mr. Hall, however, does not think that "Exchequer" took its name from the *ludus scaccarii*, the game that is played upon a chequered board, but from the *ludus seacorum*, *sive* *latrunculorum* from *schach*—a dummy or counterfeit presentation—in the German. It is most essential Mr. Hall adds, to grasp the significance of the origin of the word "Exchequer," which may, in the widest sense, be interpreted as the chamber wherein stood the table employed for the computatorium, or game of money counters. Mr. Hall proceeds to give an interesting description with illustrations of the



manner in which the Chess-game was worked out. We have, however, run ahead of our author, and must turn back.

A very interesting description is given of the intricate arrangement of the Treasury buildings at Westminster, with ground-plans, and also of the Establishment of the Exchequer officials. Considering the character and importance of the charge and the duties involved, the administration would seem to have been most lax and ineffective. During the absence of King Edward in Scotland,—1301-1303,—it is stated that the Royal Treasury at Westminster was left in the charge of a caretaker, who was also the keeper of the Fleet Prison, which appears to have been the custom from the early part of the reign of King Henry II.; but it had been usual during the absence of the Court to place the ushers of the two Exchequer houses in formal charge, though on this occasion, owing to the transfer of the Exchequer to York to meet the necessities of the Scottish war, those two subordinate officials were also removed thither, leaving the keeper of the palace and his servants in sole charge. Though the Treasury of the Receipt, containing the chests of coined money and the Records, being attached to the Exchequer, had been removed, there remained a vast accumulation of historic jewels, the regalia, and the sumptuous gold and silver vessels, &c., used for the service of the King's Chapel, and his table, which would appear to have been deposited in another treasury situated within the precincts of the adjacent abbey. This carelessness was the more culpable inasmuch as only four years before it was rumoured that an attempt had been made to break into this treasury, and it had been hushed up. This, whether true or false, ought to have suggested greater caution and care. The result of the negligence was that the Treasury was broken into, and treasure valued at more than £100,000 stolen. A full and detailed account is given by Mr. Hall, together with the confession of the chief culprit, which shews it to have been one of the most singular, most audacious, and most insolent robberies to be found in the records of crime. For particulars we must refer the reader to Mr. Hall's pages.

In his second chapter Mr. Hall, under the head of TREASURE AND RECORD, gives a very interesting account of the contents of the Treasury. The former term (Treasure) included not only coined money, which consisted chiefly of silver pennies, the various processes of coining which are described, but also the regalia, consisting of crowns and sceptres of great value, and relics of priceless worth. We may mention the cross of St. Gneith (St. Neot), the Black Rood of Scotland, the Cross of St. Louis, &c., also vessels of gold and silver, rich and rare, and vast in number and value; and what, perhaps, was more precious than any, "Domesday Book," and other priceless historical records, many of which, alas! have been since suffered to perish through culpable neglect. Mr. Hall points out the manner in which some of the ancient records are marked externally with rude ciphers and devices to indicate their contents, *fac simile* specimens of these grotesque designs are engraved as illustrations. Besides the Exchequer records, which Mr. Hall has so learnedly treated of, there are many other classes, especially in the Chancery division which was separated from the Exchequer at the end of the 12th century, for the description of which we hope to get from him another learned desquisition. The records in this division are of inestimable value, especially to topographical and genealogical students.

A chapter is devoted to the ancient buildings of the Exchequer, to which we have already adverted. Another to the Officers of the Establishment, full of interest as illustrative of the habits of those Officers at various eras. In ancient times, when the duties of the Exchequer were performed by the studious Canons of Westminster, their lives were devoted to the duties entrusted to them, and their whole attention was directed to the financial interests of the crown. A marked difference is disclosed by a private correspondence printed by Mr. Hall, especially during the last century, when the offices were filled by jovial place hunters whose first duty was *self*, not without suspicion of fraud; many entertaining extracts might be selected of their feastings, joviality and jealousies, had we space, but we must pass on.

In chapter five Mr. Hall explains in much detail the curious and interesting "Game of Chess," between the Sheriff as debtor and the Treasurer of the Exchequer, shewing the singular method in which the accounts of the Sheriffs, or other Crown debtors, were, in ancient times, computed and settled before the Barons of the Exchequer, the Chancellor, and other great Officers of State. It appears to us moderns a singular method of keeping accounts by means of a chess board, counters, and tallies, but it was very simple, accurate, and effective, and lasted from a very early date down to modern times. Indeed, we do not know if tallies are not still used, to some extent, in remote districts. The shaft of the tally consisted of a piece of close-grained wood, about nine inches long, and the amount of money paid in by the accountant was represented by certain well-understood notches deeply cut with a knife thereon. The tally was then divided through the notches, one part being given to the debtor as an acknowledgment, and the counter-part was retained by the creditor. If any doubt of accuracy subsequently arose the two parts of the tally were compared, and if they did not agree it was evident that some fraud had been committed. In this respect they resembled an indenture and its counterpart. Mr. Hall lucidly describes the process of the game, with pictorial illustrations, and by problems showing their application. In connection with this subject arises the ancient practice of the "Trial of the Pix," or method of testing the purity of the metal used in the coinage, a process we believe still in vogue before the Barons of the Exchequer and other high Officers of the State when required by the Master of the Mint, or on other occasions. An account of the "Trial of the Pix" was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1808 by the Rev. Rogers Ruding, the well-known writer on coins, which should be read by those interested in the subject. (See *Archæol.* xvi., 164, together with Mr. Hall's account).

The last chapter is entitled "the Making of the Budget." It is very interesting, as shewing the various sources from which, during the Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet periods, the revenues of the Crown were derived. They consisted of the following:—

#### ORDINARY REVENUE.

##### *Crown Lands—*

Royal Farms.

Casual Farms, such as woodrents etc.

Lands in the King's hands by escheat, forfeiture, vacancy etc.

Fee Farms of Towns and gilds etc.

## CASUAL REVENUE.

Including coinage, tolls, and markets, treasure-trove, wreck, royal fish, deodands, waifs and strays, goods of felons, usurers, fugitives, outlaws, recreants, etc.

*Control of Trade—*

Purveyance or pre-emption.

Prisage.

Customs.

*Issues of Justice—*

Fines.

Amerciaments.

*Feudal Taxation—*

Aids (the three accustomed).

Tallage.

Sentage.

Relief, marriage, wardship, etc.

## EXTRAORDINARY REVENUE.

Danegeld.

Aid (imperial; the *Donum* etc).

Sentage and carnage, or hidage (imperial).

Subsidy on land.

Tenth and fifteenths (or other proportion).

Subsidy on woods, etc.

Explanation is offered on many of these heads, and other remarks touching on political economy, with some of which we cannot quite agree.

The volume is ably written, and very useful, and worthy of better illustrations than those which have been provided for it.

THE JOURNAL OF THE EX LIBRIS SOCIETY, Parts 1-7. London, A. and C. Black, Soho Square.

Collectors of Book Plates have at last formed themselves into a society, or, as the President, Mr. John Leighton, puts it, "an organisation that should aid collectors in the perfection of their studies, and the dissemination of duplicate examples of personalities and places of all nations, being a sort of International Grolier et Amicorum Institution for self and friends far and wide." The special objects that the Society seeks are, by means of its Journal, "to encourage the systematic collection and arrangement of Book Plates; the classification and description of examples of especial merit or rarity; the tabulation of plates according to their various styles; the publication of lists of engravers, of dated specimens, and many other matters of interest to *bona fide* collectors." And the literary department "will include the re-printing of articles that have appeared upon the subject of the Bibliography of Book Plates and their allies, with notices, extracts, and illustrations from kindred works, supplemented by original articles, biographies, suggestions, etc."

Thus, Part I contains a short introductory article by the President, re-printed from the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Mr. W. Hamilton follows with a paper containing useful hints to the would-be collector, but why the accomplished writer should affect the style of "The Complete

Angler," is not apparent. Another short paper, by Mr. J. Heanley, notices of Carlander's new work on Swedish Book Plates, and of Warnecke's volume on German ones, letters, and notes, complete the very thin quarto.

In Part II., that for August, 1891, it is at once evident not only that the work of collecting Book Plates will, by means of this Journal, be placed upon a scientific basis, but also that the intelligent study of heraldry will be much forwarded, and information recorded concerning engravers upon wood and copper whose names might otherwise have passed into oblivion. The valuable tabulated article by Mr. Vicars upon Library Interior Book Plates which runs through Parts II.,-VII., and the equally valuable list of modern dated Book Plates by Mr. Hamilton, from 1850 downwards, will form constant sources of reference for collectors. Among his numerous antiquarian avocations Mr. Franks found time, in 1887, to print for private circulation a list of English Dated Book Plates from 1574 to 1800. This Mr. Hamilton carried on in the Book Plates Collectors' Miscellany with dated plates, English and foreign, up to 1850. It would seem desirable that the whole lists from 1574 should be incorporated in the *Ex Libris* Journal.

We are glad to see the name of that excellent antiquary, Mr. R. Day, as contributing a paper on Book Plates by Cork Artists, and another, a continuation of the subject, with many illustrations. The last one will have a special interest for many of us, being the *Ex Libris* of that much lamented and most courteous gentleman, the late Dr. Caulfield.

There are some questions, of course, that will never be settled, and in this regard we heartily welcome the zest that has already been given to the *Ex Libris* Journal by the discussion upon the oldest English dated Book Plate. As the matter is at present situated, that of Nicholas Bacon, dated 1574, stands first, but this seems likely to be deposed by the discovery of one in the Bodleian, dated 1518. It recalls the viscissitudes of the Pudsey spoon.

The idea has not been overlooked by the Society that it may become international and publish a French and a German edition. The interesting paper in French by M. Octave Uzanne seems to be a step in this direction. Travelling further afield, Mr. R. C. Lichtenstein contributes two capital articles, fully illustrated, on American Book Plates and their engravers. We are glad to see that these valuable essays upon American families and their armorials will be continued. It is incidentally stated that before 1730 there was no person in America skilful enough to cut seals.

There are many other smaller articles, and plenty of suggestive and useful matter in the *Miscellanea*, touching as much upon heraldry generally as upon the stricter subject with which the Journal deals. We may not omit to mention the profusion of illustrations with which the publication is adorned, though we feel hardly up to the mysterious picture facing page 91, whether viewed as a Book Plate or as a work of art. And as to the excellence of the paper and type, and the good taste which pervades the whole—with Mr. Leighton as President and Mr. H. K. Wright as Editor, we should have been surprised if these features, had been otherwise.



# INDEX.

## A.

Abingdon, bell inscription, 56  
 Account, cash, for 1890, 285  
 Address, inaugural, at the Edinburgh meeting, 241; at the antiquarian section, 251; at the architectural section, 274; at the historical section, 263  
 Ailettes (in armour), some remarks on, 477-478  
 Alata Castra, *see* Burghead  
 Albourne, bell inscription, 56  
 Alderton, bell inscription, 56  
 Ambras, collection of armour, at Vienna, 120  
 Anderson, Dr, describes the museum of antiquities at Edinburgh, 469  
 Andover, bell inscription, 58  
 André, J. L., memoir on symbolic animals, 210, 434  
 Andrea Ferara swords falsely made, 123  
 Animals, symbolic, in art and literature, by J. L. André, 210  
 Annual meeting of the Institute at Edinburgh, *see* Edinburgh  
 Annual meeting of members, 447  
 Antoninus, wall of, near Glasgow, examination of, 458; the only ancient notice of, 369  
 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE :—The Camden Library, proposed publications, 197; the Book of Observances of an English house of Austin Canons, 198; the Boke of Recorde of the towne of Kirkbie Kendal, 201; the grammar of the Lotus, by W. H. Goodyear, 291; the blazon of English, Scottish, and Irish episcopacy, by Rev. W. K. R. Bedford, 291; the tombs of the Kings of England, 292; the Excavations in the North City Wall at Chester, 293; the O'Neil badge by R. Day, 293; [*see also* Publications.]  
 Archaeological Publications, *see* Publications

Architectural Antiquities, part ii, from *Gentleman's Magazine*, by G. L. Gomme, 98  
 Armour, ancient, study of, 117  
 Armour for soldiers provided by the parish, 71  
 Armour, suit of, a perfect representation of quoted, 128; made according to fashion, 129  
 Armour and costume *see* Greeny  
 Armourers' marks, study of, 121  
 Arsenals and armouries in Southern Germany and Austria, memoir by the Baron de Casson, Part I, 117, 193  
 Ashfield, bell inscription, 89  
 Ass, Symbolic animal, 213  
 Atkinson G. M. reads a paper on mason's marks at Eastbourne, 193  
 Augsburg, mosaic pavement, 155; Collection of armour, 133; Roman antiquities, 137; Museum, 138; Sculptured stone illustration, 151  
 Augsburg and Ratisbon, Roman antiquities of, memoir by Bunnell Lewis, 137, 396; List of authorities on the Roman antiquities, 414 (*see also* Ratisbon)  
 Austin Canons, their observances, the Prior and other officers noticed, the Prelate, the cellarer &c., the daily routine of duty, 199

## B

Balance sheet for 1890, 285  
 Barnes, Rev. W. M., description of east window at Bradford Peverell Church, 434  
 Basilisk, symbolic animal, 234  
 Bates, C. J. reads a paper on the demarcation of Scotland and Northumberland, 455  
 Bath as a Roman city, paper by Emanuel Green, 174, 289



Beaufort, Joan, signet ring, 422  
 Bedwyn, bell inscription, 57  
 Bells, their origin, uses, and inscriptions, memoir by J. J. Doherty, 45; melodious sound of ancient bells, 47; hand-bells, 47; St. Patrick's bell, 47; blessing and baptism of bells, 49; the alarm bell, 50; curfew, 51; sanctus, 52; inscriptions, 53, 56; pancake bell, 54; dedications, 55; change ringing, 59; ringers jugs, 57  
 Bells in Suffolk churches, review of Dr. Raven's work on, 86, some of the inscriptions, 89  
 Bells of large size, 61  
 Bells, peals of, in London, 61  
 Bells, sacrilege of, 62  
 Bell ringing, number of changes possible, 60  
 Berne, museum of armour, 124, 130, 193  
 Bexley, neolithic implements, 436  
 Binstead, bell inscription, 56  
 Borthwick, church and castle, visited, 462 and described—dilapidated and neglected condition of, 466  
 Bradfield, bell inscription, 56  
 Bradford Peverell, church, east window described, 434  
 Brasses—see Gloucestershire  
 Brasses, sepulchral, in London museums, notes by Mr. A. Oliver, 286, 289  
 Breadsall Church, a pieta there, illustration of, 113  
 Broadchalk, bell inscription, 56  
 Broos, antiquities at, with illustrations, 9  
 Burghead on the Moray Firth, is it the Winged Camp of Ptolemy? a memoir by J. Macdonald, 361. Did the Roman armies ever reach the Moray Firth? critical review of the various authorities, 364-391. Phœnicians as sources of geographical knowledge, 392. Greek and other ancient towns built inland rather than on coast, 393, 394; the writer negatives the question, 395  
 Burial, early modes of, 101

C.

"C," remarks on Scottish heraldry and genealogy when visiting the heraldic exhibition at Edinburgh, 426  
 Caladrius, symbolic animal, 236  
 Calne, bell inscription, 56  
 Calverley, Rev. W. S., reads a paper on pre-Norman crosses, 451  
 Camden Library, titles of proposed publications, 197, and others suggested, 198  
 Camel, symbolic animal, 214  
 Cameleon, symbolic animal, 230  
 Cambodunum, reference to, 139, 143  
 Capitulinus, the only ancient notice of the wall of Antoninus, 369

Carlisle, Right Rev. Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of, address at the architectural section, 274; Egyptian buildings, destruction of, 276; conservation of ancient buildings, 278  
 Carlisle bishops, seals of, paper by Mrs. Ware, 341; Pre and Post-Reformation seals, characters of, 342; counter seals, 342; private seals, 342: seals ad causas, 343  
 Cash account for 1890, 285  
 Cassiterides, incidental notice of, 393  
 Castrum, Roman, form of, 397; at Ratisbon, compared with the Saalburg, 407, 412  
 Centaur, symbolic animal, 236  
 Chess-piece found in the Thames described 194; similar ones in the Brit. Mus., 195; other examples referred to, 195  
 Chester, further excavations in the walls of, and discovery of Roman remains, 293  
 Civil war, events near Gloucester, a rare tract described by F. A. Hyett, 14  
 Clark, G. T., on charters and muniments of Glamorgan, 90; communicates a schedule of manorial lands at Lutterworth, 190  
 Cock, symbolic animal, 222  
 Cockatrice, symbolic animal, 234  
 Cocks, A. H., exhibition of Scandinavian Antiquities, 435, 447  
 Constantine, emperor, son of Helena (Saint Helen), 354, 355  
 Cosson, Baron de, on Armouries in Germany and Austria, 117, 193  
 Cowper, H. S., exhibits objects found in the Thames, 194; describes a bone chess-piece from the Thames, 194; and a bone draughtsman, 196  
 Cracow, antiquities at, 1  
 Craigmillar Castle, 469  
 Creeny, W. F., his work on incised slabs, remarks on the leading examples, 476  
 Crete, tombs in, 101  
 Crichton Castle described, 464  
 Crocodile symbolic animal, 231  
 Culver Hole, a pigeon house, 32  
 Cumberland statesmen, heraldry and epitaphs of, 77  
 Curfew bell, 51  
 Czernowitz, antiquities of, 3

## D

Dacia, province of, defined, 4  
 Dacia, list of works on the antiquities of, 13  
 Dalmeny Church, 469  
 Decurio a military officer, explained, 148  
 Deer, symbolic animal, 214

Déva, antiquities at, 10; Mithraic monuments, 11  
 Dog, symbolic animal, 215  
 Doherty, J. J., memoir on bells, 45  
 Dolphin, symbolic animal, 229  
 Dove, symbolic animal, 223  
 Dovecote, *see* pigeon houses  
 Dragon, symbolic animal, 230  
 Dunfermline Abbey and Church, 467;  
     Royal burials there, 468; palace,  
     469  
 Duumviri, sculpture of, at Augsburg, 151

E.

Eagle, symbolic animal, 224  
 Edinburgh, annual meeting of the Institute, at, 436. Address by President Earl Percy, 437; Inaugural address by Sir Herbert C. Maxwell, 241; Horace Walpole and Walter Scott as Archaeologists compared, 242; Archaeology the handmaid of history, 244; Archaeological collectors, 244; importance of local traditions, 246, 247; rock markings and sculptures, 248; mysterious visitor to Dr. Anderson, 249; Mr J. R. Findlay calls into existence the new Edinburgh antiquarian museum, 250; vote of thanks to him, 437; address by Dr. John Evans at the antiquarian section, 251; importance of stone implements, 253; lake dwellings in Switzerland, 256; Assyrian history, 258; Egyptian research, 258; British research, 259; numismatics, 260; address by Dr. Hodgkin at historical section, 263; on the judicious treatment of Archaeological facts, 269; Holyrood palace visited and described, 439; Linlithgow church and palace visited, 441; Stirling castle, 445; palace, 446; St. Giles's cathedral at Edinburgh visited, 452; the Parliament House, 452; Edinburgh castle, 453; Heriots Hospital, 453; St. Andrew's City visited, 454; Glasgow visited, 455; the wall of Antoninus visited, 458; Rosslyn visited 461; Dunfermline abbey and church visited, 467; Dalmeny church, 469; Craigmillar castle, 469; the Scottish National museum of antiquities described, 469; Heraldic exhibition described by J. B. Paul, Lyon King of Arms, 416; the oldest grant of Arms in existence and one of the most beautiful, 417; characteristics of later grants, 417; the most interesting armorial connected with Scotland, 418; another from Dunvegan castle, 419; foreign armorials,

419, 420; historical exhibits, 421; a silk flag 12 feet long, 421; the "Percy Gauntlets," 421; a most important Book of Hours, 421; the protest against the burning of John Huss, 422; a beautiful signet ring and relic of Joan Beaufort, 422; Ferne's "Blazon of Gentry" with a fierce MS note, 423; the "Union of Honour," its author once a blacksmith, 423; the "Academy of Armory," a most rare and curious book, 423; Seals, 423; miscellaneous exhibits, 424.—Further remarks on the Exhibition by "C," 426  
 Edwardstone, bell inscription, 89, 90  
 Effigies, with sword-belts, meddled with by the "restorer," 323; in the Temple Church, 324, 325, 326, 327; at Mans, 225; at Brunswick, 325; at Rouen, 325; at Fontevault, 325; King John at Worcester, 325; unhappily restored, 326; at Salisbury, "re-arranged" by Wyatt, 326; at Gloucester, 327; at Castle Ashby 327; at Braunston, 329; at Stoke d'Abernon (a brass), 329; at Whittington, 329; at Stow-nine-churches, 329; at Beer Ferrers (in glass), 329; at Acton, 330; at Weston-under-Lizard, 330; at Chartham (a brass), 330; at Fersfield 330; at Winchelsea 329, 330; at Paris, 331; at Ifield, 332; at Elsing, 333; at Wimbish, 333; at Ash, 330, 333; at Reepham, 335; at Leckhampton, 335; at Tewkesbury, 335; at Warkworth, 330, 335; at Holbeach, 336; at Orlingbury, 336; at Salisbury, 337; at Spratton, 337; at Baginton, 337; at Lowick, 337; at Felbrig, 338; at Wellesbourne, 338; at Ewelme (a brass), 338; at Dodford, 330, 338; at Nunney, 338; at Aston, 336, 338; at Quy (a brass), 339; at Brampton - by - Dingley, 339; at Iselham (a brass), 339; at Horton (a brass), 339; at Flore (a brass), 339; at Harefield (a brass), 339; at Marholm, 339; at Thornhaugh, 240; *see also* Greeny (*see also* Sword Belts)  
 Episcopal seals of Carlisle, *see* Carlisle  
 Ermine, Symbolic animal, 216  
 Evangelistic Animal, Symbols in Churches, 212  
 Evans, Dr. John, address at annual meeting, *see* Edinburgh  
 Ex Libris society, Journal and notice of, 485  
 Exchequer antiquities and curiosities, work on, by H. Hall, 482  
 Eyre, archbp : exhibits a squeeze from Glasgow Cathedral, 193

## F.

- Ferguson, R.S., on the heraldry of the Cumberland Statesmen, 77, 286  
 Findlay, Mr. R., originator of the new building for the antiquaries' museum at Edinburgh, 250, 437, 451  
 Fire-dogs, origin of the appellation, 216  
 Fishes, symbolism of, 228  
 Flags, *see* Union Jack  
 Flint implements from Egypt, exhibited, 85  
 Flint and stone implements, exhibited by F. C. J. Spurrell, 315, 435, 436;  
     *See also* Rude Stone implements  
 Fox, symbolic animal, 216

## G.

- Galicia and Transylvania museums, 1  
 Garway, Herefordshire, remarkable pigeon-house there, 30  
 Germany supplies cheap imitations of the costly work from elsewhere, 122  
 Glasgow cathedral. Mr. Honeyman's remarks on, 455; inscription at, 193  
 Glenthams church, a Pieta there, 112  
 Gloucestershire, monumental brasses, memoir by C. T. Davis, 19; number of is 83 but many are lost, 20; examples at Bristol, 21, 23, 24, 25; at Dowdeswell, 21; at Cirencester, 21, 22; at Northleach, 21, 24, 25; at Gloucester, 25; Wotton-under-Edge, 22; Fairford, 23; Olveston, 23; Newland, 22; Newent, 23; Weston-upon-Avon, 23; Clifford Chambers, 23; Minety, 23; Deerhurst, 24, 25; Cheltenham, 24; Rodmarton, 24; Eastington, 25; Minchinhampton, 25; Wormington, 25  
 Goat, symbolic animal, 218  
 Golden Wedding memorial exhibited by J. Hilton, 436  
 Gomme, G. L., collection from the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1868, 98  
 Goodwin, Rt. Rev. H., Bishop of Carlisle, *see* Carlisle  
 Gratz, in Styria, a fine armoury there, 124  
 Green, Emanuel, paper on the Union Jack flag, *see* Union Jack; memoir on Bath as a Roman city, with plan, 174, 289  
 Griffin, symbolic animal, 237

## H.

- Haines, Rev. H., monumental brass of and inscription, 28

- Hall, H., on curiosities of the Exchequer, 482  
 Harrison, J. P., note of churches built by Richard II., Duke of Normandy, 85; exhibits drawings of Roman capitals and bases resembling later work in England, 290  
 Hartshorne, A. exhibits a mortar, 431; paper on the sword belts of the middle ages, *see* sword belts  
 Haverfield, F. J., on museums of Galicia and Transylvania, 1  
 Helen, Saint (Mother of the Emperor Constantine), memoir on by E. Peacock, 354; born at Naissus, 354; said to have been born at Colchester, 354; and at other places in England, 356; water-springs dedicated to her, 357; churches, 357; other uses made of her name, 359; folklore, 360  
 Helmet resting on the shoulders, 126; previously borne by the head itself, 126  
 Heraldic exhibition, *see* Edinburgh  
 Heraldic exhibition at Edinburgh, 449; remarks thereon by "C," 425; described by Lyon King of Arms, 416  
 Heraldry of the Cumberland Statesmen, memoir by R. S. Ferguson, 77  
 Hermannstadt museum, 8  
 Heyford, bell inscription, 56  
 Hilton, J., further remarks on Jade, 162, 289; exhibits a Dutch golden wedding memorial, 436  
 Himbleton, bell inscription, 57  
 Hirst, Rev. J., on some tombs in Crete of the age of Mycenae, 101, 194  
 Hodgkin, Dr. T., address at annual meeting, 263  
 Holyrood Palace, 438, 439, 440  
 Honeyman, Mr., describes Glasgow Cathedral, 455  
 Horse, symbolic animal, 218  
 House shaped urn tombs, 104; in Crete and elsewhere.  
 Huss, John, protest against his burning, 422  
 Hyena, symbolic animal, 219  
 Hyett, F.A., on a rare civil war tract, 14; a fabrication, 15

## I.

- Incised Slabs, Mr. Greeny's work on, and extracts of the leading examples, 476  
 Inscriptions on bells, 45, 89  
 Inscriptions, Roman at Augsburg, 138; at Ratisbon, 396, 403; sometimes they help to illustrate the sacred narrative, 407  
 Ipswich, bell inscription, 89

J.

- Jade, further remarks on, by J. Hilton, 162; Jade found in Europe, 164; caution to be observed on this point, 166, 173; objects found in Switzerland, 169  
Jolly, Mr. W., visitation to the wall of Antoninus, 458

K.

- Karlsburg, antiquities at, 9  
Kendal, the Boke of Recorde, of the acts or doings of corporation of, 201  
Klausenburg, antiquities at, 12  
Kronstadt, antiquities of, 6

L.

- Lake, dwellings of Europe, a work by Dr. R. Munro, and illustrations therefrom, 91; quoted 169; his remarks on jade objects found, 172; mentioned again, 256  
Lamb, symbolic animal, 219  
Lebrun, Nicholas, brass described and represented, 286  
Lefroy, Sir J. H., on St. Neots parochial accounts, 65, 85  
Lemburg, antiquities at, 2  
Lewis, Bunnell, on Roman antiquities of Augsburg and Ratisbon, 137; *see* also Augsburg and Ratisbon; reads a paper on Roman antiquities of Pola and Aquileia, 435  
Lincoln, recent archaeological discoveries, memoir by Rev. E. Venables, 186  
Linthgow church and palace, 441  
Lion, symbolic animal, 220  
London, Allhallows Barking church, a Pieta on a brass, 113  
Lotus, the grammar of, by W. H. Good-year, 291  
Lutterworth, schedule of manor lands at, 190

M.

- Macdonald, J., on Burghead, the winged camp (*see* Burghead)  
Maldon, bell inscription, 89  
Maxwell, Sir H. C., inaugural address at annual meeting (*see* Edinburgh)  
Meeting, annual, at Edinburgh, 436  
Meeting, annual, of members, 447, and *see* Edinburgh  
Mercury, statues of in the Augsburg Museum, 154

- Merchants' marks on Gloucestershire brasses, 26  
Mermaid, symbolic animal, 238  
Milan, famous for armour manufacture, 125, 127  
Miliaria, Roman, 139, 142  
Missaglia, a noted armourer, 123, 125, 128, 193  
Mortars (for domestic use), E. Peacock's memoir, 203, 134; to hold lights in churches and at funerals, mentioned 208, 209  
Mortar exhibited by Mr. Hartsborne, 434  
Monumental brasses, importance of, 19; variety of costume, 27; died out in 17th century, now revived, 27  
Mosaic pavement, found at Augsburg, 155  
Munro, R., the Lake-dwellings of Europe, Rhind lectures for 1888, 91; remarks on jade, objects found at Swiss lake-dwellings, 169  
Munich, fine collection of armour, 133, 135  
Museums of Galicia and Transilvania, 1

N.

- Negrolì of Milan, a noted armourer, 123  
Neots St., parochial accounts, anno 1609, extract from, 65  
Northfield, bell inscription, 56  
Norway and Denmark, exhibition of objects from, 447

O.

- Oliver, A., on Brasses in London museums, with illustration, 286  
Optio, the soldier so called, explained, 406 (*see* also vol. xlvii)  
Original documents, a schedule of the lands of Henry, Duke of Suffolk, at Lutterworth, 190  
Our Lady of Pity, sculptures, memoir by E. Peacock, 111, 193, 294

P.

- Panther, symbolic animal, 222  
Parochial accounts of St. Neots, Cornwall, memoir by Sir J. H. Lefroy, 65  
Parthicus, the name in inscriptions, 140  
Patagiarie, Patagium, the words explained, 146  
Paul, J. B., describes the Heraldic Exhibition, *see* Edinburgh  
Peacock, E., on sculptures of Our Lady of Pity, 111, 193, 294; memoir on

- Mortars (for domestic use), 203, 434;  
memoir on Saint Helen, 354
- Peacock, symbolic animal, 225
- Pelican, symbolic animal, 225
- Phoenix, symbolic animal, 238
- Pieta, various sculptures of, 111, 193, 294;  
best known one by Michel Angelo at  
Rome, 115; various authorities on,  
116; Photograph exhibited by Sir  
M. Smith, 289
- Pigeon houses in Herefordshire and  
Gower, memoir on their structure  
and arrangement, 29; classified list  
of 37, and illustrations of, at Buttas,  
Gower, Garway, Richards Castle,  
Wignmore Grange, and Putson, at  
page 32
- Pinnata Castra, *see* Burghhead
- Proceedings at Meetings of the Institute,  
85, 193, 286, 434
- Pola and Aquileia, *see* Lewis
- Porter, Rev. A. S. on encaustic tiles at  
Tewkesbury, 83
- Pottery, ancient, at Broos Museum, with  
illustrations, 9
- Ptolemy, his Geography and Maps, 374
- Publications, archaeological notices of:  
Bells of Suffolk churches, by Rev.  
J. J. Raven, 86; charters and muni-  
ments of Glamorgan, by G. T. Clark,  
90; the lake-dwellings of Europe by  
Robert Munro, 91; The Gentle-  
man's Magazine library, Architec-  
tural antiquities, by G. L. Gomme,  
98; The Camden library, 197, 198;  
the book of observances of Austin  
Canons, edited by John Willis  
Clark, 198; the Boke of Recorde  
relating to the Corporation of Ken-  
dal, 201; the grammar of the Lotus  
by W. H. Goodyear, 291; the  
blazon of English, Scottish, and Irish  
episcopacy, by W. K. R. Bedford,  
291; six months in the Apennines,  
by M. Stokes, 292; the tombs of the  
kings of England, by J. C. Wall,  
292; the excavations in the north  
city wall at Chester, 293; the O'Neil  
badge, by R. Day in the Journal of  
the Royal Society of Antiquaries of  
Ireland, 293; Rockingham Castle  
and the Watsons, by C. Wise, 472;  
Illustrations of incised slabs on the  
continent of Europe, by W. F.  
Creeny, 476; the antiquities and  
curiosities of the exchequer, by  
Hubert Hall, 482; journal of the  
Ex Libris Society, 485
- Q.
- Quatt, bell inscription, 57
- R.
- Ratishon, paper by B. Lewis on antiquities  
of, 137, 396; Roman inscription at  
a brewery, 403, 405; gateway similar  
to that of Silchester, 402; Roman  
inscriptions, 403; Roman cemetery,  
403, 409; list of authorities on the  
Roman antiquities there, 414 (*see also*  
Augsburg)
- Raven, symbolic animal, 226
- Raven, Rev. J. J., work on Suffolk bells,  
86
- Report of the Council, 447; Treasurer's  
remarks, 448; discussion, 450
- Revenue, ancient sources of, 484
- Rockingham Castle, 472
- Roman antiquities of Augsburg and Rat-  
ishon, memoirs by B. Lewis, 137,  
with illustration and part ii., 396;  
(*see* Augsburg)
- Roman antiquities of Southern Germany,  
list of authorities on, 414
- Roman roads and remains at Bath, 176;  
ground plan changed by modern  
streets, 183, 184, 289
- Roman walls and remains at Lincoln, 186
- Ross, Mr., describes Rosslyn and Borth-  
wick castles, 461; Crichton castle,  
464; Dunfermline castle, 467
- Rosslyn church and castle, 461
- Rubbings of incised slabs, methods of  
making, 476
- Rude stone implements from the North  
Downs of Kent, notes by F. C. J.  
Spurrell, 315; seem to be of doubt-  
ful origin, 315; the flint chipped by  
natural process, 316; or by human  
agency, 317; or by chance circum-  
stance, 318; some called "scrapers,"  
318; difficult to determine how  
these were formed, 319
- S.
- S.S., collar of, with a swan appended, 227
- Salamander, symbolic animal, 232
- Scandinavian exhibition, by Mr. Cocks,  
435, 447,
- Schässburg, antiquities of, 7
- Scorpion, symbolic animal, 232
- Seals of bishops of Carlisle, *see* Carlisle
- Seidler, Mr. C. exhibits small stone  
implements from India, 289
- Serpent, symbolic animal 232
- Shaftesbury, bell inscription, 57
- Sherbourne, bell inscription, 56
- Sigmaringen, collection of arms and  
armour, 131, 132, 193
- Spurrell, F. C. J., exhibits flint imple-  
ments from Egypt, 85; paper on



stone implements from the North Downs, *see* Rude Implements; reads notes on rude implements from North Downs, 435, 315; and on Neolithic implements from Bexley, and exhibits them, 436

Statesmen of Cumberland, *see* Ferguson

Stone implements, *see* Rude Implements

Stothard, C. A., author of monumental effigies, accidental death of, 330

Subscriptions in aid of Institute, 283

Swan, symbolic animal, 227

Swine, symbolic animal, 222

Symbolic animals in art and literature, memoir by J. L. André, 210, 134

Sword belts of the middle ages, paper by A. Hartshorne, 320; various early methods, 320; early English effigies meddled with by the "restorers," 323; Gilbert Marshall, Earl of Pembroke sword belt described, 327; effigy at Castle Ashby, showing a new arrangement, 327; what material made of, 331; the Surcote and Jupon, 332; the Baudric, 334; belts made according to the wearer's convenience, no War-office regulations, 336, 337 (*see also* effigies)

**T.**

Tewkesbury, ancient encaustic tiles, notice of by Rev. A. S. Porter, 83

Tiger, symbolic animal, 222

Tiles, encaustic at Tewkesbury abbey, 83

Toad, symbolic animal, 234

Tole to swords fabricated in Italy, 122

Tombs in Crete of the age of Mycenæ, by Rev. J. Hirst, 101; a particular tomb described, 103

Transilvania museums, 1

## U.

Unicorn, symbolic animal, 240

Union Jack flag, a paper by E. Green, on its origin, name, composition, heraldic changes, and present design, with illustrations, 295; derivation of name, 297, 311; flag of Richard, Earl of Warwick, 296; Saint George's cross, 297; Saint Andrew's cross, 300; Saint Patrick's cross, 306; red, white and blue squadrons of the fleet and their flags, 313; Transport and merchant ship flags, 313; flag of England and Scotland, 299, 311; flag of England, Scotland and Ireland, 305

## V.

Venables, Rev. E., note on an ancient chair in Lincoln minster, 85; exhibits ancient seal, &c., 85; memoir on recent archaeological discoveries at Lincoln, 186; exhibits an ivory seal and bronze celts, 188

Vernin destroyed, paid for by the parish, 72

## W.

Walhouse, M. J., exhibits Indian dagger, 289

Ware, Mrs., paper on seals of Bishops of Carlisle (*see* Carlisle)

Watkins, A., memoir on Pigeon houses, with illustrations, 29

Watson family, of Rockingham, 474

Whale, symbolic animal, 229

Wickham Market, bell inscription, 89.

Winged camp, of Ptolemy, (*see* Burg-head)

Wolverhampton, bell inscription, 57

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